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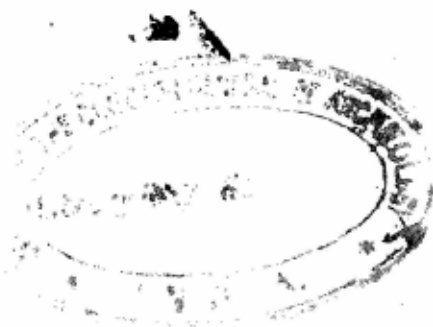
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THE EARLY AGE
OF
GREECE



IN TWO VOLUMES
VOLUME II

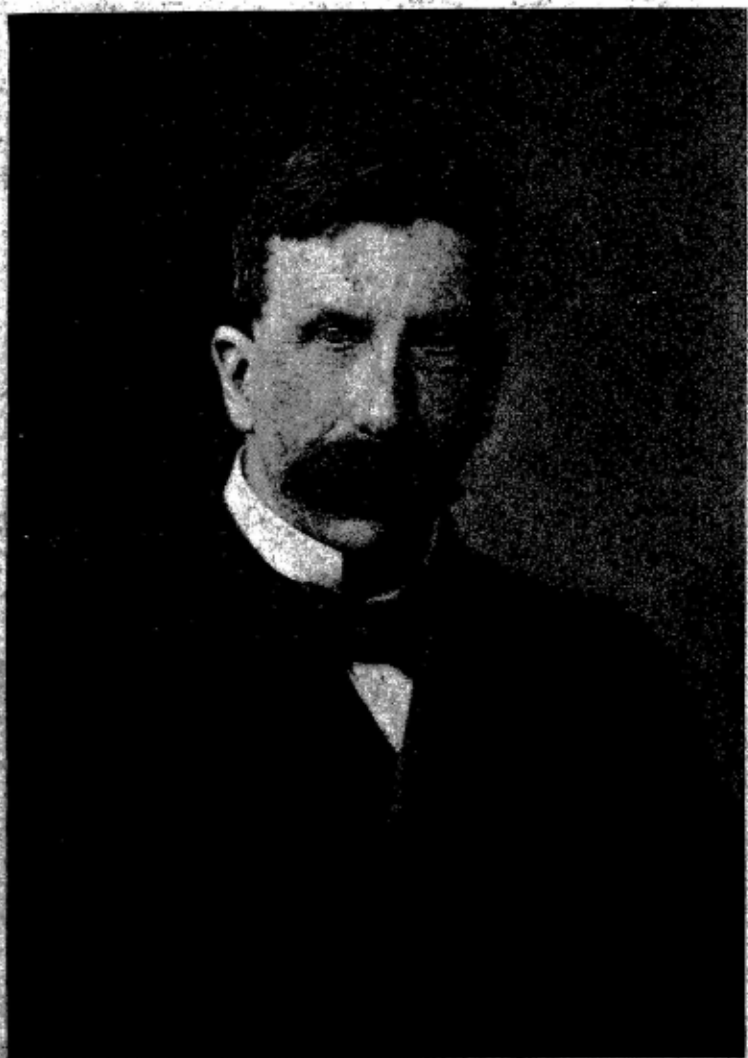
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Wm. Brewster - Clark

William Brewster

THE EARLY AGE OF GREECE

By

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VOLUME II

Edited by

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EDITORS' PREFACE

THE first volume of *The Early Age of Greece*, which was published in 1901, contained in its preface the statement that a second volume was then in the press and would shortly be issued. In this the thesis advanced in vol. I principally upon ethnological grounds was to be supported by an examination of the institutions and religion of Greece. A chapter on Greek religion had been included in the original plan of vol. I but had been omitted for lack of space, though one of its illustrations appeared enigmatically upon the cover. Of this chapter a page or two was already in type; of those here printed, the first three, in their earliest form, were sent to press in 1901, the fourth in the following year. It may be, therefore, that these four chapters, like that on Religion, had once formed part of the design for a single volume; it is at any rate certain that they had been conceived in outline before the publication of vol. I. Between that date and Ridgeway's death on Aug. 12, 1926, twenty-five years had elapsed, and the reader must needs enquire why the author so long withheld these arguments in support of his views.

It is, indeed, to be regretted that he did so. But as soon as it became apparent that there must be a second volume to the *Early Age*, there was a cogent reason for delaying its publication. In 1901 Sir Arthur Evans's epoch-making discoveries in Crete had only lately begun, and it was essential for Ridgeway to form some estimate of their bearing upon his theory before committing himself further. We have seen two fragments of draft prefaces for vol. II, and it is plain from them that Ridgeway would have excused his delay on that ground. But in the interval made necessary by the discovery of a new civilisation in

Crete other causes arose to delay the publication of the volume. Archaeologists were busy in other places besides Crete, and facts were accumulating which bore upon the volume already published. Ridgeway projected an introduction to vol. II in which the first volume was to be surveyed chapter by chapter and its conclusions supplemented, partly by new archaeological material, partly by discussion of criticisms and rival theories which had been advanced in the interval. But the years passed by, the flood of archaeological evidence bearing on the subject increased, and the materials for such a chapter as the author contemplated became by imperceptible degrees unmanageable. Moreover Ridgeway's own ideas were expanding, and what had once been reasonably called *The Early Age of Greece* was growing into an *Early Age of Europe*. The extension to Italy was already foreshadowed in vol. I; a large section of vol. II is devoted to the early history and literature of Ireland. As the motto chosen for vol. I had said, ὅπη ἂν ὁ λόγος ὥσπερ πνεῦμα φέρῃ, ταύτην ἱτέον.

Circumstances thus conspired to delay the publication of this volume, but in the meantime the author was not standing still. Three considerable books, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse* (1905), *The Origin of Tragedy* (1910), and *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), may well have grown out of enquiries undertaken in search of further evidence for the duality of Greek civilisation. Work upon *The Early Age* itself also went on, though not continuously; but the book was rather expanding than advancing. From time to time, notably about the year 1912 and again shortly before his death, Ridgeway was busy with the proofs, enormously increasing the bulk of the chapters already in print but leaving them as unfinished as before. During these spells of work he would talk of getting the volume into shape for publication, but his friends had ceased to expect that he would ever do so, and it may be that he had ceased really to believe it himself. Of the

four chapters here printed three are incomplete, and much that the book was intended to contain was never written at all. There were to have been chapters or sections on the Greek gods, on Πόλις and Κώμη, on the houses, horses, and dogs of the Greeks, the long introduction already mentioned, and an appendix on Caesar's invasion of Britain. Of the chapter on the gods a few pages were, as has been said, in proof in 1901, but the rest, though it served for Ridgeway's Gifford Lectures at Aberdeen in 1909-11, seems not to have been committed to paper¹; the others, except for stray notes and collections of material, remained projects². We have found also evidence that for a period he was contemplating a third volume, but how much of this material was designed for inclusion in it, and what else he may have intended to put there, we do not know.

Shortly before his death Ridgeway expressed the desire that we should act as his literary executors, and in compliance with this wish his daughter, Mrs J. A. Venn, handed over to us all the materials connected with *The Early Age*. They comprised many sets of proof-sheets of various dates, some with corrections, some blank, and numerous boxes containing offprints from periodicals, photographs, correspondence, typescript summaries of books and articles, collections of facts and references, notes of subjects to be dealt with, and skeleton drafts for passages of the book. These papers were in great disorder. On sorting and examining them, we found nothing in any way fit for publication and almost nothing to help us in the preparation of this volume; and since it seemed plain that they could be of no use to anyone except their author, they have been destroyed.

There remained the proofs, of which pp. 1-80 were in page,

¹ Short summaries of the Gifford Lectures appeared in the *Aberdeen Free Press* and the *Aberdeen Journal* at the time. Chapter III of this volume is an expanded form of the introduction to them.

² A lecture on *The Northern Element in Greek Architecture and Sculpture* was summarised in the *Cambridge Review* for Jan. 16, 1908, pp. 164 *sqq.*, and in the *Athenaeum*, 1908, July-Dec., pp. 652 *sq.*

the rest in slip. After careful consideration, and, as regards chapter iv, a good deal of hesitation, we decided that we should best comply with the author's wishes by publishing them, notwithstanding that three of the four chapters are incomplete and that chapter iv, in its present state, must necessarily seem somewhat out of scale in an *Early Age of Greece*. We have incorporated in the text such additions and corrections as the author had made on various sets of proofs, but the reader must understand that with that exception Ridgeway had seen the whole contents of the volume in type, and that it includes all that he had so seen except the above-mentioned fragment of the chapter on the gods of Greece, which was too slight for inclusion.

In preparing this material for the press our aim throughout has been to make as little change as possible and, where change was necessary, to make only such changes as the author's corrections elsewhere showed to be consistent with his own practice. Accordingly we have modified the tone in one or two passages of controversy with opponents who have died since the words were written; and where the English of a passage, by reason of some slip or oversight, evidently required correction, we have set it straight. But we have altered nothing merely on the ground that it was not as we ourselves should have written it. We have deliberately omitted also one type of change which the author would certainly have made. Where persons mentioned in the book have since died or have acquired knighthoods, professorships or other honours, Ridgeway would have added 'the late' or changed the title; on a few slips indeed he had already made such changes. We have thought it better to leave the older style, as a mark of date and a reminder to the reader that much of this volume was written thirty years ago. For the same reason, where a collection has changed hands, or a museum its name, we have made no correction. Nor have we deliberately altered Ridgeway's references from an earlier to a

later edition of the book cited. Here however consistency seemed of little moment, and since we frequently had no indication of the edition used, it is probable that we have unwittingly introduced some anachronisms. For the rest, we have given chapter IV a title for which we have not the author's warrant, and we have occasionally been compelled to add a comment in a footnote. Such comments are enclosed in square brackets, and we have tried to keep their number as low as possible.

Nearly five years have now gone by since Ridgeway's death, and as these pages were already in print, it may be asked why their publication has been so long delayed. It has been impossible for either of us, in the midst of other work, to devote as much time to the book as we could have wished. It took long to sort, read and consider the materials placed in our hands, and when we had decided to publish what was already in proof, the labour of identifying the references and verifying the quotations proved very heavy. The author himself had, in this respect, done little or no revision of the proofs; in many places his references were found to be wrong, in many more the reference was left blank, and in a considerable number we had no clue even to the title of the book or to the author whose words were quoted in the text. Our difficulties were much increased by the fact that large portions of the book deal with subjects of which we have no special knowledge.

In these circumstances we have frequently been driven to ask the advice of other scholars. Among the many to whom we are gratefully indebted we should wish especially to thank Miss E. S. Fegan, Mr R. Flower, Miss Eleanor Hull, and Dame Bertha Phillpotts for the ready generosity with which they came to our assistance in dealing with Irish and Scandinavian antiquities. We are particularly indebted also to Mr A. J. B. Wace for consenting to write the introductory chapter which seemed, after so many years, essential to the book; and to Mr E. Harrison for his most welcome and valuable assistance with the proofs.

The index to the two volumes has been prepared by Mr W. E. C. Browne of the University Press. The photograph which we have prefixed to the second was taken in the year 1907 and served as frontispiece to the volume of *Essays and Studies* presented to the author on his sixtieth birthday.

A. S. F. G.

D. S. R.

TRINITY COLLEGE, CAMBRIDGE

December 1930

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INTRODUCTION¹.

An inevitable result of the great increase in our knowledge of prehistoric Greece, which has rapidly accumulated since 1901, when Ridgeway published the first volume of the *Early Age of Greece*, is that it is now difficult to form a satisfactory idea of the opinions then current or to understand Ridgeway's paper "What People Produced the Objects called Mycenaean?" which appeared in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* in 1896. This paper contained the first detailed account of his theory that the Mycenaean civilisation, as it was then called, was not imported into the Aegean by the Achaeans, but had been developed in that area by an indigenous race whom he identified with the Pelasgians. He held further that the Pelasgians spoke Greek and were conquered by Achaeans, an Aryan race from the north who entered Greece about a century before the Trojan War, a view still advocated by many². These Achaeans he wished to identify with the Celts. Later they were in turn partly overrun by the Dorians, who were a Thraco-Illyrian tribe from the north-west. To realize the character of the main postulate, at which Ridgeway had arrived by the inductive method from a study of the archaeological evidence available, a brief survey of the then state of knowledge is necessary.

In 1896 the announcement of Evans' discovery of the Cretan pictographic script was only two years old and Cnossus had not been touched, except by the tentative work of Kalokairinos in 1878. By 1901 Evans had just finished his second season's work on the excavations of the Palace of Minos. Tsountas' *Μυκηναϊκὸν καὶ Μυκηναϊκὸς Πολιτισμός* was published in 1893, though an English version by himself and Manatt, *The Mycenaean Age*, did not appear till 1897. The excavations at Phylakopi in Melos took place between 1895 and 1897 and they confirmed Ridgeway

¹ In writing this Introduction I have received much kind and constructive help from Professor J. L. Myres, but the responsibility for the opinions expressed is my own.

² Childe, *Aryans*, pp. 50 ff.; Hall, *Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age*, p. 249.

in his views on the development of the Aegean culture¹. The pottery from the Kamares Cave had been published by Myres and by Mariani in 1895, but the full importance of that had not been realized by the world at large. Staes had excavated at Thoricus and Wide at Aphidna between 1890 and 1896, but the Minyan pottery from these excavations, now clearly recognised as Middle Helladic like the corresponding pottery from Schliemann's work at Orchomenos in the eighties, failed to attract attention except as being primitive like the island wares which were already well known, thanks to the work of Dümmler and Bent. Likewise the tombs found by the Americans at Corinth in 1896, which even now are the most characteristic Early Helladic tombs yet discovered, escaped notice. So little was known that the idea voiced by Schuchhardt that the Sixth Shaft Grave at Mycenae was the latest because its pottery was so degenerate in character obtained surprising currency.

According to general opinion the Mycenaean civilisation was that of the Homeric Achaeans who were usually regarded as the first Aryan invaders of Greece. This view was orthodox. It was put forward in England by Percy Gardner in his *New Chapters of Greek History* published in 1892 and by Schuchhardt in his account of Schliemann's excavations published in German in 1889. Perrot and Chipiez, in their volume on Mycenaean Greece, *La Grèce Primitive*, which appeared in 1894, did not advance any different view. Previously of course the origin of the Mycenaean culture had been attributed to the Phoenicians. Though Salomon Reinach² in his paper on the *Mirage Oriental* in 1893 had challenged this, it was restated by Pottier in 1894 and by Helbig in 1896. Busolt who in the first edition of his *Griechische Geschichte* had put forward a Dorian origin, in his second edition³ in 1893 placed the home of the Mycenaean culture in northern Syria as an alternative to Phoenicia.

The idea, however, that it had originated and developed in the Aegean was already in the air as shown by Reinach. E. Meyer in the first edition of his *Geschichte des Altertums*⁴ in 1893 had believed that the Mycenaean culture evolved from the

¹ *Early Age*, I, p. vii.

² *Anthropologie*, 1893, pp. 539 ff., 699 ff.

³ p. 98.

⁴ p. 132.

Trojan. Leaf, who in his preface to the English translation of Schuchhardt's *Schliemann's Excavations* in 1891 had called the Mycenaean culture Achaean, suggested in his *Companion to the Iliad* in 1892 that the Achaeans had combined with their own the culture they found in the Aegean. Myres was working on the connection between the so-called island culture and the Mycenaean¹. Evans in his address to the British Association in 1896 declared that the roots of Mycenaean art were deeply set in Aegean soil. It was at this same meeting of the British Association that Ridgeway read the paper subsequently published in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* giving the results of his independent research. It is interesting that Ridgeway, though he had been working in the study rather than in the field, arrived at an idea of the Mycenaean culture which was not much dissimilar from those of the latest excavators and explorers.

This new idea was of course opposed to the preexisting opinion, mentioned above, dating from the time of Gladstone's introduction to Schliemann's account of his excavations at Mycenae, which first revealed that a great Bronze Age culture had preceded the brilliance of classical Hellas, that the Mycenaean civilisation agreed with that of the Homeric poems and consequently must be that of the Achaeans. As a sequel to Bulwer Lytton's *Zanoni* and the philological attempts of Max Müller and his school to find the *Urheimat* of the Aryans, it was assumed that Homer's Achaeans were the first Indo-Europeans to enter Greece, which till their time had been a slough of barbarism. A. S. Murray of the British Museum even believed that no Mycenaean objects could be older than about the time of the first Olympiad. Many Hellenists, too, held the opinion voiced as late as 1911 by Percy Gardner in an address to the Hellenic Society². "Students have dug through successive strata of Greek custom and belief, as they have dug through the successive strata of remains buried in the soil; it would almost seem in the hope of tracing the very first germination of Greek ideas. The pursuit of what is primitive has led them on from point to point, until

¹ *Science Progress*, Oct. 1896, Jan. 1898, July 1898.

² *J. H. S.* 1911, p. lix.

they are inclined perhaps somewhat to overvalue mere antiquity, to care more for the root than for the leaves and the fruit." This "fundamentalist" attitude is in direct contrast to the evolutionary methods of Ridgeway, with his strong anthropological inclinations. In his lectures he would constantly urge his pupils to "strip off the layers" and see how the structure had been built up and thus by understanding the sequence and origin of its component parts to form a sounder comprehensive idea of the whole. This object underlay the whole of his work on the *Early Age of Greece*. To appreciate properly the Greek genius in all its aspects it is necessary to understand its composition and its composition cannot be understood without an ethnological investigation into the origin of the Greek race. Ridgeway would have said (for he loved to draw comparisons from the history and anthropology of the British Isles) that to understand the Englishman it is essential to know what ethnological factors have contributed to his formation, Briton, Celt, Saxon, Dane, Norman, Fleming, and Huguenot.

When Ridgeway offered his paper to the Society for the Promotion of Hellenic Studies for publication in its Journal it was at first rejected. It was only with difficulty that it was ultimately published in 1896, the same year in which Evans had read his stimulating address to the British Association also advocating the indigenous origin of the Mycenaean culture. In the next year, 1897, appeared Tsountas and Manatt's *Mycenaean Age*. They declared¹, "Mycenaean art was no exotic, transplanted full grown into Greece, but rather a native growth... influenced though it was by the earlier civilisations of the Cyclades and the East. This indigenous art, distinct and homogeneous in character, no matter whence came its germs and rudiments, must have been wrought out by a strong and gifted race." They added in a footnote, "Since this chapter was in type the British Association has heard Professor Ridgeway stoutly reasserting the prior title of the Pelasgian." Tsountas and Manatt held that the Mycenaean civilisation had developed within the Aegean area, although they wished to associate with it Danaans and Achaeans, and believed that the people

¹ p. 326.

responsible for it had always spoken Greek. This is really not so different from Ridgeway's view, apart from the ethnical names given to the developers of the Mycenaean culture. He held that it had been evolved within the Aegean area and that one of its main foci had lain in Crete and another at Mycenae and that the people who according to all Greek tradition were the oldest inhabitants of the land originated and developed it, the Pelasgians.

Ridgeway's investigations were directed to separating out by a close examination of the evidence, material, linguistic, and anthropological, the various strata of the early inhabitants of Greece, dividing divergent customs, objects, and manners between Pelasgian and Achaean. The Pelasgian was the dark Mediterranean man, artistic, but with the old southern vices. The Achaean was the conquering northerner of a higher moral standard, fair, but less artistic. So in the *Early Age of Greece* we first examine the remains and their distribution and pass on to consider who made them, reviewing in turn the claims of Pelasgian, Achaean, and Dorian, the three main traditional layers. As the evidence seems to favour the Pelasgians, attention is then turned to the Achaeans to discover who they were and whence they came and to see how their customs and beliefs could be differentiated from the Pelasgians' and further how far their original home could be located by the light of the objects and manners thus determined to be peculiar to them. With this object in the first volume, Ridgeway sifted the archaeological and linguistic evidence then available for the Homeric Age, the Early Iron Age, the Round Shield, Inhumation and Cremation, the Brooch, Iron, and the Homeric Dialect.

"Culture, tradition, physical anthropology, and religion, thus all declare for the existence from the earliest days in the Mediterranean of that race, whose descendants still form the main element in its population¹."

"If we find on comparison that the metals, weapons, armour, dress, funeral customs and the like coincide, then we shall have to modify our conclusions already arrived at, — that the Achaeans were not the authors of the Mycenaean civilisation²."

In the second volume he summarises the arguments in a passage on page 131, which can be supplemented by another on page 405.

¹ *Early Age*, I, p. 291.

² *Ibid.* p. 293.

Moreover he upheld the views that the use of bronze was discovered in the copper-and-tin bearing area of Hungary and Bohemia, and that the culture depicted in Homer did not coincide in all details with the Mycenaean and that it belonged to the Early Iron Age. He thus concluded that the Achaeans whom Homer represents as the possessors of the Homeric culture could not be the same as the people who created and enjoyed the Mycenaean civilisation. The first volume he devoted principally to the archaeological and linguistic evidence and in the second passes on to consider arguments based on social anthropology. He first examines the great question of kinship and marriage and concludes that the Pelasgians practised matriarchy and the Achaeans patriarchy. He then proceeds to differentiate Pelasgian and Achaean practice as regards the punishment of homicide. Next comes religion and as a beginning of the subject he conducts an enquiry to see whether the Homeric Achaeans and the Greeks of the classical period differed in regard to animism generally and goes on to consider the question of fetish, totem, and ancestor worship. His conclusions on this point are summarised on page 421.

Lastly he discusses at considerable length the archaeology and ethnology of the British Isles, in order to separate the invading Celts from the earlier population and to show how the manners and customs of the Celts agree with those of the Achaeans. This is part of his programme to isolate, so to speak, the Achaean culture and identify its home and range. Thus with all its digressions and truly Herodotean discursiveness, Ridgeway's *Early Age of Greece* is built up on the central theme, the "stripping off the layers," Dorian, Achaean, Pelasgian, and the identification of them with definite archaeological strata. Throughout he fortifies his results by frequent reference to anthropology and natural history, which lead to various supplementary discussions and polemics. When the layers are stripped off, the final kernel of his conclusions is that the Pelasgians, a Greek-speaking race, had lived from time immemorial in Greece and had developed the Mycenaean civilisation, which had therefore not been imported ready made by Achaean invaders just before the Homeric Age and thus imposed

on a low, barbarous, and primitive race, Pelasgian, Lelegian, or what you will, the alleged aboriginal inhabitants of Greece.

If it is difficult to picture now what was the general state of knowledge about prehistoric Greece between 1896, when Ridgeway published his paper in the *Journal of Hellenic Studies* on "What People Produced the Objects called Mycenaean?" and 1901, when the first volume of *The Early Age* was issued, it is still hardly possible to attempt to assess what is the permanent value of Ridgeway's contribution to this branch of research. No one can deny the tremendous influence that Ridgeway's personality and methods exercised on his pupils and on students of all kinds who came in contact with him. He taught them not to be satisfied with superficial conclusions, but to probe deeply into the matter in hand and strip off the layers to reveal the kernel of truth within. They learnt never to be content with what anyone else had written on a subject, but to go back as far as possible to the first authority. They were told that method, attention to detail, thoroughness, and accuracy are the hall-marks of the true scholar, especially one who has been properly drilled in Latin and Greek. They learnt further the use of anthropological parallels, the value of self-criticism, detestation of humbug, caution against plausible theories, and the necessity of first collecting the evidence and then determining what conclusions can logically be drawn from it. Finally, if controversy were to arise, they were counselled to reserve a few shots in the locker, so as to complete the discomfiture of the adversary if he were rash enough to reply. Ridgeway admittedly did not always follow all his own excellent counsel, but he himself would have laid no claim to infallibility. Further, not a few of Ridgeway's pupils have by their own researches contributed something towards the solution of the problems to which he devoted himself.

One point already referred to in the theme of *The Early Age of Greece* is of great permanent value towards the study of prehistoric Greece and marks a stage in the progress of thought and knowledge. Ridgeway reached independently the view, also proposed about the same time by Reinach, Evans, Myres, and others, that the Aegean civilisation had originated

and developed in the Aegean area and had not been superimposed on an aboriginal population by Achaean invaders. Tsountas advanced a similar idea some three years earlier and Ridgeway agreed with him in thinking that the originators of that civilisation were Greeks by speech. The results of the excavations at Phylakopi in Melos and the brilliant discoveries of Evans at Knossos closely followed by those of Halbherr and his colleagues at Phaestus all gave convincing evidence that this thesis was fundamentally sound. Milchhöfer's far sighted work, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, published in 1883, had already pointed in this direction. Schliemann¹ had long before planned to turn his "attention to Crete, where I hoped to discover the original home of the Mycenaean civilisation" and Evans' researches in that island had already borne their first fruit in his discovery of the pictographic script in 1894. Tsountas in Greece as a result of his work at Mycenae and in the islands had come to the conclusion that the Mycenaean civilisation had originated and developed in the Aegean area, but it was Ridgeway who attracted against himself the counter-attacks of the "old guard". In 1901 Hall published his *Oldest Civilization of Greece* and treated almost as a commonplace the belief that the Mycenaean civilisation (it was not yet metamorphosed into Minoan) had been born and grown up within the Aegean area. Since then it may be said that no writer of any reputation who has written or contributed anything to Greek prehistory has ventured to put forward any other fundamental idea than that so stoutly maintained by Ridgeway that the genesis and evolution of the Aegean civilisation took place in Greek lands. One of the principal differences between Ridgeway and Hall was over the question of the language of the authors of the Mycenaean civilisation. Ridgeway held it to be Greek. Hall² thought it was non-Greek and maintained the current opinion that the Achaean invaders who appeared before the close of the Mycenaean period were the first Greek-speaking people to enter Hellas.

After the first publication of his theories and the general

¹ Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 323, cf. p. 16, note.

² Even in his last book *The Civilization of Greece in the Bronze Age* (1928), pp. 247 ff.

recognition that the Mycenaean civilisation grew up in the Aegean and was not imported, the virtue of Ridgeway's work has often been overlooked by later writers. They have argued instead whether the aborigines of Greece could be Pelasgians and whether the Achaeans were Celts. Controversy too has raged round Iron, the Round Shield, and the Brooch, and though it is extremely unlikely that Ridgeway's views on these topics will be adopted in their entirety, no impartial reader can deny that his chapters on the last two subjects in particular and on the importance of Noricum as a secondary centre in the distribution of iron earlier than had been admitted previously have done much towards the collection of evidence and the clarification of thought. Similarly his chapter on Inhumation, Cremation, and the Soul is a stimulating piece of writing. So, though critics must reject much of Ridgeway's work, especially his early dating for the Iron Age which gave far too early a date for Hallstatt, they surely must acknowledge the clear vision with which he like others saw from the archaeological evidence, even before Evans' great excavations at Cnossus, the central fact, now self-evident in the light of all later discoveries, that the Aegean civilisation was autochthonous in that region. They must recognise that his method of "stripping off the layers" was the right one. Though the layers as he determined them are not now acceptable in the light of the latest archaeological evidence and the ethnological names which he wished to assign to them cannot be maintained, yet his pioneer work has done far more than blaze the trail for his successors. Huxley once wrote: "There is nothing in the world of science half so good as an earthquake hypothesis if it only serves to show the firmness of the foundations on which we build."

In *The Early Age*¹, while admitting the importance of Crete, he laid special stress on the value of the Mainland and Mycenae for the ultimate solution, if it is ever attained, of the ethnological problem of the Greeks. This in the light of present knowledge is remarkable. He wrote this long before the recent American, British, German, and Swedish excavations on the Mainland gave rise to a different problem not yet solved, a problem too which

¹ I, p. 292.

only assumed its present importance shortly before Ridgeway's death.

In Crete Evans' brilliant work has demonstrated once and for all that the Minoan civilisation had its birth there and there also, from neolithic times on to the zenith of the Bronze Age, grew to full maturity and stature. It finally decayed towards the close of the Bronze Age, after it had lost its pre-eminence to Mycenae on the fall of Cnossus about 1400 B.C..

On the Mainland there was a neolithic population which to judge by its remains differed from the contemporary people of Crete. The first account of this neolithic culture was published by Tsountas¹ in 1908 in his *Προϊστορικαὶ Ἀκροπόλεις Διμηνίου καὶ Σέσκλου*. This we can call Layer One. The Bronze Age is ushered in by the appearance of a race which enjoyed a culture very similar to that then in use in the islands and Crete. This was first revealed by Furtwängler's work at Orchomenus in 1903. This Layer is the Second. The pre-historian will call it the Early Helladic Age, but Ridgeway disliked the term Helladic as much as he disliked the term Minöan. Then in the Middle Bronze Age a new element enters, the people who made the pottery called Minyan. They introduced a distinctly different type of culture which separates the Mainland from Crete and the islands. This is the Third Layer.

With the beginning of the Late Bronze Age a change occurs and here opinions diverge. One school holds that about 1600 B.C. the people of the Mainland came into contact with Crete and largely adopted and adapted its art, culture, and alphabet, just as the Etruscans at a later date adopted and adapted those of the Greeks. As a recent French writer² puts it "Mis en face de l'éclatante civilisation crétoise, ils sont gagnés par elle et en assureront la continuation et la diffusion." They succeeded to the heritage of Crete after the fall of Cnossus, and remained the dominant force in the Aegean till the close of the transition to the early Iron Age which began in the twelfth century, about the traditional date for the Dorian Invasion.

The other school, that of Evans, holds that just about the

¹ His excavations began in 1901; see Bosanquet's note in *Man*, 1902.

² M. Poëte, *Introduction à l'Urbanisme*, p. 218.

beginning of the Late Bronze Age the Cretans conquered and colonised large areas of the Mainland and formed a Minoan colonial empire. Then, before the fall of Mycenae but after the fall of Cnossus, came Achaeans, northern invaders, Indo-Europeans, who adopted the civilisation they found with a few modifications of their own. They were subsequently overrun by the Dorians.

The first school, while expressing no opinion about the neolithic people, regards the Early Helladic people as non-Greek and probably as non-Indo-European and considers that the people who introduced Minyan Ware may well have been the first section of the Hellenic race to enter Greece, and were thus in culture, language, and race responsible for the adventurous, enquiring spirit of the classical Hellenes. Myres, too, arrives at the same general conclusions¹, although he follows Evans in his belief in a Minoan colonization of the Mainland.

The school of Evans² is ready to concede this: "That there were Greeks in Hellas before the coming of the Achaeans is quite possible. They may even have formed part of the population before the actual conquest of large Mainland tracts by the Minoan Cretans."

So both these views in fact support to a considerable extent Ridgeway's belief, so far as it went, based on linguistic grounds, that Greek was spoken in Greece before the coming of the Achaeans. Owing to failing health and eyesight, he was unable to know the Neolithic and Early Bronze Age cultures of the Mainland or to appreciate their significance, but the composite nature of the classical Greek race which he maintained is fully proved. They were a blend of the primitive neolithic race, of the artistic and cultured islanders, and of the vigorous and creative makers of Minyan Ware of the Middle Helladic Period, whom both schools are prepared to regard as the first Greek-speaking people to arrive in Greece. That Greek in some form or other was spoken in Greece as early as 2000 B.C. finds a wide degree of support and all unite in the belief that it is now demonstrated that the Aegean culture was born and developed in and around the sea the name of which it bears. On these two cardinal points

¹ *Who were the Greeks?* pp. 531 ff.

² Evans, *Palace of Minos*, III, p. 133, note 2.

Ridgeway thus may be credited with having championed new ideas, basing his belief on the best form of evidence, the actual archaeological facts. The impetus he thus gave to the whole question of the origin of the Greek race and its culture should not be underestimated. Facts stand their ground for ever and only the theories that are based on them pass away or change with time or new discoveries.

ἅπανθ' ὁ μακρὸς κἀναρίθμητος χρόνος
 φύει τ' ἄδηλα καὶ φανέντα κρύπτεται·
 οὐκ ἔστ' ἄελλον οὐδέν¹...

¹ Sophocles, *Ajax*, l. 646 ff.

A. J. B. WACE

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CHAPTER I.

KINSHIP AND MARRIAGE.

Οὐ μὲν γὰρ τοῦ γε κρείττον καὶ ἀρείον,
ἢ ὅθ' ὁμοφρονέοντε νοήμασι οἶκον ἔχοντον
ἀνὴρ ἡδὲ γυνή· πόλλ' ἄλγεα λυγμένεεσσι,
χάρματα δ' εὖμενέησι· μάλιστα δέ τ' ἔκλυνον αὐτοί.

Od. vi. 182—5.

THE preceding volume of this work was devoted to a rigorous examination of the material remains of prehistoric Greece and a comparison of their evidence both with the literary traditions and with the culture portrayed in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. Up to that time it had been universally held that the great culture revealed at Mycenae and numerous other cities had been brought into Greece by the Achaeans or other invaders, and that it was this Bronze Age culture which is presented to us in the Homeric poems. From this survey we were led to reject the older views and to point out that whilst the so-called 'Mycenean' or Aegean culture was that of the full Bronze Age, this culture so far from being adventitious had grown up step by step in the basin of the Aegean, whilst that mirrored in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* belonged to the Early Iron Age, when that metal, though in common use, had not yet wholly superseded bronze in the manufacture of weapons and other cutting implements.

We were then led to seek for the region whence this new culture had entered Greece, and our researches brought us to the belief that the old theories by which iron was held to have been introduced into Europe from either Africa or Asia must be abandoned—as well as that other doctrine, till then no less universally maintained, that the knowledge of bronze, if not of copper, had passed up into Europe from the lands south or east of the Mediterranean. It was next pointed out that the Early Iron Age of central Europe which first came into notice

at the now famous cemeteries of Hallstatt is in all respects closely analogous to the culture of the Homeric poems. Furthermore, as the Homeric Achæans are pictured as tall men with fair hair, a type never produced in the Mediterranean lands, and which, when it descends into that region, inevitably wanes, and as all Greek tradition declares that the Achæans had come down from the north into Greece shortly before the Trojan War, we were forced to the conclusion that not only the use of iron, but the round shield with a central boss, the practice of cremating the dead, the use of the brooch, and the style of ornament known as Geometric or Dipylon, had been brought by bodies of fair-haired men of large stature who had come from the north and mastered the old melanochrous race which had dwelt in the Aegean basin from the Neolithic period, and whose artistic genius had created the grand civilization of the Copper and Bronze Ages of Greece. An investigation of the Homeric poems showed that in them the existence of this elder race is everywhere assumed, that its traditions form the background of the poems, and that its language and its metre enshrine the deeds and chequered fortunes of the heroes from the north. In the present volume we propose to test these conclusions by a scrutiny of some of the sociological facts of ancient Greece.

The majority of the ghosts seen by Odysseus in the realms of Hades and Persephone were those of women. All these, with the exception of the hero's mother and the two daughters of Minos, belonged to the elder age and to the elder race of Greece. The prominence thus given to women in the *Nekyia*, combined with the fact that a famous poem called the *Eoiai*, and ascribed to Hesiod, was wholly devoted to heroines, naturally suggests that in the early days of Greece descent may have been traced through females rather than through males, as has been and still is the rule among many races. This *prima facie* probability would be much strengthened if it could be shown that the rule of female succession prevailed in any of the royal lines to which these heroines belonged. But such an example is not far to seek. Among the great

dames of the *Nekyia*, Tyro takes a prominent place. She was daughter of Salmoneus, the Thessalian chieftain, and she bore, as the fruit of the embraces of Poseidon, Neleus and Pelias, whilst by her union with the mortal Cretheus, she became the mother of Aeson, the father of Jason. If descent had been reckoned through males in the royal house of Iolcus, Jason would naturally have described himself as the son of Aeson, the son of Cretheus; but, far from so doing, it was through a woman that he traced his lineage when in fulfilment of the oracle "spoken at the central stone of tree-clad mother Earth," and wearing the close-fitting garb of the Magnetes with a leopard-skin, single-sandalled, and brandishing two javelins, he stood in the Agora at the hour of full market¹. His argument was on this wise: "The same mother bare Cretheus and rash Salmoneus, and in the third generation we again were begotten, and look upon the strength of the golden sun." Thus Jason's claim rests on the fact that Cretheus and Salmoneus had the same mother, no reference whatever being made to their father. If the royal Minyan house reckoned descent through males, and Tyro, having no brothers, was the heiress of Salmoneus, Jason could have claimed kinship with Pelias on the ground that his father Aeson and Pelias had a common maternal grandfather Salmoneus.

The labours of Bachofen, J. F. McLennan, L. H. Morgan, W. Robertson Smith, Westermarck and others, have abundantly proved the general prevalence of various forms of primitive marriage in the early stages of human society, and terms such as polyandry, exogamy, endogamy, and *punalua* have become as familiar as polygamy.

Mr J. F. McLennan² devoted a separate essay to the subject of early kinship in Greece, in which he embodied the results of his examination of Homer, Aeschylus, Attic law, and the early legends. He strove to prove that the Greeks, like every other people (as he held), had at one time traced kinship and descent solely through females. As he regarded the Greeks for his purpose as practically a single people, he held of equal value

¹ Pindar, *Pyth.* iv. 74 sqq. For ἀγορά πλῆθουσα = 9 o'clock see Ridgeway, *Trans. Cambridge Phil. Soc.*, vol. i (1872-80), pp. 801-2.

Studies in Ancient History, pp. 195 sqq.

for his immediate object any evidence that could be obtained from any part of that wide area which in historical times was included in the term Hellas, and he even made use of evidence drawn from Lycia.

Now if it can be shown from McLennan's own data not only that sole female kinship cannot be proved for the Homeric age, but that he himself admits that descent is reckoned through both males and females in the Homeric poems, and that the only cases in which he can point to anything like female kinship are not Achean, but Lycian and Trojan; and if we can also demonstrate that descent through males is the invariable rule in the great Achean families, and that with them the son is regularly named not from his mother, but from his father, we shall then have proved, by evidence which can hardly be suspected of being *ex parte*, that with the Achaeans of Homer descent through males was the rule. On the other hand, if we can find very strong evidence that at Athens the rule of descent through the mother was still well known in the fifth century B.C., that it survived in Crete, that it was the custom of Lycia in historical as well as in heroic times, and that the pre-Achean legends of Attica, Arcadia, Thessaly, and other parts of Greece afford many indications of a like social condition, we may conclude that the reason why the Homeric poems exhibit a form of society much higher than that which prevailed in Attica down to a comparatively late epoch is that the Achaeans held the rule of descent through males when they became the masters of the older inhabitants of Greece, who were in the lower social condition wherein descent through females is customary.

"In no respect," says McLennan, "has life in the Homeric times so modern an aspect as in regard to the position of 'wedded wives.'...In Homer we find acknowledgment of the blood ties through both the father and the mother....Homer prefers the father in tracing genealogies, without denying the mother her place." But it is remarkable that when McLennan comes to cite from Homer instances of the latter custom he is able only to give cases which can hardly be called Greek. Thus his first reference¹ is to the "pleading of Lycaon in the

¹ *Il.* *xxi.* 74 *sqq.*

Iliad, as containing proof of kinship through the mother, and proof that the tie through the father did not, in the same degree, infer the rights and obligations of kinship. This Lycaon was a son of Priam, by Laothoe, daughter of Altes, king of the Leleges. She was one of Priam's numerous 'wedded wives,' and had by him two sons, Lycaon and Polydorus, the latter already slain by Achilles, who had come forth to avenge the death of Patroclus, his friend and kinsman. Lycaon, being assailed by Achilles, begs for his life, his main plea being that he is not related to Hector on the mother's side:—

'Yet I'll say

This to thee, and cast it thou in heart;
Do not slay *me*, since not from the same womb
Am I as Hector is, who killed thy friend,
At once both kind and brave.'

The appeal is to the well-known law of blood-feud, for though the assault takes place in battle, it is made in the thirst for vengeance. What, then, is the meaning and effect of the appeal? Is it this:—'Hector and Hector's kindred are alone amenable to your vengeance, for it was Hector who slew your friend. I am neither kith nor kin of Hector. True, we have, as you know, the same father. But I put it to you, what does that matter? He is not my brother uterine (*δμογάστρος*), my relative through the mother'? At least, it implies that being a brother by the same father did not mark him out one of those specially liable to be slain as a relative of the wrong-doer. The pleading was ineffectual, but it remained unanswered save by the sword." Later McLennan says: "Should it be thought that the inference made from this case is too large, it must at any rate be allowed that the passage proves—(1) that the blood connection between the mother and son was fully acknowledged; (2) that the connection through the father and mother made a closer kinship than through the father only, which would not have been the case had agnation been established. And as it is obvious that Lycaon could not have urged his plea had he and Hector been uterine brothers, even had they been sons of different fathers, it becomes probable (3) that the blood tie through the mother alone was

practically, at this time, a stronger one than that through the father alone." But this series of assumptions has no real basis since all that the sentence means is that poor Lycaon in his despair, ready to urge any plea, no matter how weak, tells Achilles that he is only the half and not the full brother of Hector, a distinction between half and full blood thoroughly familiar to our modern life with its strict descent through males. McLennan might just as well have argued that because Joseph regarded Benjamin, his brother by the same mother, as closer to him than the other sons of Jacob, the Hebrews at that time reckoned descent through females, which they certainly did not.

"Further on, Priam speculates as to the fate of Lycaon and Polydorus. 'If they yet live captive with the Greeks,' he says, 'then surely we shall ransom them with brass and gold; for the money is in the house, as the aged Altes gave abundance with his daughter.' There is here a further note of relationship between mother and child. The mother's wealth was specially applicable for ransoming *her* sons. We may infer that in the household of the polygamous Priam, the children of a wife, whatever other rights of inheritance they had, were heirs to her wealth." McLennan seems to assume that in polygamous communities descent is reckoned through the mother, and apparently he did not realize that in polygamous communities, as in Turkey, where descent is through the males, the children of each wife inherit their mother's property. Further on we shall find cases of polygamous kings and chieftains amongst the northern peoples, where descent through males was the rule.

As McLennan puts the case of Lycaon in the forefront of his argument, I have thought it better to quote his words in full. Yet he himself saw that "it may be said that Lycaon's plea refers solely to a state of feeling prevailing on the Asiatic side and peculiar to a people who practised polygyny. But if it was of no force from Homer's point of view, he either would not have stated it, or he would have made Achilles meet it with an answer. The reply of Achilles is irrelevant, being substantially what I have stated, with the addition that he had made up his mind to spare no child of Priam." McLennan continues:—"It must be assumed that the plea appeared of force

to Homer's auditors, and that could only be through their knowing what a difference the want of a perfect kinship should have made. On the Greek side, as well as on the Asiatic, there was, owing to the system of 'captive wives,' abundance of room for the distinction between the paternal and maternal tie, and for its practical recognition in cases of blood-feud." But if the view which we have advanced in the preceding volume be true,—that in the Greece of the Homeric age there was a new master-race ruling an old population,—there was another and better reason why Homer's audience might be fully alive to vital differences in rules of kinship, supposing that such existed between the Achæans and the royal house of Troy, which seems not to have been the case. But the reason already given—that Homer's audience would fully realize the difference between half blood and full blood—sufficiently explains why he put that plea in the mouth of Lycaon.

The next case quoted by McLennan is that of Tlepolemus, son of Heracles and Astyoche, the founder of the Rhodian cities of Lindus, Cameirus, and Ialysus, in which he had planted according to their tribes those who had followed him into exile (vol. I. p. 199). There can be no reasonable doubt that Tlepolemus was an historical personage, for in Pindar's¹ day, and long after, the Rhodians not only offered to him sacrifices of sheep, but held annually in his honour games known as the Tlepolemeia. "This puissant seed of Heracles," according to Pindar, traced his descent from Zeus and on the mother's side from Astydamia, and the Theban poet tells how the oecist of Rhodes "once on a time smote with his staff of tough wild-olive Licymnius, Alcmena's bastard brother, in Tiryns as he came forth from Midea's chamber, and slew him in the kindling of his wrath²." But according to Homer he had inadvertently slain his grand-uncle Licymnius the brother of Alcmena, mother of Heracles, and had to flee, "for the other sons and grandsons too of mighty Heracles had threatened him³." "By old law [writes McLennan] the right of vengeance belonged to the kindred of the slain. They were therefore

¹ *OL. VII. 80* (with *Schol. ad loc.*).

² *OL. VII. 27 sqq.*

³ *IL. II. 657 sqq.*

(being of the kin of Heracles) of the kindred of Alcmena and of her brother Licymnius. That is, *some* Hellenes—for this is a strictly Hellenic story—recognized the blood-tie through the mother as creating the right and obligation of the blood-feud." But, as we have already clearly seen that Heracles and the Perseid family belong to the pre-Achean stock, and that the people who went to Rhodes with Tlepolemus were neither Achæans nor Dorians (as generally held), but Pelasgians, the argument drawn by McLennan from this passage would prove female kinship not for the Achæans, but for the Pelasgians.

But is the argument sound? (1) McLennan assumes that it was on the ground of the blood-feud that the other sons and grandsons drove Tlepolemus from the land. But as a blood-feud can only exist between two different families, clans, or tribes, and as Tlepolemus himself stood in exactly the same degree of kinship to Licymnius as the other sons of Heracles, the question of blood-feud did not arise at all. The modern Albanians, who are probably the lineal descendants, more or less mixed, of the ancient Illyrians, the close congeners of the aborigines of Greece (vol. I. p. 342 *sqq.*), afford a good example of this: "the tribe cannot punish bloodshed within the family group, *e.g.* if one cousin in a communal house kill another. The head of the house is arbiter. A man said naïvely on this subject, 'How can such a case be punished? A family cannot owe itself blood?' To him the family was the unit, the individual had no separate existence¹." The action of Tlepolemus' relations must have sprung from an entirely different cause—the desire to rid the family from the pollution (*ἄγος*) of kindred blood (*ἐμφύλιον αἷμα*). (2) But McLennan has unwarrantably assumed that this passage shows female kinship. To make his reasoning cogent Tlepolemus and his kinsmen, who expelled him, ought to have been born not from a son of Alcmena, but from a daughter. Under the rule of female succession Tlepolemus and the other sons and grandsons of Heracles were not of the kindred of Alcmena at all, for Tlepolemus and the other sons of Heracles would belong to the families of their respective mothers. Thus then the

¹ M. Edith Durham, *High Albania* (1909), p. 35.

passage does not refer to a case of blood-feud nor yet prove female descent. The banishment of Tlepolemus was probably due simply to the desire to rid the land of one stained with human blood. But with this very important subject we shall deal at length later on.

McLennan's next case is that of Helen, who, when from the wall of Troy she scans the ranks of the Achæans and points out their chieftains to Priam and the Trojan elders, looks in vain for Castor and Pollux—

"Mine own brethren,
Whom both, as also me, one mother bare."

She knew not that the dear land of Lacedaemon that gave them birth had by then clasped them to her breast. "Homer [says Mr McLennan] represents her thoughts as wholly fixed on their common mother." McLennan sought also to support his argument by quoting the passage of the *Iliad*¹ in which Briseïs, as she bewails the dead Patroclus, recites her own sorrows—the loss of her husband, and "of three beloved brethren too (one mother bare us)." He likewise points out the stress laid on the epithet *ὁμογάστριος*, 'of the same womb,' as contrasted with *ὁπατρός*, 'of the same father,' which is only used twice². But, as Helen and her brothers were the children of Tyndareos, the last king of the ancient Pelasgian line of Lacedaemon, the argument *quantum valet* indicates that the Pelasgians and not the Achæans reckoned kinship through the mother. Briseïs likewise is not Achæan, for she was wife of Mynes king of Lyrnessus in the Troad³.

Finally he quotes the words of Apollo⁴:

"One right dear,
Either a brother born of self-same womb,
Or even a son."

From this McLennan infers that "Homer attaches superior importance to the tie through the mother." Though it may turn out that the aborigines of Greece did trace descent through

¹ *XIX.* 291 *sqq.*

² *Il.* *XIX.* 60, 296 *sqq.*

³ *Il.* *XL.* 257, *XLII.* 371.

⁴ *Il.* *XXIV.* 47.

women, this passage does not imply anything more than what holds generally true in our modern life,—that there is usually a closer bond of affection between brothers by the same mother than between half-brothers by different mothers.

"The beggar Arnaeus," says McLennan, "got his name through his mother." But the Greek of the passage¹ does not mean that Arnaeus was called after his mother, but merely that she named him:—"Arnaeus was his name, for so had his good mother given it him at his birth, but all the young men called him Irus, because he ran on errands." Yet the fact of the mother naming the child is no more proof that descent was traced through females than if one were to attempt to show that the same rule exists in modern England, relying on the fact that bastards usually bear their mother's name. But in communities where descent is traced through males even children born in wedlock are constantly named by the mother and not by the father, a practice which can be abundantly proved from the Icelandic Sagas. Thus we read in *Burnt Njal*² that "in the summer after the wedding Hallgerda gave birth to a girl, and Glum (her husband) asked her what name it was to be called. She shall be called after my father's mother, and her name shall be Thorgerda, for she came down from Sigurd, Fafnir's-bane on the father's side according to the family pedigree. So the maiden was sprinkled with water and had this name given her." Nor can it be said that Hallgerda had the right of naming the child in this case because it was a daughter. For "the son begotten between Unna, daughter of Fiddlemord, and Valgard, her second husband, was called Mord after his mother's father³." Again, Thorgerda, when delivered of a boy, sends to her mother Hallgerda, to know whether she shall call him Glum or Hauskuld⁴. Finally Hrolf the Ganger himself was named after Hrolf Nefia, his mother Hild's father⁵.

¹ *Od.* xviii. 5—7.

² *The Saga of Burnt Njal*, chap. xiv.

³ *ibid.* chap. xxv. Njal had a bastard son Hauskuld by a woman named Rodny, daughter of Hauskuld. The bastard was thus called after his mother's father.

⁴ *ibid.* chap. lviii.

⁵ *Heimskr.* (Saga Lib.) vol. i. p. 117.

Another passage cited by McLennan has just as little value¹:—

Then in their palace
Anon the father and the lady mother
Did call their daughter 'Alcyone' for surname;
Because, forsooth, her mother had the fate
Of mournful Alcyon, and like her did weep
When the far-darting king, Apollo Phoebus,
Carried her daughter off.

But the naming of a child in reference to the sorrow of its mother has just as little value as evidence for succession being through father or mother as the naming of Sir Tristram of Liones, the lover of the fair Isoud, at the request of his mother who when dying at his birth entreated her husband Meliodas "to let call him Tristram, as a sorrowful birth²," or the fact that Rachel when dying named the babe Benoni, "Son of my sorrow" (though his father changed it to Benjamin), or the name Peregrine given to the brave Lord Willoughby of the famous English ballad by his father and mother because he was born when they were in exile to escape the persecution of the Protestants by Queen Mary Tudor, or the naming by Moses of his son Gershom (*stranger*) because the latter was born when his father was a sojourner in the land of Midian.

We now come to the pedigree of Glaucus and Sarpedon: Sisyphus begets Glaucus, who begets Bellerophon, who married the daughter of the king of Lycia, and by her had Isander (who was slain), Hippolochus and Laodamia. Hippolochus begat Glaucus, whilst Laodamia brought forth Sarpedon from the embraces of Zeus. "Sarpedon [says McLennan] is the leader of the Lycian allies, and Glaucus is but one of his lieutenants! The daughter's son is the chief, and the agnate the inferior³."

Such then is all the evidence in favour of female kinship which McLennan could glean from Homer. The examples of Irus and Alcyone, as we have seen, have little value, whilst the instance of Tlepolemus has no weight at all. The same holds good for the story of Helen and her brothers, and also for that of Meleager and his mother's brothers, as we shall soon see

¹ *Il.* ix. 561 *sqq.*

² Malory, *Le Morte d'Arthur*, Bk. viii. c. 1.

³ *Il.* vi. 150—210.

(pp. 17 *sqq.*). The remaining examples are Asiatic: Lycaon is Trojan, and therefore not Achean, whilst Sarpedon and Glaucus—the only undoubted piece of evidence cited from the poems—are Lycians. But, as we have shown that this people were the close congeners of the aborigines of Greece, no argument touching the practice of the Achæans can be founded on their pedigree. But even if much stronger evidence of female kinship could have been drawn from the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, this would not prove that the Achæans had that custom. For we have seen that not only the language and metre is that of the older race, but many of their legends appear in the background of the poems.

Let us now on the other hand examine the evidence available for deciding what rule of succession prevailed in the great Achean houses. All readers of Homer remember the patronymics. These are found to be especially applied to the leading Achean chiefs. Thus Agamemnon and his brother Menelaus are constantly styled the sons of Atreus; Achilles is termed Peleides, Diomedes Tydeides, Odysseus Laertiades, one Ajax is designated Telamonian, or son of Telamon, the other son of Oileus. In the case of at least one of the heroes just enumerated, there was full opportunity for some expression referring to female succession, for Diomedes was son of Tydeus by his marriage with the daughter of Adrastus king of Argos; consequently Diomedes's legal claim to Argos was through his mother. It was quite possible for the poet to have described Diomedes by some phrase which would have indicated that he had succeeded through his mother, if such had been the Achean rule.

It is noteworthy that in the only case in the *Iliad* where a matronymic is used it is applied to the twin heroes Eurytus and Cteatus, whom Nestor terms Moliones after their mother Molione¹. But as they were Epeians from Elis, who are carefully distinguished from the Aetolians², they plainly are not Achæans, but belong to the pre-Achean inhabitants of Elis. This is confirmed by the legend that they were begotten by Poseidon, although in the last cited passage of the *Iliad* they are called Actoriones after Actor their putative human father.

¹ *Il.* xi. 709.

² *Il.* xxiii. 698.

Similarly Pausanias¹ relates that Iphicles, the brother of Heracles, "was wounded by the sons of Actor, who were named after their mother Moline." This indicates that whilst matrilinear descent was the rule amongst the aborigines of Peloponnesus, there was a tendency in Homeric days and later to change over to descent through the father. A somewhat similar instance is supplied by the pedigree of the ancient kings of Pharae in Messenia given by Pausanias². "Pharis, its founder, was son of Hermes and Phylodamia, daughter of Danaus. Pharis had a daughter Telegone, but no sons. The family is traced farther down by Homer in the *Iliad*, who mentions that Diocles had twin sons, Crethon and Ortilochus, and that Diocles himself was a son of Ortilochus son of Alpheus. But Homer omits Telegone: she it was, according to the Messenian legend, who bore Ortilochus to Alpheus." The fact that Telegone is regarded as of primary importance in the native legend, but should be thus ignored by Homer, as there was a tendency in him to ignore Moline the mother of the sons of Actor, is best explained by the incoming of a new race with which patrilinear descent was the rule.

But in the case of all the Achean princes succession from father to son seems to have been the unvarying rule. Each of the great Achean chieftains is represented as having already succeeded to his father or as his father's heir: Agamemnon and Diomedes are examples of the former, Odysseus and Achilles of the latter. Furthermore each of them expects to be succeeded by his own son, and not by a sister's son, or by a brother, as would have been the case, had succession through females been the rule. The story of Odysseus assumes without a shadow of doubt that Telemachus is to succeed his sire. For though the hero anxiously enquired of the shade of Teiresias, if Telemachus had been allowed to retain the chieftainship, or had been deprived of his rights by *force majeure*, his question does not in any way imply that he conceived it possible for any one save his own son to have a legal claim to the chieftainship. From this point of view we can readily understand the curious imprecation put in the mouth of Odysseus—"May my

¹ VIII. 14, 9.

² IV. 30, 2.

head no longer abide on my shoulders, and may I no more be called the father of Telemachus¹." Unless it was recognized as a matter of great importance that a man should have a son to succeed him, there would be little force in these words. The strength of the expression seems to indicate that male succession had been long established and firmly rooted. Similarly an Arab will call himself Abu Muhammad, 'father of Muhammad,' or whatever may be the name of his eldest son.

The same principle is apparent in the anxious enquiries put to Odysseus by the ghosts of Agamemnon and Achilles. The former asks eagerly if his son Orestes has escaped the hands of his father's murderers, and has found safety in Orchomenus or Pylus, but he puts no question concerning the fate of his daughters: yet if the succession passed by females, their safety would have been of primary importance. Achilles interrogated Odysseus with something of the vehemence that he had shown in life—

"E'en in our ashes live our wonted fires"—

in his anxiety to learn how fares his old father Peleus and his son Neoptolemus. His fear that the former may be hard pressed and harried by his neighbours, and his grim and silent satisfaction as he hears that his son is both sage in counsel and valiant in fight, indicate that the patriarchal system was that followed by the Achæans of Phthiotis.

But the most convincing proof of this can be found in the autobiography of Phoenix²:—"When first I left Hellas home of fair women, fleeing from strife against my father Amyntor, son of Ormenus: for he was sore angered with me by reason of his lovely-haired concubine, whom he ever cherished and wronged his wife my mother. So she besought me continually by my knees to go in first unto the concubine, that the old man might be hateful to her. I hearkened to her and did the deed; but my sire was ware thereof forthwith and cursed me mightily, and called the dire Erinyes to look that never should any dear son sprung of my body sit upon my knees: and the gods fulfilled his curse, even Zeus of the underworld and dread Persephone.

¹ *Il.* II. 259, 260, cf. *iv.* 354.

² *Il.* IX. 447 sqq.

Then took I counsel to slay him with the keen sword ; but some immortal stayed my anger, bringing to my mind the people's voice and all the reproaches of men, lest I should be called a father-slayer amid the Achæans." He then narrates how he fled far through Hellas of wide lawns, and how he came to deep-soiled Phthia, mother of flocks, even unto king Peleus ; "and he received me kindly and cherished me as a father cherisheth his only son, his stripling heir of great possessions."

From this passage we may draw several most important inferences. In the first place the Achæans of the original Hellas trace descent through males, as Phoenix recites the names of his father and grandfather ; next, there is a strictly monogamous feeling unequivocally expressed by Phoenix, who held that his father by keeping a concubine wronged his wife. If the Achæans condemned polygamy in men, *a fortiori* they must have regarded polyandry with abhorrence. Moreover the Erinyes follow the father rather than the mother, but this stands in strong contrast to the doctrine which we shall find enunciated by the Athenian Eumenides. Again, Phoenix's hand was stayed from parricide through his dread of being branded among the Achæans as a father-slayer ; yet we shall find the Eumenides contending that the real tie of blood is not between father and son, but between a son and his mother. The father of Phoenix naturally imprecated on his son the heaviest bane that he could imagine. His curse was that Phoenix might never have a son ; but this would have been a *brutum fulmen* had succession through daughters been the Achæan custom. The importance of having a son is further emphasized by the statement of Phoenix that he had adopted Achilles as his foster-son, because he was debarred by his father's malison from any hope of ever having a son of his own body. Finally, all doubt is banished by the words in which Phoenix describes the kindness of Peleus, who cherished him "even as a father cherisheth his only son, his stripling heir of great possessions." Could anything more explicit be desired even by that class of scholars who, being devoid of all literary feeling, regard Homer and other ancient poets as if they were written simply to serve as Manuals of Antiquities and who

find their ideal of what an ancient author ought to be in Becker's *Charicles*?

Yet in this very Thessaly where we have just found the noblest ideal of conjugal fidelity, and where succession through males was the firmly rooted custom, we had clear evidence that among the Pelasgians of Iolcus descent through females was the rule. To explain this difficulty we must either hold that between the age of Jason and that of Peleus a complete change had taken place from within in the structure of Thessalian society and the manner of reckoning descent, or that the poet has introduced the ideas of a later date into the heroic epoch, or else we must conclude that, as we learn from the *Iliad* that the ancient inhabitants of Thessaly had been recently conquered by the invading Achæans, the difference in the relations of the sexes and the consequent vital difference in the law of descent and inheritance are simply to be accounted for by the fact that the old occupants of Thessaly were on a lower and their conquerors on a higher level of social organization. The two first alternatives are untenable in face of the evidence. If the older system left such formidable survivals down to classical times in Athens, it is absurd to suppose that so great a change could have taken place in a single generation in early Thessaly. It is no less irrational to assume that a poet would have introduced into the epic ideas of succession prevailing in his own age, especially as the poet himself displays a clear knowledge of the existence of succession through women and female kinship not only among the Lycians, but even in the older days of Greece herself. Furthermore, when and where in classical Hellas did society express the strong disapproval of concubinage evinced by the Achæan Phœnix? We may therefore safely conclude that when the Achæans entered Thessaly, they had a monogamous form of life, and that succession through males had long been the custom of their race.

Nor is it only in Thessaly that we find the Achæans observing monogamy, for it is seen in full force in the royal family of Ithaca. Laertes had bought Eurycleia, the faithful nurse of Odysseus, "while as yet she was in her first youth, and

gave for her the worth of twenty beeves. And he honoured her even as he honoured his dear wife in the halls, but he never lay with her, for he shunned the wrath of his lady¹."

Nor must it be forgotten that one of the chief reasons for the summary execution of the handmaids by Odysseus was their unchaste behaviour with the suitors, conduct which, in any society save one which regulated very strictly the sexual relations, would not have been regarded as deserving the extreme penalty. Thus then in Phthiotis, in the ancient Hellas, and in Ithaca the Achæans are represented as rigorous monogamists and with male succession. But the Homeric poems represent these institutions as in full force in Thessaly among the Achæans in the very generation that conquered Pelasgiotis, and which was contemporary, according to the legends, with that of the Pelasgian Jason, whose claim to Iolcus rested, as we saw, on female kinship.

Finally, let us turn to the story of Meleager briefly narrated by Phoenix². All we are there told is that in consequence of the anger of Artemis against Oeneus because "he had not offered her the harvest firstfruits (*thalysia*) on the slope of his garden land, though all the other gods had their feast of hecatombs," the famous boar had committed ravages in Calydon, that in consequence of the slaughter of the beast war had broken out between the Aetolians of Calydon and the Curetes who dwelt in Pleuron, and that the latter besieged the city of Calydon. The Homeric form of the legend is quite incompatible with the later version, which embodies the story of Althæa and the firebrand. It will be noticed that Homer says not a word concerning the gift by Meleager to Atalanta of the spoils of his noble quarry and of the wrath of his mother's brothers that ensued thereupon, and does not speak unambiguously of their slaughter at the hands of Meleager. It is therefore useless to cite this passage to settle any question of kinship in the Homeric age. Nevertheless, on the strength of the late redaction of the story found in Hyginus, McLennan draws an argument from it in favour of female kinship. According to this, when Meleager gave the boar's spoils to

¹ *Od.* i. 430—433.

² *Il.* ix. 527 *sqq.*

Atalanta, his maternal uncles took the trophies from her, on the ground that, if Meleager did not keep them himself, the *aristeia* belonged to them as his next of kin. As they were the brothers of Althaea, it follows that they based their claim on female kinship. Now Althaea was daughter of Thestius, king of the Curetes, a tribe which all writers, both ancient and modern, are agreed in considering as one of the pre-Hellenic peoples of Greece. The Curetes were thus members of the old Pelasgian¹ stock, whilst their neighbours the Aetolians belonged to the new Achean stratum. The Aetolian royal house was fair-haired, as is shown by the lines in the Catalogue which tell why "of the Aetolians Thoas was captain, the son of Andraemon, even of them that dwelt in Pleuron and Olenus and Pylene and Chalcis on the sea-shore and rocky Calydon. For the sons of great-hearted Oeneus were no more, neither did he still live; and golden-haired Meleager was dead, to whose hands all had been committed, for him to be king of the Aetolians²."

It is then not improbable that in the later version of the tale we have a genuine survival of an early time. The Curetes were almost certain to reckon kinship through females, if we are to judge from the analogy of the other Pelasgian peoples. The brothers of Althaea advanced their claim in accordance with the law of their people, whilst their pretensions were treated contemptuously and angrily by Meleager, who even slew them. Meleager's action is readily explained if the customary law of the Aetolians only recognized kinship through males, as amongst the other Achaeans. But the Catalogue proves conclusively that with the Aetolians succession of sons was the rule, for the only reason why Thoas is chieftain of the Aetolians is that the sons of Oeneus were all dead. Nor can it be argued that it was through their mother that Meleager and his brothers enjoyed their right of succession to the sceptre of Calydon. Since Althaea was daughter of Thestius, king of the Curetes, she could not have been the means whereby Oeneus her husband became king of the Aetolians. We may therefore rest assured that male kinship was the rule in the Aetolian tribes.

¹ vol. i. p. 185.

² *Il.* ii. 638 *sqq.*

Furthermore, even if we grant that in the Homeric version Meleager had slain his mother's brothers, probably in war, we get a very clear proof that the Aetolians did not reckon kinship through women. For if such had been the rule, his brothers would have been bound to clear off the *agos* created by the shedding of kindred blood and therefore to expel Meleager. We saw that Tlepolemus, in consequence of the homicide of Licymnius, the brother of Alcmena, and therefore his own grand-uncle, had gone into exile for fear of the other sons and grandsons of Heracles (p. 7). Now, if McLennan's view respecting the story of Tlepolemus were sound, it might be argued that, if the same rule of kinship held good among the Aetolians, the brothers of Meleager were just as much bound to slay Meleager as the uncles, brothers, and cousins of Tlepolemus were to put the latter to death. But so far from this being the course pursued with Meleager we are told clearly that he dwelt in great honour in Calydon, and became king over all. And in the very passage which tells of the quarrel Meleager is represented as being in Calydon when it was beleaguered by the Curetes:—"Now so long as Meleager dear to Ares fought, so long it went ill with the Curetes, neither dared they face him without their city walls, for all they were very many." "Then in anger of heart at his dear mother Althaea, he tarried beside his wedded wife." "By her side lay Meleager, brooding on his grievous anger, being wrath by reason of his mother's curses: for she, grieved for her brethren's death, prayed instantly to the gods, and with her hands likewise beat instantly upon the fertile earth, calling on Hades and dread Persephone, while she knelt upon her knees, and made her bosom wet with tears, to bring her son to death; and Erinyes that walketh in darkness, whose heart knoweth not ruth, heard her from Erebus." "Nor was he moved by the entreaty of his aged sire or sisters, nor mother, nor of his comrades that were nearest him and dearest of all men, nor by the elders of the Aetolians, who sent the best of the priests with promise of a mighty gift, a fair domain of fifty ploughgates." All was in vain till his "fair-girdled wife plied him with lamentation, and told him all the woes that come on men whose city is taken."

If McLennan's position were sound, it would follow that, whilst amongst the pre-Achean population kinship through females was the rule, patrilinear succession was certainly the rule of the Aetolians, and we might therefore on that ground infer a difference of race. But if my argument against McLennan's interpretation of the story of Tlepolemus is cogent, the difference in the treatment meted out to Tlepolemus and Meleager respectively was due not to different laws of kinship, which undoubtedly existed, but to the fact that the two races regarded such homicide from very different standpoints.

It thus appears that the warlike tribes who at the dawn of history can be seen entering and subduing the Greek peninsula were far removed from the conditions of the higher polyandry, in which brothers have one wife, as in modern Tibet, and still further from that lower form of polyandry, which is nothing more than regulated promiscuity. On the contrary we have found male kinship and male succession firmly fixed in every case alike:—in Ithaca and the neighbouring mainland occupied by Thesprotian tribes, where we meet the Achæans as they are crossing the threshold of Greece; in the primitive Phthia and in the ancient Hellas, where they are seen immediately after the subjugation of Thessaly; at Mycenæ and Argos, where we find them after the conquest of Peloponnesus; and among the tribes which had not crossed into Thessaly, but had passed southwards from Epirus into the country which was called Aetolia from the tribal name of its conquerors.

How can we account for this fundamental difference between the social laws of the Homeric Achæans and those of the older race of Thessaly? Can this problem find a solution on the hypothesis that the Achæans were a body of invaders from the fair-haired races of upper Europe? If it can be demonstrated that, not only in Attica and Arcadia, the great strongholds of the Pelasgian race, but also among all the melanochrous peoples of the Mediterranean basin, some of whom we have shown to be closely akin to the older inhabitants of Greece, polyandry and female succession were once universal, whilst on the other hand it can be proved that among the peoples of upper Europe and their kinsmen,

who had streamed down over the Alps and settled in Italy, female chastity before and after marriage and male kinship were the rule, then we shall have another strong argument in proof of our contention that the Achæans came from central Europe, and that they were closely akin to the Umbro-Sabellian stock.

The chastity of their women has ever been the glory of the Teutonic peoples. In a famous passage Tacitus¹ has panegyricized the high morality of the German tribes:—"Almost alone among barbarians, they are content with one wife except a very few among them, and these not from sensuality, but because their noble birth procures for them many offers of alliance². The wife does not bring a dowry to the husband, but the husband to the wife. The parents and relatives are present and pass

¹ *German.* 18—20. (Church and Brodribb.)

² It is easy to illustrate this practice from Scandinavia and Ireland. Thus Harold Hairfair, king of Norway (860—933), had no less than eight regular wives (*Heimskringla*, vol. iv. Tab. I, Morris and Magnusson). Rolf and his descendants in Normandy, though nominally Christians, continued to have a strong flavour of paganism and held to the old Norse marriage system. Richard I "the Fearless" had families by several ladies, and did not get the Church to bless his union with Guenora, the mother of Richard II (his successor) and seven others, until the Church objected to Guenora's second son Robert being made Canon of Rouen on the ground that he was not born in wedlock. By this marriage Richard II, Robert the Canon, Emma, queen of England, and the rest of Guenora's children were all held by the Church to be legitimated, as is still the case in Scottish law. But there seems little doubt that Richard's son by another wife, Geoffrey, Count of Eu (the founder of the great House of Clare), was deemed perfectly legitimate by his father and the other Northmen, while it is more than likely that Robert the Magnificent, who had lived publicly with Harlet (or Herleave) in his castle at Falaise, where the Conqueror was born and reared as a prince, regarded the boy as his legitimate heir. Olaf Tryggvison (995—1000), the first Christian king of Norway, married no less than three wives after he had been baptized in the Scilly Isles. The Irish Christian kings seem likewise to have availed themselves of the privileges of the Old Testament dispensation. Thus after the English Conquest and the establishment of the papal supremacy in Ireland (1172), Roderick O'Connor, the last king of all Ireland (1166—98), according to the *Annals of Loch Cé* (A.D. 1233, vol. i. p. 315), was offered by the Pope "right over Erin to himself and his seed after him for ever, and six married wives, provided that he desisted from the sin of the women from thenceforth." Roderick however seems to have preferred his freedom to the Pope's generous allowance, for he had only two wives—Taillten and Dubhchobtach.

judgment on the marriage gifts, gifts not meant to suit a woman's taste, nor such as a bride would deck herself with, but oxen, a bridled steed, a shield, a lance, and a sword. With these presents the wife is espoused, and she herself in her turn brings her husband a gift of arms. These they count their strongest bond of union, these their sacred mysteries, these their gods of marriage. Lest the woman should think herself to stand apart from aspirations after noble deeds and from the perils of war, she is reminded by the ceremony which inaugurates marriage that she is her husband's partner in toil and danger, destined to suffer and to dare with him alike both in peace and in war. The yoked oxen, the harnessed steed, the gift of arms proclaim this fact. She must live and die with the feeling that she is receiving what she must hand down to her children, neither tarnished nor depreciated, what future daughters-in-law may receive, and may be so passed on to her grandchildren. Thus, with their virtue protected, they live uncorrupted by the allurements of public shows or the stimulants of feasting. Clandestine correspondence is equally unknown to men and women. Very rare for so numerous a population is adultery, the punishment for which is prompt, and in the husband's power. Having cut off the hair of the adulteress and stripped her naked, he expels her from the house in presence of her kinsfolk, and then flogs her through the village. The loss of chastity meets with no indulgence; neither beauty, youth, nor wealth will procure the culprit a husband....In some states only maidens were given in marriage, and there the hopes and expectations of a bride are then finally terminated. They receive one husband, as having one body and one life, that they may have no thoughts beyond, no further-reaching desires, that they may love, not so much the husband, but the married state. To limit the number of their children or to destroy any of their subsequent offspring is accounted infamous, and good habits are here more effectual than good laws elsewhere. In every household the children, naked and filthy, grow up with those stout limbs and frames which we so much admire. Every mother suckles her own offspring, and never entrusts it to servants or nurses.

The young men marry late, and their vigour is thus unimpaired. Nor are the maidens hurried into marriage; the same age and a similar stature is required; well-matched and vigorous they wed, and the offspring reproduce the strength of the parents. Sisters' sons are held in as much esteem by their uncles as by their fathers; indeed, some regard the relation as even more sacred and binding, and prefer it in receiving hostages, thinking thus to secure a stronger hold on the affections and a wider bond for the family. But every man's own children are his heirs and successors, and there are no wills. Should a man have no issue, the order of succession is brothers, uncles on the father's side (*patrui*), then uncles on the mother's side (*avunculi*)."

Nor can it be said that this description of the Germans is the highly coloured picture drawn by a moralist who wished to deepen by force of contrast the blackness of Roman vice. No one will accuse Julius Caesar of being a strait-laced purist, and yet a century and a half before Tacitus he testified no less strongly to the chastity of the German youths and maidens, pointing out the lateness of their adolescence, a circumstance to which the Germans ascribed their own great stature and strength¹, that in their estimation a man could not commit a more disgraceful act than to have carnal knowledge of a woman before he was twenty, and that this was not due to any stringent precautions of a false modesty; for they bathed in the rivers together, whilst in ordinary life their only clothes were skins or scanty cloaks of reindeer hide, thus leaving the body practically naked. To the dissolute Roman himself "twice married before he was twenty and many times after," the splendid morality of the German youths must have been still more striking than even their magnificent physique.

In the method of purchasing wives the Teutonic tribes who settled in Britain resembled their kinsmen on the Continent,

¹ *B. G.* vi. 21: qui diutissime impuberes permanserunt, maximam inter suos ferunt laudem: hoc ali staturam, ali vires nervosque confirmari putant. Intra annum vero vicesimum feminae notitiam habuisse in turpissimis habent rebus; cuius rei nulla est occultatio, quod et promiscue in fluminibus perluuntur, et pellibus aut parvis renonum tegimentis utuntur, magna corporis parte nuda.

and the use of cows in such transactions survived in the Laws of Ethelbert¹ king of Kent: "If a man buy a maiden with cattle, let the bargain stand, if it be without guile; but if there be guile, let him bring her home again, and let his property be restored to him." Down to our own day a very similar social system and a like high morality exists amongst the Ossetes of Transcaucasia, a blond race of undoubted European origin. These people call themselves Ir and Iron and their country Ironistan. According to Haxthausen², "the physiognomy, figure and whole outward appearance of the Ossetes form a perfect contrast to the surrounding Caucasian tribes, especially the Georgians." The Ossetes are short and thickset, usually having blue eyes and red or light brown hair. The men have the heavy tread of the German peasant and reminded Haxthausen of the Swabian country-folk. There can be little doubt that they are Europeans. Not only do their own vague traditions declare that they entered their present home from the north, having previously dwelt in what is now Circassia, but the Georgian annals assert that the Ossetes came from the banks of the Don, and Ptolemy mentions them as living at the mouth of that river. Only a small number of them are baptized, but though some pass as Muhammadans, some as Christians, they are really semi-pagans, some being wholly and avowedly heathen. "They differ," says Haxthausen, "from almost all the other Caucasian races in placing no restraint upon social intercourse between the sexes; but it never occurs that a girl loses her chastity before marriage." He points out that their domestic habits bear a strong resemblance to those of the nations of Europe. Even their custom of purchasing the wife does not indicate her slavery, for her consent must be obtained before the marriage can take place. The father of the suitor, or, if he is not living, some elderly relative, goes to the parents of the girl and informs them of the young man's wish. If they consent, the girl is asked: if she does not consent, the match is at an end. But if her answer should be in the affirmative, the bridegroom makes his appearance with his father, and woos for

¹ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutes of England*, p. 9 (Law 77).

² *Transcaucasia* (English trans., 1854), pp. 394, 400, 402, 413—14.

himself, and the price agreed upon, consisting generally of cattle and arms, is handed over to the father or brother of the bride. When a man dies, the wife and saddle-horse of the deceased are led round the grave three times, as the sign that they were his most individual property, and that they cannot pass into other hands. From that time the horse must never be mounted by another rider, and the wife cannot marry again. The free social intercourse permitted to the young people of both sexes, the chastity of the maidens, the method of wooing, and the prohibition of the remarriage of widows are practically identical with the habits of the ancient Germans.

The bravery and devotion of the women of the fair-haired races, be they termed Celts or Germans, are too familiar to call for much illustration. Thus, when the Teutones and the Ambrones were overthrown at Aquae Sextiae, their wives slew first their children and then themselves that they might not survive their husbands and become the prey of the victor.

The same noble devotion of wife to husband meets us in the sagas of the North. Thus, in the story of *Burnt Njal*, when Flosi and his men had set Njal's house on fire, but permitted the women and children to escape, Flosi said to Bergthora: "Come thou out, housewife, for I will for no sake burn thee indoors." Bergthora replied, "I was given away to Njal young, and I have promised him this, that the same fate should pass over us." Her resolve was fast. And then the old couple laid them down in their bed for that endless rest for which Njal had long been fain¹. No less devoted to their wives were Norsemen in like circumstances². There had been a long struggle for the Orkneys and Caithness between the two fierce earls Rognvald and Thorfinn, in which the latter proved the victor and the former took refuge in Norway. Thorfinn and his wife Ingibjorg then dwelt quietly in Hrossey, the chief of the Orkneys, with no thought of danger. But in the winter of 1046 Rognvald suddenly returned, and before any one was aware had seized all the doors of the house. It was night and most of the men were asleep, but the earl sat

¹ *The Story of Burnt Njal*, CXXVIII.

² *Orkneyingers' Saga*, Dasent's trans., pp. 52—3.

then still a-drinking. Rognvald and his men at Thorfinn's request allowed the unfree men and the women to pass out, and the house was soon ablaze. Thorfinn then broke away a wainscot panel at the back of the house and sprang out with Ingibjorg in his arms. The night was pitchy dark, and under the cover of the smoke he got away unnoticed, made his way to the shore, found a boat, and rowed right over that night to the Ness. There he and his wife were in hiding for a while, but just before Christmas he in turn surprised Rognvald and his men in Little Papey; Rognvald indeed himself escaped the flames, but only to be taken and slain.

The statement that sisters' sons were held in as much esteem by their uncles as by their fathers has led many to suppose that with the Germans, as amongst many other peoples, succession was traced through females. Yet, if this had been the general rule among the Teutonic tribes, a man's heirs ought to have been not his own children but those of his sister. Even supposing that they had passed beyond this primitive rule, which prevails among the Osmanli Turks and many races of to-day, and that a man's own children were his heirs, his next heirs in default of children or brothers ought to have been his sister's son and his mother's brother. But the statement of Tacitus, though brief, is clear on the Teutonic law of succession. It practically coincides with that of the Romans. In Roman law¹ a man who died intestate was succeeded first by *sui heredes*, his own children (or those who stood to him in the position of children) who were *in potestate* at the time of his death; in default of such, the inheritance (*hereditas*) passed to the *agnati*. The agnates are those related through male persons to the intestate, that is, related through the father, i.e. a brother sprung from the same father, that brother's son or the latter's son, likewise his father's brother (*patruus*), that uncle's son or the latter's son. But those who were related to the intestate through females are not agnates, but only cognates. Accordingly, they only inherit through failure of *sui heredes* and *agnati*. Thus an *avunculus* and a sister's son (*sororis filius*) were not agnates, but cognates.

¹ Gaius III. 1 *sqq.*

The words in which Tacitus describes the law of inheritance make it clear that the principle of agnation was firmly established among the Germans, and that it was only in default of male heirs on the father's side that a man's inheritance passed to his mother's family. Is it possible to find a reasonable solution for the remarks of the historian in reference to the close bond between a sister's son and his uncle?

The explanation of the apparent difficulty might be found in the statement of Tacitus that *some* held this tie especially sacred. Now as there were tribes living in the region included by Tacitus under the name Germania who were not Germans in race, and as the German tribes on various sides were in contact with, and were contaminated by, neighbouring races who had the practice of polyandry and succession through females, it is probable that the tribes who held in such respect the relationship referred to were not Germans at all. Thus the Sitones, who lived next the Suiones in north-east Germany, were ruled by a woman¹. About the tribes of the Peucini, the Veneti, and Fenni, Tacitus was in doubt whether he should class them with the Germans or Sarmatae, although indeed the Peucini, called by some Bastarnae, were like Germans in their language, mode of life, and in the permanence of their settlements. "They all live in filth and sloth, and by the intermarriages of their chiefs they are becoming in some degree debased into a resemblance to the Sarmatae²." These words demonstrate that the Germans on the eastern side were intermixed and debased by Finnish and Sarmatian tribes. Further south a tribe called Agathyrsi, who apparently dwelt in what is now Transylvania³, are described by Herodotus as "a race of men very luxurious, and very fond of wearing gold on their persons. They have wives in common that so they may be all brothers, and as members of one family may neither envy nor hate one another. In other respects their customs approach nearly to those of the Thracians⁴." This people had thus anticipated Plato's famous doctrine. It is quite clear that the Agathyrsi cannot be reckoned as Germanic, for they practised tattooing (p. 39), the absence or presence of which according to Strabo was a true criterion

¹ *Germ.* 45.² *Germ.* 46.³ Herodotus iv. 48; iv. 100.⁴ iv. 104.

of difference between the Celts (Germans) and all the Illyrio-Thracian tribes (vol. I. p. 398).

But the Thracians, as we saw (vol. I. pp. 352—4), were closely connected with the Illyrians and the indigenous people of Greece, although the Getae (and possibly the Trausi) were distinctly part of the fair-haired Celtic population of the Danube area, as were probably the ruling families among most of the Thracian tribes of the aboriginal race (vol. I. pp. 399, 519). This was certainly the case with the royal house of Macedon, since it is clear from Aelian's description¹ that Alexander's beauty was due to his splendid crop of curly blond hair, and he adds that there was something awful in his very beauty. This would account for the fact that in classical times male succession seems to have been general in Thrace and Macedonia, though on the other hand it can be shown that polyandry was universal among the pure Thracians. Herodotus² states that, with the exception of the Getae, Trausi, and those who dwelt above Creston, the Thracians kept no restraint on their maidens, but allowed them to have promiscuous intercourse, whilst they watched them most strictly once they became wives. These Thracians purchased their brides with large sums of money from their parents. If a wife thought herself ill-treated, her parents might take her back on returning the sum paid for her³.

It is thus clear that, on several sides at least, the fair-haired tribes of upper Europe were in constant contact and were often intermixed with races who practised polyandry and traced kinship through women. When, therefore, Tacitus says that among some tribes of Germany the tie between a man and his sister's son was held especially close, he may be referring

¹ *Var. Hist.* xii. 14: 'Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Φιλίππου ἀπραγμόνως ὦραλον γενέσθαι λέγουσι, τὴν μὲν γὰρ κόμην ἀνασεύσθαι αὐτῷ, ξανθὴν δὲ εἶναι· ὑπαναφύεσθαι δὲ τι ἐκ τοῦ εἶδους φοβερόν τῷ Ἀλεξάνδρῳ λέγουσιν. Liddell and Scott (ed. 8) are wrong in translating ἀνασεύσθαι "to be drawn back" in this passage. The portraits of Alexander represent him with curly hair and not with his hair drawn back, cf. Ridgeway, *Proc. Camb. Phil. Soc.* 1911, p. 10.

² v. 6: τὰς παρθένους οὐ φυλάσσουσι, ἀλλ' ἐῷσι τοῖσι αὐταὶ βούλονται ἀνδράσι μίσγεσθαι. τὰς δὲ γυναῖκας ἰσχυρῶς φυλάσσουσι καὶ ἀνέονται τὰς γυναῖκας παρὰ τῶν γονέων χρημάτων μεγάλων.

³ Heraclides Pont. *Fr.* 28; *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ii. p. 220.

to some non-Teutonic tribes who lived within the limits of what he termed Germania.

But we must not rashly conclude that, wherever we meet any allusion in history to the special closeness of the tie between a sister's son and his maternal uncle, this is at all a sure indication that at no distant time succession through females had been the rule. Nay, on the contrary, such a custom may be a strong indication that male succession has long been the practice. In communities which follow the latter rule, especially in rude times, when force too often overrides the better cause, there is a strong reason why the bond between a young man and his maternal uncle should be far closer than that between him and his paternal uncle. In illustration of the passage of Tacitus with which we are concerned, the commentators have quoted from the *Nibelungenlied*¹ the words in which Attila commends his young son to his wife's brothers. As Attila was a Hun and not a German, the example lacks cogency. The commentators might however have cited many instances from the annals of true Teutonic peoples. Thus when the great Norse king Harold Hairfair succeeded his father at the age of ten, his mother's brother Guthorm "was made ruler of his body-guard and of all matters pertaining to his lands; withal he was duke of the host²." Still more notable is the case of William the Conqueror. He was but a mere child when the news of the death of his father Robert the Magnificent on his return journey from Jerusalem reached Normandy; his paternal kindred made numerous attempts to murder him and slew his guardians, but, owing to the care of his mother's brother, he survived all their plots. According to Ordericus Vitalis³, as the Conqueror lay dying he said: "Often was I taken secretly from the chamber of my palace by my uncle Walter, through fear of my own relations, and brought to the dwellings of the poor that I might escape from the traitors who sought my death." Walter was brother of William's mother, Herleve (Harlet), the daughter

¹ Str. 1853: swenn ir ze lande rîtet wider an den Rîn, sô sult ir mit in fûeren iwer swester suon und sult ouch an dem kinde vil genaediclichen tuon.

² *Heimskringla* (trans. Morris and Magnusson), vol. i. p. 91.

³ For a full account of the various plots, cf. J. R. Planché, *The Conqueror and his Companions* (1874), vol. i. pp. 12-17.

of a wealthy burgess of Falaise. Attila thus entrusted his son to his maternal uncles because he knew well that these men of all others would take the best care of their nephew, for his death would be to them not a benefit, but a disaster, inasmuch as they would not succeed to the throne in case of his demise, but, on the contrary, would lose the great influence and power which they naturally would possess as the young king's guardians and chief counsellors. On the other hand, if the young heir is committed to the care of his father's brother, the latter, inasmuch as he is the next heir in case his nephew dies without issue, has every temptation to resort to foul play, and either put his nephew to death or, if he shrinks from actual murder, resort to some act of mutilation which may render him unfit for kingship. The murder of his nephews by Richard III, and the alleged blinding of his nephew Arthur by John, are familiar examples of each class in our own history. It is not without significance that the former as a preliminary to his great crime put to death Earl Rivers, the maternal uncle of the young princes, and Lord Richard Grey, their mother's son by a previous marriage, whilst Henry VIII wisely left his son Edward VI under the guardianship of Edward Seymour, brother of Jane Seymour the young king's mother. Seymour, created Duke of Somerset, swayed the destinies of England until his young nephew's death and the accession of Mary deprived him of his power and his head. It is evident that from self-interest Rivers and Somerset had every inducement to safeguard the lives of their nephews, with whose death their own lease of power would be cut short.

How deeply rooted in German soil was the doctrine of male succession is demonstrated by the Salic law:

"In terram Salicam mulieres ne succedant,
 'No woman shall succeed in Salic land'....
 ...The land Salic is in Germany,
 Between the floods of Sala and of Elbe; ...
 Which Salic, as I said, 'twixt Elbe and Sala,
 Is at this day in Germany call'd Meisen.
 Then doth it well appear the Salic law
 Was not devised for the realm of France¹."

¹ Shakspeare, *Hen. V*, Act I. Sc. 2.

We have just remarked that among the ruling classes in Thrace and Macedon male succession was the practice. This presents a strict parallel to what we have already observed respecting the Achæans of Homer and the aboriginal inhabitants of Thessaly. For, while the latter traced descent through females, the new rulers of Thessaly held strongly the doctrine of male succession.

Nor is there any trace of female succession among the tribes who had crossed the Rhine from Germany into Gaul and there became the ruling aristocracy (vol. I. p. 392). As we have already learned from Tacitus that some of the German chiefs in his time had several wives, we need not be surprised to find that, when tribes from beyond the Rhine had become the master race in Gaul, their chiefs regularly practised polygamy. Caesar¹ adds that they had the power of life and death over their wives as well as their children, in other words the most extreme form of the ancient Roman *Patria Potestas*.

Britain and Ireland.

Our preceding inquiries have thus shown that there is no evidence that polyandry was practised among any of the true Celtic peoples of the continent. Yet it has been long held, on the strength of a well known passage of Caesar, that polyandry was a characteristic of the Celts. Caesar states that it was customary among the Britons for ten or twelve men to share their wives with one another, especially brothers with brothers and fathers with sons. The children were held to be the offspring of the woman's first consort. Many years ago the eminent anthropologist L. H. Morgan² pointed out the similarity of this custom to the *punalua* system of the Polynesians of Hawaii. Husbands and wives were jointly intermarried in a *punalua* group, and each of these groups, including the children of the marriages, was a *punalua* family, the one consisting of

¹ B. G. VI. 19: uiri in uxores, sicuti in liberos, uitæ necisque habent potestatem; et cum paterfamilias inlustriore loco natus decessit, eius propinqui conueniunt et, de morte si res in suspitionem uenit, de uxoribus in seruillem modum quaestionem habent ceti.

² *Ancient Society* (1877), p. 430.

several brothers and their wives, the other of several sisters and their husbands. But though of the latter Caesar says nothing, we must not on that account infer that it did not exist. Is Caesar referring to the Belgic tribes of South-eastern Britain? In the same chapter he expressly states¹ that the Britons of Kent differed but slightly in their customs from the Gauls, and he contrasts them with the tribes of the interior of the island, who did not practise agriculture, but lived on the milk and flesh of their cattle and clothed themselves in skins. Nor indeed can it be argued that, because in certain tribes of Britain brothers often had wives in common, this was the national habit of the fair-haired conquerors of Gaul and Britain. On the contrary, there is a very high probability that this was the practice of the older and melanochrous population who had dwelt in the island during the Neolithic, Copper and Bronze Ages².

Though Caesar unfortunately has left us no description of the physical characteristics of the natives of Britain, there can be no doubt at all that in his day there were two main races, one blond and the other dark, exclusive of the Belgic tribes identical with their relations in northern Gaul, who were also undoubtedly fair-complexioned. In the interval between Caesar's invasion (55 B.C.) and the second and more successful attempt to conquer the island commenced by the emperor Claudius in A.D. 43, there is no reason for supposing that any serious change had taken place in the racial elements of the population of Britain. Writing in the last years of the first century of our era Tacitus in the *Life* of his father-in-law

¹ *B. G. v. 14*: ex eis omnibus longe sunt humanissimi qui Cantium incolunt, quae regio est maritima omnis, neque multum a Gallicis differunt consuetudine. Interiores plerique frumenta non serunt, sed lacte et carne viuunt pellibusque sunt uestiti. Omnes uero se Britanni uitro inficiunt, quod caeruleum efficit colorem, atque hoc horridiores sunt in pugna aspectu; capilloque sunt promisso atque omni parte corporis rasa praeter caput et labrum superius. Uxores habent deni duodenique inter se communes, et maxime fratres cum fratribus parentesque cum liberis; sed si qui sunt ex eis nati eorum habentur liberi quo primum uirgo quaeque deducta est.

² Cf. Caesar, *B. G. v. 12*: Britanniae pars interior ab eis incolitur, quos natos in insula ipsi memoria proditum dicunt, maritima pars ab eis, qui praeda ac belli inferendi causa ex Belgio transierant ceteri.

Julius Agricola has left us a brief but invaluable account of the ethnology of the island. Of its general accuracy and reliability we can have no doubt. For Agricola, after having reduced to subjection all the southern part of the island in his third campaign in A.D. 80, "opened up new tribes (*nouae gentes*) and ravaged the native population as far as the Taus (Tay) estuary so called¹." A Roman fleet had also for the first time circumnavigated Britain and "ascertained that it was an island and simultaneously discovered and conquered what are called the Orcades (Orkneys), islands hitherto unknown. Thule was descried in the distance which as yet had been hidden by the snow and storm²." By this last mentioned name, so famous in legend and romance, the Romans knew the Shetlands. Agricola even gleaned some information respecting Ireland (visible to the Romans from Galloway and Cantyre) from a native Irish chief who for the sake of private vengeance tried to play the part more successfully acted by Dermot Macmorrough in 1168.

Here are the historian's words³: "Who were the original inhabitants of Britain, whether they were indigenous or foreign, is, as usual among the barbarians, imperfectly known. Their physical characteristics are various, and from these conclusions may be drawn. The red hair (*rutilae comae*) and the large limbs of the inhabitants of Caledonia point clearly to a German origin. The dark complexion of the Silures, their usually curly hair, and the fact that Spain lies opposite to them, are an evidence that Iberians of a former date crossed over and occupied these parts. Those who are nearest to the Gauls are also like them, either from the permanent influence of original descent, or because, in countries which run out so far to meet each other, climate has produced similar physical qualities. But a general survey inclines us to believe that the Gauls established themselves in an island which was at their very doors. Their religious belief may be traced in the strongly marked British superstition. The language differs but little. There is the same boldness in challenging danger, and, when it is near, the same timidity in shrinking from it. The Britons, however, exhibit more spirit, as being a people whom a long

¹ Agric. 22.² *ibid.* 10.³ *ibid.* 11, 12.

peace has not yet enervated. Indeed, we have understood that even the Gauls were once renowned in war; but after a while sloth following on ease crept over them, and they lost their courage along with their freedom. This too has happened to the long-conquered tribes of Britain; the rest are still what the Gauls once were. Their strength is in infantry. Some tribes fight also with the chariot. The higher in rank is the charioteer: the dependents fight. They were once ruled by kings, but are now divided under chieftains into factions and parties. Our greatest advantage in coping with tribes so powerful is that they do not act in concert. Seldom is it that two or three states meet together to ward off a common danger. Thus, while they fight singly, all are conquered." There can be no doubt of the truth of the historian's sketch of the ethnology of Britain: a Teutonic element in the north-east, a Belgic in the south-east, and the affinity of the melanochrous race predominant in the south and west with the Iberians. His statement has formed the basis for the groundless assumption by modern ethnologists that, as the Basques who speak a non-Indo-European tongue are a survival of the ancient Iberians, accordingly the dark-complexioned race in the British Isles must be non-Indo-European in origin and have spoken a non-Indo-European language. In 1907 the present writer combated this assumption¹, and at a later stage in this volume he will repeat and reinforce the arguments then urged.

As the Roman occupation of Britain was facilitated by inter-tribal jealousies and personal enmities, so in later centuries similar causes made easy for England the path of conquest in Ireland and in Hindustan.

The Romans were astonished at the long summer days of the north when there was practically no night, and Tacitus repeats the story of how the sun is visible above the horizon at the solstice, for reporting which more than four centuries earlier Pytheas of Marseilles had been stigmatized by Polybius and Strabo as "the arch-liar of Greece." It is stated that from the top of Herma Ness, the northern headland of Unst, the most northerly of the Shetlands, the upper edge of the sun's disc can

¹ "Who were the Romans?" (British Academy, 1907), pp. 17 *sqq.*

be seen at midnight in midsummer when the weather is clear. Nor was it only the more striking physical phenomena which attracted the notice of the Roman explorers. The Roman had ever a keen eye for the mineral and other resources of the countries which came within his sphere of influence. They soon discovered that Caledonia produced pearls, and Tacitus remarks upon their grayish colour, which is still the distinctive feature of the Scottish pearls obtained not from oysters but from fresh-water mussels.

From the succinct picture of the various races who in his day formed the population of the island, there can be no doubt that in the south-western and western parts was dominant the dark-complexioned race which he designated Silures from the name of their most powerful tribe, that the Belgae had occupied the south-eastern portion, and that already powerful bodies of Scandinavian or Germanic invaders had become the master race of a large part of what is now Scotland and northern England. As we shall presently see the statements of Tacitus are fully corroborated by the evidence of archaeology.

We have seen the fair-haired peoples conquering and mixing with the various races of eastern and south-eastern Europe who had the customs of polyandry and female succession. We shall now demonstrate that such practices were in vogue amongst the indigenous people of the British Isles and other parts of western Europe.

First of all we can make it clear from Dio Cassius¹ that the Britons who had their wives in common were the tribes of the interior, who tilled not the soil, but subsisted by their herds and by hunting. That historian has left us an invaluable record, for from it can be shown that these tribes differed essentially, not only in their customs but also in their dress and armature, from the Belgic tribes of the south-eastern districts:—"There are two very powerful tribes of Britons, the Maeatae and the Caledonians, and into them the names of the rest, speaking generally, have merged. The Maeatae dwell at the wall which divides the island into two, and beyond them the Caledonians. Each tribe occupies wild and waterless mountains and desert and marshy plains, having neither walls, nor

¹ LXXVI. 12 (*epit. Xiphilini*).

cities, nor agriculture, but subsisting on their herds, the chase, and some kinds of mast, for although there is a plenteous and bountiful supply of fish¹ they will not taste it. Naked and barefoot, they live in bothies, have their women in common², and rear all their offspring. Their form of government is democratic, and they delight in freebooting. They go to war on chariots, inasmuch as their horses are small and swift³, and as footmen they run with exceeding fleetness, and are intrepid in conflict. Their arms are a round shield and a short spear with a bronze apple on the end of the butt-piece to terrify the enemy when it is shaken and rattled⁴. They have likewise daggers. They are capable of enduring hunger and cold and every kind of hardship: for they immerse themselves in the fens, and with only their heads above water they hold out for many days, and in the forests subsist upon bark and roots; and, above all, they prepare a kind of food after eating a morsel of which the size of a bean they feel neither hunger nor thirst."

There can be little doubt that we have here people of the same race as those described by Herodian in a passage⁵ already cited in which he undoubtedly alludes to the Fens of the east of England and their inhabitants (vol. I. p. 605): "Many parts of Britain from being constantly flooded by the tides of the ocean become marshy. In these the natives are accustomed to swim and travel about immersed to the waist, going almost naked; indeed they know not the use of clothing, but encircle their loins and necks with iron, deeming this an ornament and evidence of opulence, just as other barbarians esteem gold. They tattoo their bodies with pictured forms of every sort of animal, and accordingly wear no clothing, that they may not hide the pictures on their bodies." They carried

¹ Probably it is to these same aboriginal tribes that Caesar refers when he says 'leporem et gallinam et anserem gustare fas non putant; haec tamen alunt animi uoluptatisque causa' (B. G. v. 12).

² διατῶνται δὲ ἐν σπηγαῖς γυμνοὶ καὶ ἀνυπόδητοι, ταῖς γυναῖξιν ἐπικοινωνοὺς χρώμενοι καὶ τὰ γεννώμενα πάντα ἐκτρέφοντες.

³ Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, p. 95.

⁴ τὰ δὲ ὅπλα αὐτῶν ἀσπίς καὶ δόρυ βραχὺ, μῆλον χαλκοῦν ἐπ' ἄκρου τοῦ στόρακος ἔχον, ὥστε σειόμενον κτυπεῖν πρὸς κατάπληξιν τῶν ἐναντίων.

⁵ III. 14, 6 sqq.

only a small shield, a spear, and a sword girded to their naked bodies, using neither helmet nor breast-plate, which they held to be only impediments. This contempt for armour they had in common with the Gaels of Ireland, who, as we shall see, were their close kinsfolk. The native Irish down through the Middle Ages continued to despise all such methods of defence, rode without saddles, and had no arms save a round target (vol. I. p. 464, fig. 93) and a javelin.

As has been already remarked, their use of iron for ornaments indicates that they had not long known that metal, which had been introduced into the island by the Belgic tribes. The equipment of the latter, their long iron swords and their oblong scuta, have already been noticed (vol. I. p. 464). We may then with little hesitation assign to the tribes who dwelt in the forests and fens of the island, and who had their wives in common, the short bronze swords or daggers and javelin heads which are found in all parts of the British Isles. Moreover, the statement of Dio Cassius respecting the attachment of a bronze bell or rattle to the butt-piece of the spears employed by the natives of northern Britain gets some confirmation from the fact that bells or rather rattles (Figs. 1 and 2) "formed of a hollow egg-shaped or pear-shaped piece of bronze, with a pebble or piece of metal inside by way of clapper," have been found at Dowris near Parsonstown, King's Co., Ireland, associated with bronze spear-heads, both leaf-shaped and with openings in the blade, war-trumpets, a socketed knife, tanged knives, razors, a broad rapier-shaped dagger-blade, broken swords, a dagger formed from part of a sword, vessels of thin bronze,



Fig. 1. Bronze Rattle; Dowris, King's Co.¹



Fig. 2. Bronze Rattle; Dowris, King's Co.

¹ This and the following figure are from drawings of specimens in the British Museum, kindly made for me by my friend Rev. J. Clarke, M.A., Gonville and Caius College, Anglesey Abbey, Cambridge.

a casting for a hammer-head, various other articles of bronze, and some rubbing-stones¹. There are three of these rattles in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy and four in the British Museum, as well as "a smaller plain bell of the same character and two unfinished castings." The term 'apple' applied to the rattle on the spear-end by Dio Cassius accurately describes one of the specimens in the British Museum (Fig. 2). Sir John Evans compares them to the modern horse-bells, and thinks that "a number of them may have been hung together, and not improbably employed in a similar manner to attract the attention both of the eye and ear." But from the passage of Dio Cassius, which seems hitherto to have escaped the notice of archaeologists, and from the fact that those from Dowris were not found in company with horse-bits or other horse-trappings, but with spear-heads and other weapons, it is more reasonable to suggest that these rattles once served some such purpose as that indicated by the historian. There is moreover a very strong objection to the theory of their being used as horse-bells. The contents of the Dowris hoard prove that it belonged to the Bronze Age, but from a large body of evidence² it is now certain that the use of chariots in both Britain and Ireland cannot be placed before the Early Iron Age. Accordingly the rattles found at Dowris must have been employed for some other purpose. As the statement of Dio Cassius respecting the use of chariots (drawn by horses too small to be ridden) by the northern tribes has been amply confirmed by the discoveries made in Yorkshire barrows³, his statement respecting the attachment of rattles to spears is all the more credible.

It is thus highly probable that those Britons who practised polyandry at the time of Caesar's invasion were the indigenous melanochrous folk who had been either enslaved or driven back from the south-eastern part of the island by the Belgic invaders, and by Scandinavians or Germans in the north and north-east.

¹ Evans, *Bronze Implements*, p. 364, Fig. 446; Wilde, *Catalogue of Museum, Roy. Irish Acad.* p. 612, Fig. 523; E. C. R. Armstrong, *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* 1923, pp. 184 sqq.

² Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, pp. 95—98 etc.

³ *ibid.* p. 95.

The Picts, the Scots, and the Attacotti.

The evidence of Dio Cassius is confirmed in a remarkable degree by the testimony of a later time. In the last century of the Roman occupation of Britain the tribes who dwelt to the north of the Roman Wall seem to have been collectively known as Picts. When we bear in mind that Herodian described the aboriginal British tribes as tattooed, we can readily see how the term *Picti* ('tattooed') came to be applied by the Romans to all the unsubjugated tribes of the north.

It is held by leading Celtic scholars² that the term *Picti* is simply a translation of the native name for the same people, and this view has the support of ancient Irish tradition³. No better statement of this doctrine can be cited than that of the late Prof. H. Zimmer⁴, whose death will long be deplored by all lovers of Celtic studies:—"The Irish name for the Picts is *Cruthen-tuath* (*Cruithen-tuath*) i.e. the *Cruthen*-folk. The individual Pict is called *Cruithne* or *Cruthnech* (*Cruithnech*), two formations from *Cruthen* in *Cruthen-tuath* corresponding to Latin *patrius* and *patricius* from *pater*." In the Irish epic and other early works these three terms are very common. "Etymologically," says Zimmer, "these words are very interesting. From the earliest time down to the present day *cruth* is one of the words most used in Irish and Scottish Gaelic; it means figure, form, and is used to gloss the Latin *forma*. The denominative verb *cruthaigin* occurs in countless glosses of the St Gall Priscian with the meaning 'form.' Hence it is evident that the designation of the Picts as *Cruthen*-folk betokens the same as the Latin *Picti*. *Cruthen-tuath* is 'the folk of the tattoo,' those provided with *cruths*, with figures, with forms."

¹ For *pingere*=tattoo cf. Pomponius Mela, II. 1, 10: *Agathyrsi ora artusque pingunt...iadem omnes notis, et sic ut ablui nequeant*; and Claudian in *Ruf.* I. 313: *membraque qui ferro gaudet pinxisse Gelonus*.

² Rhys, *Celtic Britain*, pp. 236-7.

³ Duaid Mac Firis cited by Dr Todd in his note on the Irish version of Nennius, p. vi.

⁴ 'Das Mutterrecht der Pikten' (*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte*, xv, Röm. Abth., Hermann Boehlau, Weimar), translated by Dr G. Henderson in his *Leabhar nan Gleann* (Edinburgh, Norman Macleod, 1898), pp. 6 sqq.

Now there was the same difference in the representation of Indo-Germanic *Q* between the Gaels and the Brythons, such as the Belgae, as there was between Latin and Umbro-Sabellian; just as Latin *quatuor* = Umbrian and Gaulish *petur* (*petor*), so Gaelic *cethir* (four) = Welsh *pedwr*. Accordingly to the Gaelic *cruth* corresponds old Cymric *prît*, middle Cymric *pryd*, which has the same meaning. Just as the Irish *Cruthne* comes from the proto-Celtic *Crutenios*, so comes the mediaeval Welsh *Prydein* from *Prutenos*, and throughout the Middle Ages down to the present day Britain is called in Welsh *Ynys Prydein*, 'the Isle of the Picts.' It has been held with considerable probability that from this labialized form came the Greek names for the people and the island itself, *Βπερᾶννολ*, *Βπερᾶννικαὶ νῆσοι*, *Βπερᾶννᾱ*, the later Greek *Βριταννολ*, and the Latin *Britanni* and *Britannia*. As both Greeks and Romans would probably have first heard the name of the islands from the labializing Belgic tribes of Gaul they would thus have taken over the form with *P* or *B*. If the derivation from *cruth* were certain, Britons would then simply mean 'painted' or 'tattooed' men. Claudian¹ indeed represents Britannia herself as tattooed, not merely that part of the island north of the Wall of Hadrian, but also the southern part held by the Romans:

inde Caledonio uelata Britannia monstro
ferro picta genas, cuius uestigia uerrit
caerulus Oceanique aestum mentitur amictus:
"me quoque uicinis pereuntem gentibus" inquit,
"muniuit Stilicho, totam cum Sootus Hibernen
mouit et infesto spumauit remige Tethys";

but the same writer² speaks of the Roman legionaries who had been left to guard Britain as "scanning the strange devices on the dying Picts" as though they were not accustomed to see such in Roman Britain.

But a doubt arises respecting this tempting explanation. It does not seem likely that people who practised tattooing universally would call themselves the 'Tattooed Folk' but

¹ *de cons. Stilichonis lib. sec. 247-52.*

² *Bell. Goth. 418: perlegit exanimis Picto moriente figuras.*

rather by a series of separate tribal and clan names. It is more likely on the whole that such a nickname would be given to them from this peculiarity either by the Belgic tribes of Gaul, who did not themselves tattoo, or by the Romans, when either of these peoples first came into contact with the aborigines of Britain. None of the peoples of West Africa call themselves 'Negroes' or 'Blacks,' nor did any of the Indian tribes of North America style themselves 'Redskins.' Such appellations are rather terms of contempt given by strangers. Again the sect generally known as 'Quakers' always describe themselves as 'The Society of Friends.' On the other hand, when we recollect that there was a powerful British tribe called the Coritani who stretched from the Humber to Northamptonshire and who were thus in immediate contact with the Belgic tribes in their advance inwards and upwards from the south-east and east, there is much to be said for the suggestion that in the Gaelic *Cruithne* we have but the native name written by the Romans as Coritani. It is highly probable that it is a portion of the same Coritani who appear under the name Coriotani on a Roman inscription found at Hexham, for the form Coriotani seems only a variant. In this case these people also occupied the northern region where dwelt the Picts of later times. It is quite possible that, although the Coritani were living in the middle of England at the time of the Roman occupation, they may have dwelt much farther south until driven back by the Belgic invasion. The name of the first or of the most important tribe met by foreigners is often applied by them to the whole body of peoples behind, as was done by the Romans in the cases of the Germani, the Maetae, and the Caledones, and by the Turks and other Moslems in the use of Frank to designate all European Christians. But, though the Belgic tribes before their invasion of Britain may have known the Coritani as a powerful tribe, and called them and their island something like *Bretanni* or *Britanni* in their own labializing tongue, and, though the Coritani in Caesar's time were one of the tribes of the interior which practised tattooing, it does not follow that their tribal name was derived from *cruth* = 'figure,' for it may have come

from a similar word with an altogether different meaning. It may therefore be safer to rest content with taking *Britanni* as the old Cymric equivalent of the form from which the Romans took *Coritani*, and to hold that the Romans did not translate the native name, but simply dubbed all the aboriginal folk who tattooed by the same epithet *Picti* = 'tattooed,' which they applied to other peoples who had that practice, such as the *Agathyrsi* and *Geloni*.

There can be no doubt that the practice of tattooing survived in Northumbria, once the land of the *Coriotani*, amongst the people there who had been for some time nominally Christians, and this in spite of the efforts of the Church to abolish it along with other relics of paganism. This is proved by a letter from George, bishop of Ostia to Pope Hadrian I, of which we will speak below (p. 45). In a later part of this work the survival of tattooing amongst peoples long under Muhammadan or Christian influence will be treated at length. But we may here mention that it is still practised by the Berbers and the Fellaheen of Palestine, whilst it persists amongst Christians in the Balkan. Strabo states that all the Illyrian and Thracian tribes tattooed, but none of the Celtic, a very important ethnological criterion. It survives in Bosnia and Herzegovina, but only amongst Latin Catholics, the Greek not using it except under Latin influence. As some of the marks used are cruciform, Truhelka¹ thought that the practice had arisen only since the Turkish conquest, the priests wishing to have their people indelibly marked with the Cross. But as the Greek Catholics are Slavs (who never tattooed) converted by Cyrillus, there can be no doubt that the practice has come down from the Illyrians.

Nor was it only in Scotland that people termed *Cruthne* were known, for the primitive inhabitants of the north-east corner of Ireland, to-day comprised in the counties of Antrim and Down, are frequently so called in ancient Gaelic epics and other early documents. Thus in the version of the *Tain Bo Cualnge* in the Book of the Dun Cow (*Leabhar na h-Uidhri*)

¹ *Wiss. Mittheilungen aus Bosnien*, vol. iv (1896), pp. 498 sqq.

Meadhbh the queen of Connaught had devastated the territory of the Ulster men and of the Cruithne as far as Dun Sobarach (Dunseverick) on the north coast of Antrim¹. In two other passages of the same tale in the version of the Book of Leinster this raid into the north-east of Ireland is described as the "devastation of the men of Ulster and the Cruithne." According to Muirchu's notes on St Patrick (*circa* 690), preserved in the Book of Armagh, a place termed *mons Mis*, the Latinized form of Sliab Mis, the modern Slemish in Co. Antrim, was in the territory of the *Cruidnei*. Comgell, abbot of Bangor in Ireland, the contemporary and friend of St Columba and the teacher of St Gall and of Columbanus, on the authority of Columba and Adamnan² was certainly of Pictish descent, and it is an ascertained fact that he was born in the Co. Down *circa* 517. The Annals of Tigearnach and the Annals of Ulster both refer to Cruithne in that region. These various passages clearly prove the existence of two distinct races in north-east Ireland, "the Ulster men," that is the Scoti, and "the Cruithne," the dark aboriginal population.

Let us now return to Britain. It is in the reign of Constantine the Great that we first meet with the term Picti. It was used by the Gaulish panegyrist Eumenius (A.D. 310) and from this time onwards it became with the Latin writers a general designation for all the tribes of northern Britain, whether they were tattooed or not. According to Ammianus Marcellinus³, by the year 368 the Picts were divided into two chief groups—the Dicalydones and the Verturiones. These, with the Scoti and Attacotti, played a leading part in the last days of Roman domination in the island. The Scoti, with whom we shall soon become so familiar in the Irish annals and of whose descents in company with the Attacotti upon Scotland, England and Armorica we shall have to speak (p. 538), first come

¹ Lu, 70a, 33: for *sligi Midluachra dino do choidsi doindriud Ulad ocus Cruithne condice Dunsobairoche*.

² *Vita Columbae*, I. 49.

³ XXVII. 8: *eo tempore Picti in duas gentes divisi, Dicalydonas et Verturiones, itidemque Attacotti bellicosa hominum natio et Scoti per diversa uagantes multa populabantur*.

on the stage in Britain in A.D. 360¹, when the Picts ravaged the district extending from the territories of the independent tribes to the Wall of Hadrian, whilst the Scoti seem to have occupied part of the mountain region of Wales on the coast opposite to Ierne (Ireland), from whence they came.

Now Bede² describes the population of Britain as consisting of Britons, who dwelt in the southern part of the island, and of Picts, who dwelt in the northern:—"In process of time Britain, besides the Britons and Picts, received a third nation, the Scots, who migrated from Ireland under their leader Reuda, and either by fair means or by force of arms secured to themselves those settlements among the Picts which they still possess. From the name of their chief they are to this day called Dalreudins; for in their language Dal signifies a part."

The historian here refers to the settlement of Scoti from north-east Ireland which took place in the fifth century in what is now Argyllshire, an event which had a far-reaching influence on the history of northern Britain, for it led to the consolidation which in course of time was to bestow on that region the name of Scotland. At the same period the Angles established themselves on the east coast north and south of Hadrian's Wall and founded the two English states of Deira and Bernicia, which later were incorporated into the kingdom of Northumbria. The Scoti once firmly planted in Argyllshire continually strove to subdue the original Picts to the north of the Firths of Clyde and Forth, whilst the Angles on their part sought similarly to conquer their British neighbours south of the great estuaries. By the time of Bede northern Britain had fallen into four main divisions, two of which lay north of the Firths of Clyde and Forth—the Scoti on the west and the Pictish on the east, the mountains separating them from each other. The remaining two states lay south of the great inlets—that of the Cymry

¹ Ammianus Marc. xx. 1: consulatu uero Constantii decies, terque Iuliani, in Brittanniis cum Scottorum Pictorumque gentium ferarum excursus, rupta quiete conducta, loca limitibus uicinis uastarent, et implicaret formide provincias praeeteritarum cladum congerie fessas, hiemem agens apud Parisios Caesar distractusque in sollicitudines uarias uerebatur ire subsidio transmarinis, ut retulimus ante fecisse Constantem.

² *Hist. Eccl.* i. 1.

comprising the Scottish counties of Dumfries, Ayr and Lanark, and the English counties of Cumberland and Westmoreland, whilst on the east lay the Anglian kingdom of Northumbria. In the confusion created by the descents of the Vikings from the eighth century onwards the Scotie king Kenneth Mac-Alpin about 844 achieved the final conquest of the Picts and thus united under his authority all Scotland north of the great estuaries.

As *dal* = 'part' is certainly the same word as the German *Theil* 'part,' and English *dole*, there can be no doubt that the Scoti spoke an Aryan language, whilst it may be inferred from the fact that the name 'tattooed' is confined to the Picts that, like all the Celtic (Teutonic) tribes, they did not practise tattooing. Bede elsewhere in his history divides the Picts into Southern (*australes*) and Northern (*septentrionales*)¹, whom he also terms *transmontani*².

There can be no doubt that the southern Picts still practised tattooing in the time of Bede, as this custom certainly survived in Northumbria down to the eighth century in spite of the efforts of the Church to abolish it and other relics of paganism. Amongst the Alcuinian letters is preserved one from George, bishop of Ostia, to Pope Hadrian I, in which he gives that pontiff an account of his embassy to Britain in 786³. Two synods were held in his presence, one of which was in Northumbria, and the canons passed at it are enumerated. The nineteenth of these deals with pagan rites which were still observed: "If there is any survival of pagan rites, let it be plucked away, despised and flung out, for God made man's body comely in beauty and in aspect, but the pagans by the instigation of the devil have covered it with the foulest scars, as Prudentius saith:

¹ *Hist. Eccl.* III. 4.

² *ibid.* v. 9.

³ Alcuin, *Epist.* 3, XIX, Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Epist.* t. IV; cf. *Archæologia Aeliana*, XXI (1899), pp. 259—80, 'Northumbria in the 8th century,' by Rev. Canon H. E. Savage:—

Si quid ex ritu paganorum remansit, auellatur, contemnatur, abiciatur. Deus enim formavit hominem pulchrum in decore et specie; pagani vero diabolico instinctu cicatrices teterrimas superinduxerunt, dicente Prudentio: Tinxit et innocuum maculis sordentibus humum....Certe si pro Deo aliquis hanc tincturæ iniuriam sustineret, magnam inde remunerationem acciperet.

'He had dyed with filthy spots the harmless clay.' Assuredly, if for the sake of God one should endure the outrage of this dyeing, he would receive a great recompense."

Beyond question we have here a reference to the practice of tattooing. The other heathen practices censured by the canons were the wearing of clothes *more gentiliū*, the mutilation of horses by slitting their nostrils, tying their ears and docking their tails, the casting of lots to decide disputes, and the eating of horseflesh. The last was also the chief practice forbidden to the Norsemen by Olaf Tryggvison, and to the Icelanders by Thangbrand, son of Willibald, a count of Saxony, the militant missionary sent by Olaf Tryggvison, when the old faith had been cast away in Norway after the death of Jarl Hakon¹.

We can now have little doubt that in the Picts of Ammianus, Claudian and Bede we have the aboriginal melanochrous people of the northern part of Britain, and that they accordingly were in the main the descendants of the tribes described by Dio Cassius and Caesar as practising polyandry. Now Bede, when relating the legend of the first contact between the Picts and Scots, tells us how "the Picts had no wives and asked them of the Scots; the latter would not consent to grant them upon any other terms than that, when a difficulty should arise, they should choose a king from the female royal race rather than from the male: which custom, as is well known, has been observed among the Picts to this day²." As Bede (*circa* 673—735) was writing in the first half of the eighth century, there can be no doubt that the Picts still had at that date the rule of succession through women, whilst his words make it no less clear that the Scoti had maintained in their new homes in Scotland that strict observance of succession through males which, as we shall see, was their practice in Ireland.

This statement can be substantiated by an examination of the historical part of the list of the Pictish kings, which

¹ *Burnt Njal*, xcvi, cr; cf. *Heimskringla*, vol. i. pp. 169—71 (Morris and Magnusson).

² ut, ubi res perueniret in dubium, magis de feminea regum prosapia, quam de masculina regem sibi eligerent; quod usque hodie apud Pictos constat esse seruatum (*Hist. Eccl.* i. 1).

exhibits a very striking peculiarity in the order of succession, for brothers who are sons of the same father succeed each other, and "it does not present a single instance throughout the whole period of the Pictish kingdom of a son directly succeeding his father¹." In the poem attached to the Irish Nennius it is laid down "that from the nobility of the mother should always be the right to the sovereignty"; and in the prose legends, "that the regal succession amongst them for ever should be on the mother's side"; "that not less should territorial succession be derived from men than from women for ever"; "so that it is in right of mothers they succeed to sovereignty and all other successions"; "that they alone should take of the sovereignty and of the land from women rather than from men in Cruithintuath for ever"; "that of women should be the royal succession among them for ever." "These statements," says Mr Skene, "when compared with the actual succession, lead to this: that brothers succeed each other in preference to the sons of each, not an unusual feature in male succession; but, on their failure, the contingency alluded to by Bede arose, and the succession then passed to the sons of sisters, or to the nearest male relation on the female side, and through a female." Moreover, the names given in the list as those of the fathers of the kings differ entirely from those of their sons, and in no case does a son who reigns bear the same name as that of any one of the fathers in the list. The names of the reigning kings are in the main confined to four or five. There are six Drusts, five Talorgs, three Nectans, two Galans, six Gartnaidhs, four Brudes, and these never appear among the names of the fathers of kings, nor does the name of a father occur twice in the list. Further, in two cases we know that while the kings who reigned were termed respectively Brude and Talorcan, the father of one was a Briton, of the other an Angle. The former, termed Brude Mac Bile, was the son of a Welshman, king of the Britons of Strathclyde. In an old poem this Brude is called son of the king of Ailcluaide, that is, of Dumbarton. Talorcan Macainfrit was son of Ainfrit, son of Aethelfrith the

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. pp. 232—4; *Chron. Picts and Scots*, pp. 40, 45, 126.

Northumbrian, who took refuge among the Picts and afterwards became king of Northumbria.

McLennan¹ declared that this fact "raises a strong presumption that all the fathers were men of other tribes. At any rate there remains the fact, after every deduction has been made, that the fathers and mothers were in no case of the same family name." He is led thus to believe that exogamy prevailed among the Picts. But as female succession is a natural corollary to polyandry, and is its constant concomitant all over the world, we may reasonably infer that at least the northern Picts had the latter practice down to their conversion to Christianity (by St Columba²), and probably long after.

Although there is indeed no reasonable explanation for this usage of the Pictish royal family unless we adopt the hypothesis that polyandry either was or once had been the rule of the nation, nevertheless the mere fact that the fathers of two of the kings were aliens must not lead us to conclude hastily with McLennan that exogamy was the custom of the Picts. The royal house of Ashanti furnishes us with a ready parallel to that of the Picts, yet it is certain that there was no rule which forbade any woman of the royal house from marrying a man of the blood royal. "In Ashanti the women of royal blood are permitted to intrigue with any eminently fine and handsome man in order that their kings may be of commanding presence....With the king's permission his sisters can contract marriage with any man who is pre-eminently handsome, no matter how low his rank and position may be. But a man of low rank, who may have thus married one of the king's sisters, is expected to commit suicide when his wife dies, or upon the death of an only male child³." We must therefore be careful not to infer the existence of the rule of exogamy from facts which are capable of a very different explanation.

The historical and archaeological evidence is strengthened by the fact that whilst the Belgic tribes, who, as we have seen,

¹ *Primitive Marriage*, 1865, p. 129 (*Studies in Ancient History*, 1886, p. 70).

² Bede, v. 9: erat autem Columba primus doctor fidei Christianae transmontanis Pictis ad aquilonem.

³ A. B. Ellis, *The Tshi-speaking People of the Gold Coast*, p. 287.

were Cimbric in origin, used a tongue in which original Indo-European *Q* was labialised into *P*, thus corresponding to ancient Gaulish and Welsh or Cymric, the Picts, like their Irish kinsfolk, are held by Skene to have spoken Gaelic¹, though Rhys and many others held and still hold that their original language was non-Aryan and that such too was the case with the Gaels of Ireland. But with this question of language we shall deal fully on a later page (pp. 301 *sqq.*).

We have also some reason for believing that among the dark-haired Silures, whom Tacitus regarded as Iberian (p. 33), and who at all times formed a chief element in the population of Wales, the marriage bond had once been of the loosest kind, and that consequently descent had been reckoned through females. Though the ancient laws of Wales, as we have them, were compiled long after Christianity had begun to exercise a strong influence upon social life, nevertheless survivals of the older customs can be detected in them. For example, it is plain that there had been a time when marriage was not necessarily more than cohabitation for a limited period. Thus "a woman who is not fully married, i.e. who is in the first seven years of a loose connection, must not buy or sell without her husband's consent. A full wife may do so²." The same may be inferred from the law relating to the *Amobyrr*: "There are three modes by which an *Amobyrr* accrues to a woman: one is by gift and delivery before she is slept with; the second is by open cohabitation, though there be no gift; thirdly, by her pregnancy³." Giraldus Cambrensis⁴ makes it clear that the Church had a hard struggle to make the Welsh abandon their ancient marriage customs and conform to its canons: "The crime of incest hath so much prevailed not only among the higher but among the lower order of this people (the Welsh) that, not having the fear of God before their eyes, they are not ashamed of intermarrying with their relations even in the third degree of consanguinity. They generally abuse these dispensations with a view to appeasing those enmities which so often

¹ Skene, *Celtic Scotland*, vol. i. p. 281.

² *Ancient Laws and Institutions of Wales*, Venedotian Code II. 1, 60, folio ed., 1841, p. 46.

³ *ibid.* I. 41, p. 45.

⁴ *Descriptio Kambriae*, Bk. II. c. 6.

subsist between them, because their feet are swift to shed blood. From their love of high descent, which they so ardently affect and covet, they unite themselves to their own people, refusing to intermarry with strangers and arrogantly presuming on their own superiority of blood and family. They do not engage in marriage until they have tried by previous cohabitation the disposition and particularly the fecundity of the person with whom they are engaged. An ancient custom also prevails of hiring girls from their parents at a certain price and a stipulated penalty in case of relinquishing their connection."

He adds that this excess formerly took root in Armorica, but had been eradicated.

That maternity was once the most important element in tracing descent is shown by the laws of bloodshed and of inheritance. Thus respecting the payment of the *Galanas* or bloodwite, "whoever is a murderer, the full *Galanas* falls upon him. And thus the *Galanas* is to be shared: one-third upon the murderer, and upon his father and mother, if they be living; and of that two parts upon himself, a third upon his father and his mother; and of the third which falls upon the parents, two parts upon the father and one upon the mother.... Of the two parts that fall upon his kindred, the third upon the kindred of the murderer's mother, and the two parts upon the kindred of his father: and so the *Galanas* proceeds from maternity to maternity unto the seventh descent or the seventh maternity: for the children of the first mother are brothers, and the children of the grandmother are first cousins, and the children of the great-grandmother are second cousins; and the children of the mother in the fourth degree are third cousins, and the children of the mother in the fifth degree are fourth cousins, and so the *Galanas* does not go beyond sixth cousins¹." Again, the law enacts that, "If a Welsh female be given to an *Alltud*, and they have male children, the children are entitled to inheritance by maternity: but they are not to have a share of the privileged farm until the third generation; except the son of an *Alltud* chieftain, and he is to have a share

¹ *op. cit.* p. 153.

of the whole without delay: the sons of such women are to pay cattle without surety; because there is no kindred of the father to pay them¹."

Whilst then the evidence forthcoming does not exhibit a single fact to justify the assumption made by McLennan and others, that the *Celts* "were anciently lax in their morals, and recognized relationship through mothers only," on the other hand it warrants us in concluding that the melanochrous tribes of the north and west of Britain practised polyandry and traced descent through females.

As it is admitted that the aboriginal melanochrous population of Ireland is closely related to the dark race found in Scotland and Wales, our conclusion gains considerable support from Strabo's account² of the natives of Ireland. According to him the Irish were more savage than the Britons, were cannibals and gluttons, ate their fathers when they died, and publicly had promiscuous intercourse not only with other women, but even with their mothers and sisters. The evidence, he admits, is poor, but the main facts may well be true so far as the Firbolgic or aboriginal race is concerned, though from what we shall see later it no more applies to the Scoti than Caesar's description of the polyandry of the Britons of the interior does to the Belgic tribes of the island. As the Issedones ate their fathers (vol. I. p. 487), why should not the Irish have done the same? Even that candid historian Geoffrey Keating³, though he set himself to refute the aspersions cast on the Irish by Strabo and others, admits that there was on record one famous case of cannibalism, that of "Eithne the loathsome, daughter of Criomhthann, son of Eanna Cinnsiolach, king of Leinster, who was in fosterage with the Deisi of Munster: and she was reared by them on the flesh of children, in hope that thereby she would be the sooner marriageable. For it had been promised to them that they should receive land from the man to whom she would be married; and it is to Aonghus son of Nadfraoch king of Munster she was married."

¹ *op. cit.* p. 46.

² *iv.* p. 201.

³ *History of Ireland*, vol. I. p. 9 (transl. by David Comyn and Patrick Dinneen, 1902, Irish Texts Society).

Again, there are well-known cases of incest recounted in the early Irish documents¹, as for instance that of Cathaeir Mor, king of Leinster, who when drunk begat a son Aenghus Nic on his daughter Muchna, whilst the charge of shamelessness brought against the women as well as their polyandry is amply confirmed by various incidents in the career of queen Medhbh herself in the *Tain Bo Cualnge*. But it has to be carefully borne in mind that Medhbh was queen of Connaught and head of the Firbolgic or aboriginal tribes of that region in their war against the Scoti of Ulster. Again, the allegations concerning their polyandry are amply confirmed by the Brehon laws, which, though compiled, as we have them, under ecclesiastical influences, nevertheless put it beyond reasonable doubt that the relations between the sexes in early and medieval Ireland had been characterized by great laxity. As Sir H. S. Maine² long ago pointed out, "the Book of Aicill³ provides for the legitimation not only of the bastard, but of the adulterine bastard, and measures the compensation to be paid by the real to the putative father. The tract on Social Connexions⁴ appears to assume that the temporary cohabitation of the sexes is part of the accustomed order of society, and on this assumption it minutely regulates the mutual rights of the parties, showing an especial care for the interests of the woman, even to the extent of reserving to her the value of her domestic services during her residence in the common dwelling." It is not improbable that the practice still common amongst the native Irish peasantry of calling a woman, no matter how long married, by her maiden name, is a survival of this system of loose connection.

There are also various passages in the Brehon Laws which make it clear that the woman had anciently been regarded as belonging to the tribe. Thus, although "the first *coibche* (wedding gift) of each daughter is due to her father, two-thirds of the second *coibche*, one-half of the third *coibche*, and a pro-

¹ *Leabhar na g-Ceart*, ed. J. O'Donovan, Dublin, 1847, p. 199.

² *The Early History of Institutions*, p. 59.

³ *Book of Aicill* (*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. III), p. 311.

⁴ *Senchus Mor* (*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. II), pp. 357, 383 *seq.*, 363.

In the case of a man and a woman of equal property there is not the slightest hindrance to their separation, if they so desire, etc.

portionate part of every *coibche* from that out until it reaches the one-and-twentieth"; nevertheless "half the first *coibche* of every daughter is due to the head of her family, one-third of the second *coibche*, one-fourth of the third *coibche*, and hence it is inferred that the head of the family has some share of the *coibche* of each woman, as he has in the *aptha* (gains) of the harlot": moreover "none of these is obtained by the father except the first *coibche*, but he obtains his shares from the head of the family¹."

Thus although at the present moment Ireland is probably the country of all others in which the relations of the sexes are most nearly on the footing required by the Christian theory of morality, this purification of morals is but of modern growth, and it was effected during the period subsequent to the complete subjugation of the country by the English, the introduction of English law and the Protestant religion, and during the period when Roman Catholicism was under the ban of the law.

The high standard of chastity of the Irish peasant woman has often been ascribed to the influence of the Roman Catholic clergy. But as the low state of sexual morality, as well as the complete indifference to the sanctity of human life (*infra*, p. 394) exhibited by the Brehon laws flourished under the Irish Church founded by St Patrick, which passed under the control of Rome in 1172, and as improvement came only after Sir John Davies in 1611 replaced the Brehon laws by "the just and honourable law of England," the growth in sexual chastity cannot be ascribed to the Roman Church. It must rather be attributed to the influence of the higher ideas introduced by the English settlers, to the fact that the rural population lives not in towns or villages, but chiefly in isolated dwellings, little opportunity thus being afforded to the young people for social intercourse, and to the further fact that whilst the English agricultural labourer commonly marries a girl who is with child by him, the Irish peasant commonly refuses to wed his too confiding sweetheart. This naturally makes young Irish women more cautious, though unfortunately they did not always show similar coyness towards young men of the upper class. On the

¹ *Book of Aicill* (*Ancient Laws of Ireland*, vol. III), p. 315.

other hand, when Roman Catholic Gaels live in cities and large towns, their morals are little better, if at all, than those of the other inhabitants of the British Isles or of the United States.

Thus then the indigenous people of Ireland practised polyandry and had once matrilinear descent like the Cruithen-tuath or Picts of Britain, whom we must regard as the aborigines of that island. The characters of the culture of the Neolithic and Bronze Ages in both islands are in such close agreement that they point to a single race. Moreover, not merely were there Cruithne in Down and Antrim, as we have seen above (p. 43), but there is evidence for people of the same name in both Meath and Connaught¹. Again, as the aborigines of Britain most certainly tattooed themselves, so also did the Cruithne of Ireland, for an Irish antiquary (*shanachie*), Duald Mac Firbis², explains *Cruithnig* as meaning a people who painted the forms (*crotha*) of beasts, birds, and fishes on their faces, and not on their faces only but on the whole of the body. Whether his etymology is right or wrong, that antiquary apparently knew that such was the practice of the Cruithne. We shall see later (p. 539) that in Connaught and indeed in all parts of Ireland there were many 'servile' tribes, known as Firbolgs or Aitheach Tuatha (the Attacotti of the Romans), whose descendants still form the great majority of the population of Ireland to-day, especially in the west and south. It is thus probable that in the Cruithne of Connaught and Meath we have some of the aboriginal dark-complexioned tribes only under another general term given them by others in reference to their practice of tattooing. This is rendered all the more likely since in the case of Cavan we have excellent evidence for the existence of ancient tribes in the fifth century of our era. Thus in the *Annals of the Four Masters* (sub A.D. 464) it is stated that "Conall Gulban, son of Niall of the Nine Hostages, was slain by the old tribes of Magh-Slecht, having been found unprotected, and was buried at Fidhnach-Maighe-Rein, by Saint Caillin, as the Life of the aforesaid saint relates³." According to the Book

¹ Herbert, additional notes to Dr Todd's *Leabhar Breathnach*, the Irish version of Nennius (Dublin, 1848).

² *ibid.* p. vi.

³ See also O'Donovan's note *ad loc.* (ed. 2, 1856, vol. i. p. 147).

of Fenagh, Conall Gulban was killed by the Masraidhe, an ancient tribe of the Firbolgs, who were seated in the plain of Magh-Slecht (around Ballymagauran in the north-west of Co. Cavan). He had made a raid into their territory and seized a great prey of horses. If the Irish Cruithne were not so termed from *cruth* (= figure), they must then have been a part of the British Cruithne known to the Romans as Coritani. But as the Coritani seem certainly to have been one of the tribes who practised tattooing, we may therefore reasonably infer that their kindred in Ireland did the same. As there were Belgic Brigantes and Menapii both in Britain and in Ireland, we need not be surprised to hear of a part of one of the aboriginal tribes such as the Coritani likewise in the latter country. Though there is a good deal of evidence for the painting of the face, eyebrows, and finger-nails both in the Irish literature of the Cuchuleinn and in the Ossianic Cycles it must be carefully borne in mind that, although painting the face and person may be a survival of tattooing or closely bound up with it, the painting mentioned in these works seems regularly to be confined to women, and as it refers to the colouring of the eyebrows, face, and finger-nails, it may have simply been to enhance their natural charms. For example in the *Tain Bo Cualnge* a girl is described as having among other personal attractions "regular, circular, crimson nails," and women sometimes dyed them this colour. Thus the heroine Deirdre in her lament for the sons of Uisnech¹ says: "I sleep no more, and I shall not stain my nails crimson: no joy shall ever again come over my mind." This of course recalls the common practice amongst Oriental ladies of staining the nails with *henna*, and as the latter from time immemorial have also used *kohl* (antimony) for darkening their eyebrows, so the ancient Irish ladies dyed their eyebrows with the juice of some berry. Thus Cael sang of the lady Credhe: "a bowl she has whence berry-juice flows, with which she colours her eyebrows black²." The fact that the Irish mis-

¹ *The Exile of the Children of Uisnech, Atlantis*, III. p. 418; *Ir. Texte* (Windisch), I. 79, 11.

² Standish H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, p. 120; Cormac's Glossary, trans. by Whitley Stokes (Calcutta, 1868), p. 144: "*ro-eim*, a herb that gives colour or tinge [?] to the face until it is red."

sionaries to the Continent had their eyelids painted or stained black looks much more like the survival of some racial custom such as tattooing¹. But although up to the present no crucial passage for the actual practice of tattooing can be cited from any early Irish poem, the statement of Duald Mac Firbis cited above (p. 54) makes the existence of this custom among some Irish tribes probable, since, as there were certainly Cruithne in that country, it is not likely that he is only referring to the Cruithne of Scotland. There is likewise no evidence for the survival of tattooing in Wales, though such a custom must have existed amongst the Silures in Roman times. But it must be remembered that had it not been for the mission of Bishop George of Ostia (A.D. 786) and the fortunate survival of his report we should not know that the custom still flourished in northern England down to the end of the eighth century and we know not how much longer.

Whether the aborigines of Ireland and Scotland spoke an Aryan or non-Aryan language, we shall discuss later on (pp. 301 *sqq.*).

The Iberians.

As Tacitus rightly inferred that the dark-complexioned natives of southern Britain were closely akin to the Iberians of Spain, and as it now is generally held by anthropologists that the aboriginal melanochrous stock of all the British Isles is closely related to the Iberians, who formed not only the chief element in the population of ancient Spain and a large part of Gaul, but to this day are the main element in both Spain and south-western France, we may naturally expect to find amongst them traces of female succession and sexual promiscuity. Thus among the Cantabrians, who dwelt in what is now Galicia, "the men brought a dowry to their wives, the daughters inherited the family property, and the brothers were given in marriage to wives by their sisters²."

But not only can female succession be proved for the

¹ P. W. Joyce, *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, vol. I. p. 343.

² Strabo, III. 165: τὸ τοὺς ἀνδρας διδόναι ταῖς γυναῖξι προῖκα, τὸ τὰς θυγατέρας κληρονόμους ἀπολείπεσθαι, τοὺς τε ἀδελφοὺς ὑπὸ τούτων ἐκδίδοσθαι γυναῖξιν.

Iberians, but there is likewise good evidence of polyandry; for the marriage ceremonies of the Balearic islanders, who were certainly Iberians, demonstrate the existence of this practice¹, since at a wedding all the members of the family and friends, according to a precedence based on age, enjoyed the bride, the bridegroom last. Yet it has to be borne in mind that among the warlike Lusitanian tribes who dwelt in what is now Portugal the law of marriage is declared by Strabo² to have been similar to that of the Hellenes, from which we may infer that male succession was the rule. It is not perhaps without some significance that these same Lusitanians punished father-slayers by stoning them to death outside the bounds of their territory or town, whilst they executed ordinary malefactors by hurling them from cliffs³. It thus appears that in their most important institutions the Lusitanians differed essentially from the ordinary Iberians. Now as the Celts in the sixth century B.C. had according to Ephorus conquered all the Spanish peninsula as far south as Gades, and as there were still in Roman times Celtic tribes in the southern part of that country, whilst the whole of its northern region was held by the vigorous Celtiberians sprung from a union of both races, the high moral standard of the Lusitanians may have been due to their having been a Celtic tribe.

The Illyrians.

We shall soon offer some evidence to show that amongst the Ligurians, the neighbours and close kinsmen of the Iberians (vol. I. p. 375), succession through females was the custom, but we shall for the present pass on to the Illyrians.

We have already seen reasons for believing that the aboriginal Ligurians extended across all upper Italy until they

¹ Diod. Sic. v. 18: *ἐν γὰρ ταῖς κατὰ τοὺς γάμους εὐτυχίας οἰκείων τε καὶ φίλων κατὰ τὴν ἡλικίαν ὁ πρῶτος αἰεὶ καὶ ὁ δεύτερος καὶ οἱ λοιποὶ τὸ ἐξῆς μίσγονται ταῖς νύμφαις ἀνὰ μέρος, ἐσχάτου τοῦ νυμφίου τυγχάνοντος ταύτης τῆς τιμῆς.* Their Libyan kinsfolk had a like usage, Herod. iv. 172.

² Strabo, iii. 155: *γαμοῦσι δ' ὥσπερ οἱ Ἕλληνες.*

³ Strabo, loc. cit.: *τοὺς δὲ θανατουμένους καταπετροῦσι, τοὺς δὲ πατραλοίας ξὺν τῶν δρων ἢ τῶν πόλεων καταλείβουσι.*

blended with the Illyrians, who belonged to the same Mediterranean stock, whilst Ligurians and Illyrians had both been greatly overlaid by the Alpine and Transalpine peoples, whom the ancients designated Celts. We also saw that the true Illyrians shaded off into the true or melanochrous Thracians, who in their turn had on their northern side blended with the Celts, and that from this mixture of melanochrous and xanthochrous races had arisen those Thracians who were distinguished by their red hair (*πυρροί*). Now as polyandry was universal among the aboriginal Thracians in the time of Herodotus (p. 28) we may naturally expect to find traces of a similar custom among the Illyrians. Nor indeed is evidence lacking.

In the time of Strabo the Veneti though incorporated in Italy still remained Illyrian (vol. i. p. 346). Now Herodotus¹, in describing a certain marriage custom followed in Babylonia, declares that it was likewise "practised by the Eneti, an Illyrian tribe": "Once a year in each village the maidens of marriageable age were collected all together into one place, while the men stood all round. Then an auctioneer called up the damsels one by one, and put them up for sale. He began with the most comely. When she was sold for no small sum of money, he put up the one who came next to her in beauty. All of them were sold for wedlock. The richest of the Babylonians who wished to wed bid against each other for the loveliest maidens, while the humbler wife-seekers, who were indifferent about beauty, took the less comely damsels with marriage portions. For the custom was that when the auctioneer had gone through the whole number of good-looking girls, he then called up the ugliest, a cripple, if there chanced to be one, and offered her to the man who would agree to take her with the smallest marriage portion. And the man who offered to take the smallest sum had her assigned to him. The marriage portions were furnished by the money paid for the beautiful damsels, and thus the fairer girls portioned out the uglier. No one was allowed to give his daughter in marriage to the man of his choice."

We may from this story infer at least that amongst the

¹ I. 196.

Illyrians the girls were considered to belong to the community. The gross marriage ritual of the Iberians, and the licence allowed to the Thracian girls before marriage, presented us with this doctrine in its crudest form, whilst the Irish laws preserve a trace of it in the payment made by the bridegroom to the head of the bride's family. It is not improbable that in ancient Ireland also marriages took place at one particular season each year as amongst the Illyrians.

According to Geoffrey Keating¹, at the great festival held on August 1st², at Taillte (Telltown, Co. Meath), "in which the men of Ireland were wont to form alliances of marriage and friendship with one another, and a most becoming custom was observed in that assembly,—the men kept apart by themselves on one side, and the women apart by themselves on the other, while their fathers and mothers were making the contract between them, and every couple who entered into treaty and contract with one another were married," and an ounce of silver went to the king for each couple that got married at the fair.

According to Aelian³ the Illyrians were addicted to drunkenness and incurred the further disgrace of permitting their women to be present at their revelries, and allowing any stranger to drink to any woman he liked, even though she were not a relation. This practice stands out in sharp contrast to that of the Macedonians, or at least that of the Macedonian chieftain families. We know from Herodotus⁴ that the latter kept their women strictly apart from the banquets of the men, just as did the Achæans in Homer, and that when the Persians sent by Darius to king Amyntas insisted on the ladies of his household being present at the symposion, his son Alexander promptly took measures to avenge this gross outrage by putting

¹ *History of Ireland*, vol. II. pp. 250—1 (trans. by David Comyn and Patrick Dinneen, 1908, Irish Texts Society).

² Such an arrangement would probably lead to May and June being the time when first children were generally born.

³ *Var. Hist.* III. 15: οὐ διαπεφύγασι δὲ ταύτην τὴν αἰτίαν (drunkenness) οὐδὲ Ἰλλυριοί, ἀλλ' ἐκεῖνοί γε προσεληθήσασιν κάκεινο τὸ ἐπικλήμα, ὅτι ἐφέλται τοῖς ἐν τῷ συνδείπνῳ παροῦσι ξένοις προπίνειν ταῖς γυναῖξιν, ἕκαστον ἧ ἂν βούληται, καὶ μηδὲν προσήκει ἢ γυνὴ αὐτῷ.

⁴ v. 18: In answer to the Persians Amyntas said: ὦ Πέρσαι, νόμος μὲν ἡμῶν γέ ἐστι οὐκ οὗτος, ἀλλὰ κεχωρίσθαι ἀνδρας γυναικῶν.

the envoys to death. As the royal house of Macedon was blond, since Alexander the Great had fair hair¹, the contrast in social habits between that race and the dark-complexioned stock to which the Iberians, the indigenous Thracians and the Illyrians belonged is all the more significant.

It is therefore no matter for surprise that the most important Illyrian monarch of whom history has left us a record was a woman. This was Teuta, the Illyrian queen who in 228 B.C. put to death the envoys of Rome². Probably Aristotle³ had the Illyrians in his mind when he said that as a rule the soldierlike and warlike races, with the exception of the Celts, were under the control of women. The fact that the Illyrians were under a gynaecocracy in the third century B.C., combined with the statement that in the fifth century B.C. the Veneti held that all the girls of the community were common property, affords a presumption that polyandry also existed amongst them as it did amongst their Thracian kinsmen. The legendary history of the Illyrians corroborates this conclusion in a notable way. Although there was every temptation to furnish each Illyrian tribe with an eponymous hero, many of them had a heroine at the head of their pedigrees: "The sons of Illyrius were Encheleus, Antarieus, Dardanus, Maedus, Taulas, Perrhaebus, and his daughters were Partho, Daortho, Dassaro, and others, from whom are sprung the Taulantii, the Perrhaebians, the Enchelees, the Autaries, the Dardani, the Partheni, the Dassaretii, and the Darsii⁴."

Matrilinear succession in Attica.

As we have now strong evidence before us that the melano-chrous peoples of the Upper Balkan practised polyandry, and as we have also a *prima facie* reason for believing that the earliest

¹ Aelian, *V.H.* xii. 14: 'Ἀλέξανδρον δὲ τὸν Φιλίππου ἀπραγμῶνως ὤραιον γενέσθαι λέγουσι, τὴν μὲν γὰρ κόμην ἀνασεύσθαι αὐτῷ, ξανθὴν δὲ εἶναι (cf. p. 28, n. 1).

² Plin. *H. N.* xxxiv. 6: hoc a Romano populo tribui solebat iniuria caesis, sicut et P. Iunio et Ti. Coruncanio, qui ab Teuta Illyriorum regina interfecti erant.

³ *Pol.* ii. 9, 7: ὥστε ἀναγκαῖον ἐν τῇ τοιαύτῃ πολιτείᾳ τιμᾶσθαι τὸν πλοῦτον, ἄλλως τε καὶ τύχῳσι γυναικοκρατούμενοι, καθάπερ τὰ πολλὰ τῶν στρατιωτικῶν καὶ πολεμικῶν γενῶν, ἔξω Κελτῶν κ.τ.λ.

⁴ Appian, *Illyr.* 2.

inhabitants of Greece, whom we hold to be of the same stock as the dark-haired Thracians and Illyrians, had the same practice, since they traced their descent through the female line, we must now examine the available evidence for the social condition of those parts of Greece which, like Attica and Arcadia, always remained the chief strongholds of the aboriginal race. If it should turn out that not only was polyandry and female succession the rule in ancient Athens and Arcadia, but very strong traces of such still survived till the times of Aeschylus and Isaeus, we shall once more have no uncertain indication that the social condition familiar in the Homeric poems is not that of the Pelasgic population of Greece, and that consequently it is adventitious on Greek soil. If it shall turn out on investigation that Attica and Arcadia, regions where the Pelasgic stock always held its own, furnish us with strong evidence of the existence of a social condition which stands in sharp contrast to that portrayed in the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, we shall be justified in concluding that the cruder customs which regulated the relations of the sexes were a characteristic of the Pelasgian stock. This inference will be confirmed, if we then show that a similar social phase existed among the Carians, Lycians, Semites, Egyptians, and Libyans. Let us now once more advance to the less known from the better known.

According to Attic law, as it stood in the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., though a man might not marry his half-sister by the same mother (*ὁμομήτριος*) he might marry without let or hindrance his half-sister by the same father (*ὁμοπάτριος*)¹. This custom looks like a survival from a time when kinship was not reckoned through the father, but only through the mother. That such it really was can be put beyond doubt by the evidence of Aeschylus speaking through the mouths of the Eumenides. The dread goddesses in their indictment of Orestes for the slaying of his mother maintain that the tie between mother and child is especially sacred, whilst Apollo is charged by them with overthrowing immemorial customs and introducing strange practices, when he in defence of Orestes declares on the

¹ Demosthenes, *Adv. Eubulidem*, 57 etc.; cf. Telfy, *Corpus Iuris Attici*, 1352 (Philo, *De legib. special.* III. 4): *ὁμοπατριος ἐξέστω ἀγεσθαι, ἀλλὰ μὴ τὰς ὁμομητρίους*.

authority of Zeus that the tie between the father and child is much closer¹.

Now unless the Athenian audience in the year 458 B.C. was fully aware that the succession through females had been the ancient practice at Athens, the main point on which depends the triumphant acquittal of Orestes would not have appealed to them in the slightest degree. We are therefore justified in the inference that down to the fifth century B.C. there were many survivals of a time when succession passed through the female line, and that this was a matter of common knowledge to the mass of Athenians.

But the *Eumenides* not only furnishes us with evidence of descent through women, but also shows that in the Athens of the fifth century B.C. there was a clear recollection of a time when the marriage tie (as in ancient Ireland) can hardly be said to have existed at all. Thus when the Furies declare that their office is to drive matricides from their homes, Apollo asks: "What! if he be the slayer of a wife who has murdered her husband?" To this the Chorus replies: "That would not be kindred blood shed by the hands of kindred." "Truly," says Apollo, "ye make of none effect the solemn pledges of Hera Teleia and Zeus: the Cyprian goddess too is flung aside in dishonour by this argument, source as she is of the joys dearest to mortals. For the marriage-bed ordained by fate for husband and wife is a bond stronger than a mere oath, when it is guarded by justice²." Again, when Orestes demands of the Furies why they persecute him, though they did not pursue his mother Clytaemnestra in her lifetime for the murder of her husband, they reply that she was not of the same blood as the man whom she slew³.

We are not then surprised to find distinct traditions that in old days wedlock was unknown at Athens and that children

¹ *Eum.* 658—61: ΑΠ. οὐκ ἔστι μήτηρ ἢ κεκλημένον τέκνον
τοκεὺς, τροφὸς δὲ κύματος νεοσπόρου
τίκτει δ' ὁ θρώσκων, ἢ δ' ἄπερ ξένω ξένη
ἔσωσεν ἔρνος, οἷσι μὴ βλάβη θεός.

² *Eum.* 211 *sqq.*

³ *Eum.* 604—5: ΟΡ. τί δ' οὐκ ἐκείνην ζῶσαν ἤλαινες φυνγῇ;
ΧΟΡ. οὐκ ἦν ὁμαίμος φωτὸς ὃν κατέκτανεν.

were named after their mothers. According to Justin¹ the Athenians "ante Deucalionis tempora regem habuere Cecropem, quem, ut omnis antiquitas fabulosa est, biforem tradidere, quia primus marem feminae matrimonio iunxit." Similarly Varro² relates that "under the rule of Cecrops" "a double wonder sprang out of the earth at the same time; in one place the olive-tree and in another water. The king in terror sent to Delphi to ask what he should do. The god answered that the olive-tree signified Minerva (Athena) and the water Neptune (Poseidon); and that it was for the burgesses to choose after which of the two they would name their town. Cecrops called the assembly of the burgesses, both men and women, for it was then the custom to let the women take part in the public councils. The men voted for Poseidon, the women for Athena; and as there were more women than men by one, Athena prevailed. Thereon Poseidon was enraged, and immediately the sea flowed over all the lands of Athens. To appease the god the burgesses found it necessary to impose a threefold punishment on their wives: they were to lose their votes; the children were no longer to receive the mother's name; and they themselves were no longer to be called Athenaeae after the goddess."

As McLennan points out, this story "is a tradition of a genuinely archaic state." It cannot be the invention of later times, for Athena in it represents 'mother-right,' whilst, in the *Eumenides*, she decides by her casting vote that a child is not of kin to its mother, but to its father.

According to the version given by Suidas³ Cecrops had a law enacted by which women still in the condition of virginity were to be given in marriage to one husband, for previously they had lived promiscuously, like animals, with any man they pleased.

There can be no doubt that these traditions refer to the

¹ II. 6.

² ap. Augustin. *De civitate Dei*, xviii. 9: ut nulla ulterius ferrent suffragia, ut nullus nascentium maternum nomen acciperet, ut ne quis eas Athenenses uocaret.

³ s.v. Προμηθεύς: Κέκροψ δὲ ἐκλήθη Διφυής, ... ὅτι νόμον ἐτίθετο ὥστε τὰς γυναῖκας παρθένους εἶναι οὕσας ἐνὶ ἐκδίδοσθαι ἀνδρὶ, καλέσας αὐτὰς νύμφας κ.τ.λ.

establishment of a regular marriage bond in Athens. But this was a purely civil contract, the only kind of marriage recognized by Attic law. Of this there were two forms, *enguesis* and *epidikasia*. In all ordinary cases, where a woman had a natural *kyrios*, or protector, i.e. father, brother by the same father, or paternal grandfather, it was a handfasting or betrothal in the presence of the relations of both parties. The term *ἐγγύησις* meant that the seller formally placed in the hand of the buyer some person or object. If however the woman was an heiress (*ἐπίκληρος*) the next of kin might claim her in marriage, preference being given to the father's family. This form was really an action at law (*ἐπιδικασία*) and was brought in the first instance before the Archon Eponymos, who was the guardian of all heiresses. The assignment of the heiress to the claimant was equivalent to the formal *enguesis*, since none were recognized as Athenian citizens unless they were born of an Athenian male citizen and an Athenian female citizen who had been given in marriage by *enguesis*¹.

Though this civil marriage was the only one recognized by Attic law, it is clear from the *Eumenides* (p. 62) that there was also in use a solemn religious form under the patronage of Zeus and Hera, a sacred or religious marriage, just as to-day in some Continental countries the civil contract, the only form recognized by the State, is followed by the religious marriage in church. We shall soon see that Dionysius of Halicarnassus also testifies to the existence of such sacred marriages (*ἱεροὶ γάμοι*) and that he identified them with the Roman *confarreatio*, of which we shall presently treat at length (p. 174). Just as the sacred marriage of the Greeks corresponded to the Roman *confarreatio*, so the Greek *enguesis* had its counterpart in the Roman civil marriage known as *coemptio*, itself only a form of *mancipatio*, a fictitious sale by which under Roman law all sale of persons, whether bond or free, oxen, horses, mules, asses, and real property had to be conducted, and the essence of which was, as in the case of *enguesis*, that the vendor placed in the hand of the buyer the person or object which was the subject of the transaction.

¹ ἐξ ἀστροῦ καὶ ἐξ ἀστῆς ἐγγυητήη. Cf. e.g. Demosthenes LVII. 54.

Plainly then in the Attic civil marriage we have a survival of regular wife-purchase which in the fifth century before Christ was the normal practice amongst the aboriginal tribes of Thrace (p. 28).

In the story of the resistance shown to the succession of Theseus to his father Aegeus by the Pallantidae, the latter's nephews, who claimed to be their uncle's heirs, we probably have a trace of the old law of succession. Theseus, as the son of a foreign woman (Aethra, daughter of Pittheus, king of Troezen), would have no claim to succeed his father, and the sons of Pallas, if born of women of the royal Attic house, were certainly justified in their claim. Again, the tale of the visit of Aegeus the Athenian chief to Pittheus of Troezen and the ready access to his daughter granted by Pittheus to his guest can be readily paralleled from the customs of many modern savages, for example the Maoris.

Another argument in favour of the belief that kinship at Athens was originally traced through females was long since drawn by the present writer¹ from the term *homogalaktes*, which occurs in a famous passage of Aristotle²: "Thus the association naturally formed for the supply of every-day wants is a family (*οἶκος*); its members according to Charondas are 'those who have a common meal-bin' (*δμοσίπνοι*), or, according to the Cretan Epimenides, 'those who have a common piece of ground' (*δμόκᾱποι* = *δμόκηποι*). Again, the simplest association of several families for something more than ephemeral purposes is the village (*κῶμη*). It seems that the village in its most natural form is derived from the family, including all the children of certain parents and the children's children, or as the phrase sometimes goes, 'all who are suckled on the same milk' (*δμογάλακτες*)." Philochorus³, an Athenian antiquary of the fourth century B.C., explained *homogalaktes* as equivalent to *gennetai*, 'kin, clansmen.' According to this writer the members of each of the 360 Attic *gene* (*γένη*), who were afterwards called

¹ Ridgeway, 'Some Notes on the Politics of Aristotle,' *Transactions of the Cambridge Philological Society*, vol. II (1881-2), pp. 125-7.

² *Pol.* I. 2, 5 (1252 b).

³ *Fragm.* 91-4, 139 in Harpocration and Suidas (s. vv. *γενῆται*, *δμογάλακτες*, *δργεῖνες*); *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* I. p. 399.

gennetai 'clansmen,' were originally called *homogalaktes*. Pollux¹ has a similar statement: "Those who participate in the *genos* were called *gennetai* and *homogalaktes*, even though not actually belonging to it by kindred, but being so termed from their assembling together." Now, since the oldest term known at Athens for members of a *genos* means those who have been reared on the same mother's milk, it follows that the oldest form of kinship at Athens was that through the mother.

We saw that Lycia afforded the only sure instance of descent through females which McLennan could cite from Homer. As the Lycians were emigrants from Crete (vol. i. p. 209), and as, according to Plato², the Cretans spoke of their island not as their Fatherland (*πατρίς*), but as their Motherland (*μητρὶς*), it is not surprising to find that among the Lycians of classical times descent was traced through women, and children were named after their mothers. Herodotus³ says that "Their customs are partly Cretan, partly Carian. They have however one singular custom, in which they differ from every other nation in the world. They take the mother's and not the father's name. Ask a Lycian who he is, and he answers by giving his own name, that of his mother, and so on in the

¹ VI. 37. Some have attempted to explain *δμογάλακτες* as 'those who offer the same milk,' from a comparison with the Sanskrit *sapiṇḍa*, *samanodaka* = 'those who offer the same cake, the same water' (Hearn, *Aryan Household*, p. 171). But this is not in accordance with the meanings of other Greek words similarly compounded with *δμο-*. Thus *δμαιμος*, *δμομήτριος*, *δμοπάτριος*, *δμοσίπνυες*, do not mean 'those who make a common offering of blood, of mothers, of fathers, or meal-bins, etc.,' but those who have such in common. I take *δμόκατοι* as the Doric form of *δμόκητοι*, = 'having a common plot of ground' (*κῆπος*), as I explained it in *Camb. Phil. Soc. Trans.*, loc. cit. Other mss. read *δμοκάπνους*, explained as 'having a common hearth,' but such a use of *κάπνος* = *εστία* is not easily paralleled.

² *Rep.* 575 D; cf. Plutarch, *An seni resp. ger.* 2. 792 E. McLennan (*Stud. Anc. Hist.* p. 297) infers that the Messenians also called their native land *μητρὶς* from the dream of Comon the Messenian exile, who dreamed that he lay with his dead mother and that thereafter she came to life again. This vision referred to his restoration to his native land (Paus. iv. 26, 3). But we might just as well infer that the Athenians called their country *μητρὶς* because Hippias the Athenian tyrant had a like dream, which he similarly interpreted (Herod. vi. 107: *ἔδωκε δ' Ἰππίης τῇ μητρὶ τῇ ἐωυτοῦ εὐνευηθῆναι*). Cf. Soph. *Oed. Tyr.* 981: πολλοὶ γὰρ ἦδη κἀν δνείρασιν βροτῶν μητρὶ ξυνευνάσθησαν. Cic. *De div.* i. 29.

³ i. 178.

female line. Moreover, if a free woman cohabit with a slave, their offspring are full citizens; but if a free man live with a foreign woman or a concubine, even though he be the first in the state, the children forfeit all the right of citizenship." To the like effect writes Nicolaus Damascenus¹: "The Lycians honour their women rather than their men and are called after their mothers, and they leave their inheritances to their daughters and not to their sons." Plutarch² also testifies that "the people of Xanthus in Lycia were not named from their fathers but after their mothers." This is further substantiated by Heraclides Ponticus³, who states that the Lycians lived by freebooting, used not written laws, but only customary, and from of old had been under the rule of women. As there is no doubt that descent was reckoned through women by the Lycians down to late times, we may hold without any hesitation that the story of Sarpedon and Glaucus in Homer is not the mere figment of a poet, but rather, as McLennan rightly pointed out, it represents a genuine social condition. But as the royal family of Lycia are represented as exiles from Crete (vol. I. p. 208), and as it remained the practice in Crete to speak of Motherland instead of Fatherland in the true Homeric style, we have strong *prima facie* grounds for believing that succession through females was the rule not only of the royal house of Lycia, but also of the non-Achean peoples of Crete, whether Pelasgians, Cydonians from Arcadia, Dorians, or Eteocretans.

Heiresses at Athens and in Crete.

Attic marriage law has already furnished us with a striking survival of the ancient custom of tracing kinship. But as among peoples who, like the Cantabrians of Spain and the Lycians, traced their descent through women, the inheritances passed to the daughters, it is worth enquiring if the laws relating to heiresses can show us any trace of a time when the

¹ *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* III. p. 461: Λύκιοι τὰς γυναῖκας μᾶλλον ἢ τοὺς ἀνδρας τιμῶσι, καὶ καλοῦνται μητρώθεν, τὰς τε κληρονομίας ταῖς θυγατρῶσι λείπουσιν, οὐ τοῖς υἱοῖς.

² *De mulier. virt.* 9 (II, 248 D): διὸ καὶ νόμος ἦν τοῖς Ξανθίοις μὴ πατρώθεν ἀλλ' ἀπὸ μητρῶν χρηματίζειν.

³ *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* II. p. 217.

family property passed to the daughters in Attica and Crete, as it did in Lycia.

At Athens, if a man left a son to inherit, his daughters had no legal claim to any share of the property. If a man left no son, but only a daughter or daughters, the latter became in a certain sense heiresses (*ἐπίκληροι*, 'attached to the estate'). If there were several daughters, they divided the inheritance share and share alike. The estate could not be willed away from the daughters, but must go with them. In the case of the heiress her next of kin could claim her in marriage unless her father had provided otherwise by will. We have already seen proof that in early days the Athenians had reckoned descent through women, and that therefore at some time before the fifth century B.C. a change had taken place by which succession henceforward was through males, as is seen in the ordinary Attic law of *anchisteia*.

But even though a woman could not herself have the full disposal of the inheritance, she was the medium of conveying it to her son. Thus if an heiress on her marriage bore two sons, the elder would become the heir to his father's family, usually being named after his father's father, whilst the second son might be adopted by his maternal grandfather, and on coming of age (if his grandfather were dead) would succeed to the inheritance of which his mother was the heiress (*ἐπίκληρος*). Not only could the next of kin claim the heiress, if she were still unmarried, but even if a woman were already married, and she by the death of her brother became an heiress to the family property, her next of kin could claim her, and could compel her husband to give her up. Again, if a man after his marriage became next of kin to an heiress, he might put away his first wife. From this it would appear that, in spite of the change over to male succession in Attic law, the claim of a woman who had no brother to the family lands remained paramount; this was a survival from a time when all property descended through women.

The famous Gortyn laws will show us some of the steps by which probably Attic law advanced to the stage at which we find it in the days of the orators. Thus at Gortyn, though the

sons had the sole right to the town house, its furniture, and the cattle, the daughters shared in the rest of the inheritance, each daughter getting half as much as a son. If a girl were an heiress (*πατριῶκος*), she might marry whom she pleased within the limits of her tribe, if she were content with the town house, and half the remainder of the estate, the next of kin taking the other half. If there were no next of kin, the heiress might marry any one of her tribe who would have her; if not, the law lays down that she may marry whom she can. If a married woman became an heiress after her marriage, she was not compelled to leave her husband, although she could do so if she pleased. If she did divorce him, according to certain circumstances she could or could not select her husband: if she were childless, she must either marry the next of kin or indemnify him; but if she had already children, she might marry any member of her tribe that would have her. So too with a widow, if she became an heiress. If childless, she must either marry the next of kin, if he so desired, or else indemnify him; if she had already offspring, she might marry whom she pleased within the tribe.

Though at Athens it was obligatory on the next of kin either to marry the heiress or to provide her with a dowry, if she were poor, there was no such obligation at Gortyn, for the next of kin was not compelled to marry the heiress if he gave up his claim to the estate. Again, whereas at Athens the dowry of a married woman became the property of her sons as soon as they came of age, at Gortyn the mother had the same rights over her property that her husband had over his, and as long as she lived, her children could not divide her property against her wish; at her decease it was transmitted in the same way as the estate of a man.

The resemblances between the Attic and Gortyn codes, such as "the preference of the deceased's sons and their issue to the deceased's brothers and their issue, and the total exclusion of the deceased's sisters and their issue by the deceased's brothers and their issue, are only to be accounted for" (says Dr Jevons) "by the supposition that these principles of preference and exclusion were customary amongst the common

ancestors from whom Cretans and Athenians alike were descended. The differences between the Athenian law and the Gortyna code are due to the fact that one or other has departed from the original custom. Thus at Athens from the time of Solon, a man, if childless, might dispose of his property as he liked; but in Gortyna a man had no such power of disposing of his property by will. If he were childless, his estate necessarily went to his brothers (if any) or his sisters, etc. In this respect the Gortyna code is then more archaic even than the laws of Solon.

"Again, the limitation of rights of inheritance to the great-grandson in the line of direct descendants, and to the grandson of the deceased's brother, is found amongst other Aryan peoples and certainly existed originally at Athens, if not also in later Athenian law. The limitation probably dates from primeval times, when, for mutual protection and assistance, the members of a man's family dwelt together, even to the third generation; and consequently on the house-father's decease, his heir would usually be found within the limits of the joint, undivided family founded by him, and composed of his sons, grandsons, and great-grandsons; while if he had no direct descendants, his property would go to the joint, undivided family to which he himself had belonged, viz., that founded by his father, and consisting of his father, brothers, their sons, and grandsons¹."

It is also held that "another archaic feature of the Gortyna code is probably to be seen in the transmission of the estate, in the absence of kin, to the serfs on the estate....In other respects however it is the Gortyna code, and not Athenian law, which has departed from the original custom. Thus at Athens, daughters could claim nothing, if there was a son to inherit, and this exclusion of females was the primitive custom. But in Gortyna, though the sons had the sole right to the town house, its furniture and the cattle, the daughters shared in the rest of the patrimony—a daughter getting half as much as a son. In this piece of justice to women, Gortyna was in advance of the rest of Greece; and the same recognition of the rights of women marks other provisions of the code. Thus whereas at

¹ P. Gardner and F. B. Jevons, *A Manual of Greek Antiquities*, p. 562.

Athens the dowry of a married woman became the property of her sons as soon as they became of age, in Gortyna the mother's rights over her property were the same as the father's over his, i.e., as long as she lived, her children could not divide between themselves her property against her wish; and when she died, it was transmitted in the same way as a man's estate was.

"The laws regulating the marriage of an heiress show the same deviation from ancient custom in favour of the woman. According to the primitive idea, a woman could not conduct the worship of a deceased ancestor, and therefore could not inherit the estate either."

How are we to reconcile the views here stated with the ancient law of descent at Athens? The bar laid on the marriage of half-brothers and half-sisters born of the same mother, the whole plot of the *Eumenides*, and a strong body of tradition, lead irresistibly to the conclusion that descent through males was not primitive at Athens, but had merely come into force in the sixth century. If kinship through males had been primæval at Athens, as held by Dr Jevons and many others, why did not the Athenians regard the tie of a common father as the most sacred? Again, are we really to consider that the laws relating to the position of women at Gortyn were the outcome of enlightened legislation? May they not rather be a survival from a time when female kinship was the rule, and property passed through females? May it not be that the stringent laws relating to the marriage of heiresses at Athens were due to a desire on the part of the males of the family to prevent the family estate from being enjoyed by any man whom the heiress might choose to marry? May not the milder provisions of the Gortyn law be due to the fact that the male sex had not been able to encroach as rapidly as their Athenian brethren on the ancient rights of the women? Can we find any criterion to aid us in deciding between the current doctrine, stated above in the words of Dr Jevons, and that which I now suggest?

Matrilinear descent in the Mediterranean basin.

We have just seen that the Lycians, who are held to be closely connected with Crete, are not only credited with having

like the Athenians female kinship in early days, but actually still retained that custom down to late classical times. We saw that even if a Lycian woman cohabited with a bondsman her children were legitimate. Now at Gortyn an heiress under certain circumstances could marry a serf, and the offspring of such a marriage would be legitimate. Was this due to advanced legislation? May it not be rather a survival from a time when, as in Lycia, there was great sexual laxity, and descent was traced through women only?

But as Dr Jevons holds that the custom which permitted serfs to inherit in default of true heirs is not an innovation, but rather a survival from primitive times, he can hardly maintain that the custom of permitting a *patroikolos* to marry her serf was a concession to the rights of women made by an enlightened legislature. It is better then to look for some explanation of the legal phenomena of Athens and Gortyn other than one founded on the patriarchal theory.

The Lycians, as we have seen, were emigrants from Crete, and according to Herodotus their customs were partly Cretan, partly Carian (like those of the Ionians, who were sprung from the original Ionic settlers and Carian women, vol. 1. p. 649). Now the Lycians not only had the rule of kinship through females in Homeric times, but continued to observe that rule down to late classical days, the family property passing to the daughters, as among the Cantabrians of Spain. In face of the vast body of evidence which demonstrates that in many parts of the world down to our own days kinship has been reckoned through women and that property passes through the female rather than through the male line, it will hardly be maintained that the Lycian practice represented a stage of civilization when the enlightened lawgiver had recognized the just claims of women. Nor must it be forgotten that this system of female kinship is found amongst the less advanced, whilst that through males flourishes chiefly among the more advanced races.

Nor is it only Greece, Crete and Lycia which furnish evidence that female kinship had once been the general rule round the Aegean. We have already seen that there is distinct evidence for the existence of polyandry and female

kinship among all the peoples of Europe except the Celts (Teutonic peoples). There is evidence also of the former existence of a similar state of society among the races who dwelt on the south of the Mediterranean.

Let us start from the Atlantic islands. When the Canaries were conquered and the Guanches were converted by Jean de Bethencourt in 1402, in the island of Lancerote most of the women had three husbands, "who wait upon them alternately by months; the husband that is to live with the wife the following month waits upon her and upon her other husband the whole of the month that the latter has her, and so each takes her in turn¹." Yet on the arrival of the Spaniards these polyandrous natives of Lancerote "were distinguished from the other Canarians, who were strictly monogamous, by marks of greater civilization²."

Not only shall we meet ancient evidence for the existence of female kinship among the Libyans, but traces of it survive to this day. Thus the Berber Tuariks, in spite of the influence of the Mohammedan law, still furnish unmistakable tokens that with them inheritances formerly passed by the female side. Thus if a man dies without children and his brothers and sisters are dead, the succession passes to the children of his sister. So also if a woman dies without more immediate heirs, her succession similarly passes to the children of her sisters, and only in default of such does it fall to the children of her brothers³. The evidence for the same custom derivable from the ancient authors will be adduced more conveniently at a later point.

The close connection between the Libyans and the Egyptians has been already pointed out (vol. I. p. 216). We may naturally therefore expect to find traces of succession through women in the valley of the Nile. Property has its duties as well as its rights. Thus, whilst among the Cantabrians the daughters succeeded to the family property, they had to portion out

¹ Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 116, 451 (citing Bontier and Le Verrier, p. 139).

² *op. cit.* p. 516 (citing Humboldt's *Personal Narrative*, I. p. 83).

³ H. Bissuel, *Les Touareg de l'Ouest*, p. 110.

their brothers. Again, the ancient Irish laws indicate clearly that, although at a later time it was held that "if there be sons, the daughter does not obtain any part of the property of her mother or father, except the blade of gold, the silver thread, and the tartan, or according to others it may be the sheep and the bag that she is to get;" yet "according to others they may divide equally the movable property, and this is derived from 'The daughters share with the sons,'" i.e. one of the very ancient legal dicta on which the *Book of Aicill* is based. Moreover, the same passage lays down that "if a woman has not had male children, the daughters shall take it (the property)¹."

Now though a later Irish law laid down that "if a man have sufficient wealth, he is to maintain fully both his father and his mother: if he cannot support both, let him leave his mother in the ditch, and take his father with him on his back to his own house²," nevertheless another ordained that "he (the son) is to aid her (his mother) in poverty and support her in old age; and the same duties are also due from a daughter to her mother, to her father and to the head of her tribe³." Now, if originally the daughter was under such heavy obligations, not only to her mother and her father but also to the head of her tribe, she must have had the corresponding rights of succession to the family property, for if she received virtually no share of the property as laid down by the later law, she would not have had the means of supporting her mother or any one else. On the other hand, if in early times the daughter inherited the family property, she naturally would have the duty of maintaining her parents and the head of her tribe. But in the ancient dictum which laid down that daughters should share the property with sons, we have distinct evidence that there had been a time when the daughters' rights had been at least equal to those of the sons amongst some part of the population of Ireland. This fact, combined with evidence of polyandry in Ireland in early days, points

¹ *Book of Aicill* (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, vol. III), p. 405.

² *Senchus Mor* (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, vol. III), p. 55.

³ [We have been unable to trace this reference].

clearly to a time when there was female succession to property, and a consequent obligation on the daughters to maintain their parents. But as succession through males was the rule amongst the blond-complexioned Scoti, whilst polyandry and succession through females was certainly the rule of the Cruithne or Picts of Scotland, we may reasonably infer that the aboriginal Cruithne of Ireland had the like practices. We may now not unreasonably infer that, where there is an obligation on daughters to support their parents, there the daughters either have or once had the right of succeeding to property, as was the case among the Cantabrians.

Let us now return to the Egyptians. Herodotus¹ tells us that among them "sons need not keep their parents when they do not choose; whereas daughters are obliged to do so, even against their will." Though Rawlinson declares this custom to be incredible, McLennan rightly saw that "it was a relic of the Lycian stage in which the daughters were heirs." The custom is now in full force among the Kocch, with whom the women are the heads of the families². From the existence of this custom in Egypt the present writer has elsewhere³ offered a solution for a very important phase of Egyptian manners, which hitherto had not been explained. Pausanias⁴ tells us that Ptolemy Philadelphus "fell in love with his full sister Arsinoë and married her, contrary to the customs of the Macedonians, but agreeably to those of the Egyptians over whom he ruled." The statement of Pausanias that it was customary for the Egyptians to marry their sisters is confirmed by Diodorus⁵, and fully borne out by the evidence of Egyptian inscriptions and papyri. According to Diodorus, the Egyptians married their sisters from the time of Osiris, who had wedded his sister Isis; the queen had more power and honour than the king, whilst amongst the ordinary people the woman had authority over her husband and in marriage contracts the men had to promise to obey their wives in all things. Indeed,

¹ II. 35—6.

² McLennan, *Studies in Ancient History*, p. 234 n.

³ *Cambridge Praelections* (1906), p. 155; *The Origin of Tragedy*, 1910, pp. 196—7.

⁴ I. 7, 1 (with Frazer's note *ad loc.*).

⁵ I. 27, 1—2.

during the Ptolemaic and Roman periods marriages with sisters seem to have been the rule and not the exception in Egypt¹. Their prevalence in the second century of our era is demonstrated by a number of tax-papers of A.D. 189, for a decided majority of the marriages mentioned in these documents were contracted with sisters. That these alliances were not with half-sisters merely is made clear by the phrase "his wife being his sister by the same father and the same mother," which occurs in one of these papers.

A similar practice prevailed in the royal family of Caria. Hecatomnos, king of Caria, had three sons, Mausolus, Hidrieus, and Pixodarus, and two daughters, Artemisia and Ada. Mausolus, the eldest son, married Artemisia, the eldest daughter, whilst Hidrieus married his sister Ada. When Mausolus died without issue, he left the kingdom to his wife, who erected to his memory the Mausoleum, the splendour of which has made its name generic for sepulchres of peculiar magnificence, and which Strabo reckons among the seven wonders of the world. She pined away and died of grief for her husband. Hidrieus succeeded her. He died a natural death, and was succeeded by his wife Ada. She was ejected by Pixodarus, the surviving brother. Pixodarus received a Persian satrap into Halicarnassus who espoused Ada, the daughter of Pixodarus, and Aphneis, a woman of Cappadocia. On the death of Pixodarus the Persian retained the sovereignty until Alexander reinstated the ex-queen Ada on the throne².

A female sovereign was no new feature in Caria, since in the first part of the fifth century B.C. the throne of Halicarnassus had been filled by Artemisia. "She had obtained the sovereign power after the death of her husband, and though she had now a son grown up, yet her brave spirit and manly courage sent her forth to the war, when no need required her to adventure. She was the daughter of Lygdamis. By race she was on his side a Halicarnassian, though by her mother a Cretan. She ruled over Halicarnassus, the men of Cos, of Nisyrus, and of Calydna." Herodotus³ adds that "the cities over which she bore sway were one and all

¹ Erman, *Aegypten*, pp. 221—2.

² Strabo, xiv. 656, 657.

³ VII. 99.

Dorian, for the Halicarnassians were colonists from Troezen, while the remainder were from Epidaurus." Indeed it is more than probable that the Dorian settlers were never more than a mere handful and that even those families which considered themselves Dorian, like that to which Herodotus himself belonged, were almost wholly Carian in blood. There is not the slightest evidence for the use of the Dorian dialect at Halicarnassus, whilst Panyasis, the name of the distinguished uncle of the great historian, is rather Carian than Doric in form, as is also the case with the names of the royal house such as Lygdamis, Pisindelis, Mausolus and Pixodarus. Though it cannot be maintained that Artemisia had succeeded to the throne by virtue of her mother, who was a Cretan, nevertheless the fact that a nominally Dorian community allowed itself to be ruled by a woman may well have been due to the circumstance that there was a large native element in the population who regarded female succession as natural and right. It will presently be seen that the Dorians themselves had from the earliest times been distinctly polyandrous, and, as Aristotle pointed out, the influence of women was always a great factor at Sparta. It is therefore not unlikely that succession through females was once the rule in Caria, as it continued to be in Lycia. Indeed, if succession through males had been the strict rule, Mausolus could hardly have excluded his own brother Hidrieus from the succession in favour of his wife. It is remarkable that Hidrieus seems to have made no attempt to oust Artemisia. Again, on the death of Hidrieus his wife Ada succeeded him, and though later on she was deposed by her brother Pixodarus, this was evidently regarded by his subjects as an illegal act, for he was forced to secure himself against them by calling in Persian aid, and when Alexander reinstated Ada, she was backed by the people against Ada, the daughter of Pixodarus, and her Persian husband. Hence it would appear that Artemisia, not Mausolus, may have been the real heir to the throne, and Mausolus only reigned as her consort. If this were so, Artemisia naturally retained the throne on the death of her husband, although she had no son for whom to act as regent. Herein lies an essential difference

between her case and that of the elder Artemisia, for the latter, according to Herodotus, seems only to have held the sovereign power as regent for her son Pisindelis, who succeeded her. Artemisia the younger was really succeeded by her sister Ada, though nominally by her brother Hidrieus, who probably only reigned as king-consort, like his brother Mausolus before him.

Since the foregoing view was advanced more than twenty years ago, it has been generally approved and steadily confirmed by fresh researches. Not the least important of these is a paper by the late Sir Marc Amand Ruffer, C.M.G., "On the Physical Effects of Consanguineous Marriages in the Royal Families of Ancient Egypt¹," in which he has marshalled all the relevant facts not only for the Ptolemies, but also all those obtainable from the records of the XVIIIth, XIXth and XXIst Dynasties. He started on this enquiry in order to test the correctness or otherwise of the generally held doctrine that "the children of consanguineous marriages are likely to be weak and to be the bearers of some congenital defect," as "some students of heredity maintain that the facts on which this is based are not convincing," and especially since "from the same data divergent conclusions have been drawn." Though Sir George Darwin's investigations "did not reveal any distinct connection between infertility, deaf-mutism, insanity or idiocy and consanguineous marriages," he held "that the vitality of the children of first cousins was somewhat below the normal and the death-rate was slightly higher than in the offspring of other unions." Yet "the observations made in France and Denmark do not seem to prove the peril of such unions and the facts collected in other European countries are not convincing." Ruffer pointed out that though "the majority of modern peoples exhibit in their legislation a conviction of the perils of consanguineous marriage, and believe that all kinds of evil threaten the offspring of such unions, this idea seems to be entirely modern, for, although some ancient peoples were opposed to incestuous marriages, there is no reason to think that this prohibition was due to a belief in evil effects on the offspring." Thus though the Greeks and the Romans looked upon incest as a crime, Myrrha, who

¹ *Proc. of Royal Soc. of Medicine*, vol. xii (1919), pp. 145-90.

conceived an incestuous passion for her father Cinyras, to whom she bore Adonis¹, is represented as asking why that which is the rule among beasts should be a crime amongst men, whilst in the story of Lot's daughters, though there is certainly a repugnance to such unions, neither in the Greek nor in the Hebrew incident is there any suggestion that such unions were harmful to the progeny. This was certainly not so in the case of Lot's daughters, from whom sprang respectively the virile stocks of Moab and Ammon.

In the records, mummies and portraits of the Egyptian royal houses, Ruffer found an admirable field for testing the truth or falsity of the conflicting views respecting the offspring of such marriages. As his results are not only important for our immediate purpose, consanguineous marriages in the basin of the Mediterranean, but also for the much debated question of the origin of Exogamy, I here give a brief summary of his conclusions, prefacing it with some remarks on the early history of the Dynasties of which he treats.

After the conquest of Alexander the Great, Manetho, an Egyptian priest, compiled in Greek from the hieroglyphic records a history of his country from the earliest times, the value of which for even the earliest dynasties has been strangely confirmed by modern excavations, even King Menes, so long held to have been only a myth, having now been proved to have had a very real personality. According to Manetho², the Hyksos were in Egypt for 511 years. But in the end both the kings of the Thebaid and of the rest of Egypt revolted against the Shepherds, and a great and protracted war broke out. But in the reign of a king called Misphragmuthosis (Ahmose?) the Shepherds were defeated and expelled from the rest of Egypt, and were confined to a certain place called Avaris, strongly fortified (on the Bubastic or eastern mouth of the Nile). But Thoumosis (Thothmes III?) finally accomplished their expulsion. Manetho held that the Hyksos came from the east and were 'Arabians.' In this he seems clearly right, for there is no evidence that they were either Mongolians or Hittites, as held by some, on the assumption that the horse entered Egypt with either of these peoples.

¹ Ovid, *Met.* x. 322 sqq.

² *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* ii. p. 567.

But the evidence is all against this latter assumption. According to the story of Jacob (*circa* 1800—1700 B.C.) an Egyptian king of that age had chariots and horses. But as the Arabs of the Peninsula had no horses until after Christ, and as there is no evidence that the horse was used in Syria or Babylonia before 1500 B.C., whilst horses and chariots were the most powerful military arm of the Egyptian kings, if not from the XVIIth, at least from the XVIIIth Dynasty onwards, it seems certain that the horse was introduced during the dark period of the Hyksos domination between the Middle and the New Empire, but as it did not come from Asia, we must look elsewhere for its provenance.



Fig. 8. Silver Didrachm. Probably struck by the Barcides in southern Spain (241—218 B.C.). *Obv.* portrait of Hamilcar, Hasdrubal, or Hannibal (?); *rev.* Libyan horse and palm-tree¹.

It is now generally recognized that the so-called 'Arab' or 'blood' horse is really a separate species developed in North-west Africa, *Equus caballus Libycus* (Ridgeway)², whilst all the primitive European-Asiatic horses (from which our heavy breeds are mainly derived) form another species descended from the horses of Palaeolithic times, the bones of which have been found in great quantities at the settlement of Solutr  in France³. The primitive horse of the Upper European-Asiatic region in historical times had an ugly head, large joints, a dun colour with

¹ My own specimen. Others hold that these coins were struck in Numidia by Massinissa (202—148 B.C.) or his son Micipsa (148—118 B.C.), but as the portraits show beardless men, and Massinissa and Micipsa on their inscribed coins always have beards (see the coin of Micipsa, Fig. 5), this attribution is unlikely.

² Ridgeway, *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse* (1905), pp. 425—77.

³ *ibid.* p. 89.

a great tendency to pass into white, the skin white even under the dun hair, the tail, set low on the croup, only covered with long hair for the last third of the dock; it had a bad temper, which led to its being driven and ridden with bits from a remote period, whilst the Scythians adopted the practice of castration to render it more tractable. The best modern representative is the tarpan, which, when brought once more to notice



Fig. 4. Siculo-Punic tetradrachm imitated from the Syracusan tetradrachm engraved (B.C. 406, 390?) by Evaenetus. *Obv.* Head of so-called Persephone or Arethusa, probably the city Syracuse, the dolphins being the State badge; *rev.* Libyan horse, and palm-tree¹.

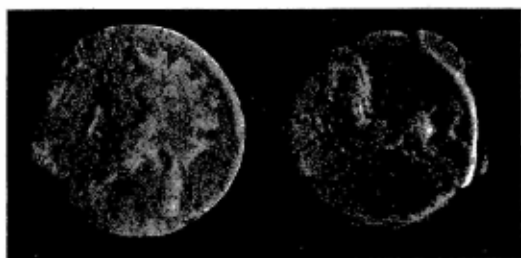


Fig. 5. Bronze coin of Micipsa, king of Numidia (B.C. 148—118). *Obv.* Head of Micipsa; *rev.* Libyan horse¹.

in 1881, was named Prijvalsky's Horse², but these animals were shown by the present writer to be surviving tarpans, more or less mixed with feral horses, a view universally accepted. On the other hand, the Libyan horse is slightly built with fine head and small joints, the tail set on high on the croup and covered with long silky hair from the root (Figs. 4 and 5); the skin even under the white hair is blue-black as in the other

¹ My own specimen.

² Ridgeway, *op. cit.* pp. 26—43.

African Equidae; the colour is bay, often with a white star in the forehead and white bracelets on the legs¹ (Fig. 6), its temper has always been so gentle that the Libyans rode it without a bit, whilst the modern Arabs only use a noseband to control it. Through long centuries these two species of horses have overlapped in southern Asia and southern Europe, the Libyan being the horse of price, the European-Asiatic that used for baser purposes.

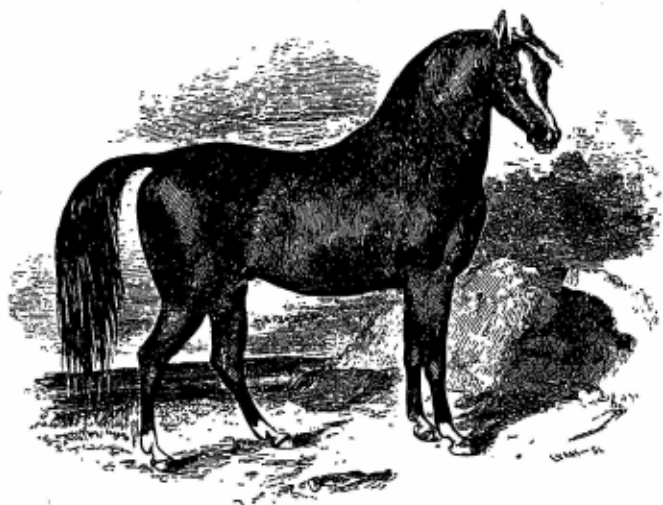


Fig. 6. A Bay Arabian.

Although by the time of Solomon (900 B.C.) the Asiatic horses were abundant in Mesopotamia, Asia Minor, and Palestine, yet such was the superiority of the Libyan horses that Solomon imported at high prices horses and chariots from Egypt not only for himself, but also for all the kings of Syria and of the Hittites, doubtless at a good profit. That horses of a bay or brown colour, of an elegant build, with the tail set on high and covered with long hair from the root (as in the modern 'blood' horse), were in full use in the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, is proved by the painting of Seti I in his chariot (Fig. 7).

¹ For the origin of the star and bracelets, see Ridgeway, *op. cit.* pp. 373—4.



Fig. 7. Sesi I in battle.

Many years ago¹ the present writer gave reasons for believing that not only was the horse the most powerful engine in the expulsion of the Hyksos, but also that it came into Egypt from Libya with the Libyan element in the population of the Nile valley, and further that the great kings from the XVIIth Dynasty onwards were Libyans. He has pointed out elsewhere (vol. I. pp. 290—1) that the descent of chieftain houses from some particular god, such as that of the Scandinavian and Teutonic from Odin and Thor, has a weighty ethnological significance. Thus all the great Achean chieftains in Homer trace their lineage from Zeus, whilst on the other hand the kingly families of the pre-Achean period derive theirs from Poseidon. It is therefore of high importance that not only does Amon, the name of the great Libyan deity whose immemorial shrine was in the oasis of the same name (the modern Siwa), appear as an element in the names of many of the kings of the XVIIIth, XIXth, XXIst and succeeding Dynasties, e.g. Amenhotep, Amenohis, Amenertas, etc., but also Hatshepsut, the greatest queen of the first of these Dynasties, claimed direct descent from Amon, and her miraculous conception, birth and education are recorded on the walls of the Luxor temple. But this is not all, for the same holds true for the great XXVth or Ethiopian Dynasty. Thus Taharka, the Tirhakah of the Bible², and the contemporary of Hezekiah (710 B.C.), says on his stele³ that "Amen places all lands under his feet," i.e. his ancestral god. But a most important confirmation of these views has lately come to light. Dr Reisner⁴, who was carrying on excavations on behalf of the Gordon College, Khartoum, having practically completed the excavations of the Nuri Pyramid group in the two previous seasons, in 1918—19 began work on the royal cemetery at Kurru on the right bank of the Nile, a few miles down from Jebel Barkal, and there discovered the family burial place of the founders of the Ethiopian Dynasty

¹ Ridgeway, *op. cit.* pp. 215—38.

² 2 Kings xix. 9.

³ Petrie, *Hist. of Egypt*, vol. III. p. 296.

⁴ *Eighteenth Annual Report of the Work of the Gordon Memorial College, Khartoum*, 1920, p. 269.

and of their ancestors. The tombs of the kings of Egypt and Ethiopia,—Piankhi, Shabaka, Shabataka, and Tanutaman—were found, together with those of several of their queens, Taharka himself (the fifth king) having been buried at Nuri. Sixteen still earlier tombs of the ancestors of Piankhi were also found, but of the latter, representing five or six generations, not a single name has survived, since, as at Nuri and Jebel, the graves, tumuli, mastabas, pit-tombs, and pyramids at Kurru had been grievously plundered in the remote past, and only fragments of their former treasures were recovered. But the objects found in this series of tombs clearly prove that the founders of the Dynasty were of Libyan origin; that they were possessed of abundance of gold and alabaster and faience ware of the finest Egyptian work. No less interesting in some respects is the discovery of a cemetery of horse-graves in four rows, each containing four horses, this four-horse team evidently having been slain at the burial of each king.

But under the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties the name of the great Libyan god also forms an element in the names of the kings' horses¹, e.g. "Amon bestows strength," "Amon entrusts him with victory." It is therefore hard to resist the inference that the great XVIIth, XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties were Libyans, who had forced their way, as their race was constantly ever attempting right down to Christian times, into the Nile valley, and had succeeded in subduing and finally expelling the Semitic Hyksos. This they were probably enabled to do by their Libyan horses and chariots, which later on were a chief factor in their victorious campaigns in Palestine and even as far as the Euphrates.

Let us now turn to the XVIIIth Dynasty. With queen Aahotep I, the mother of the great Ahmose I, begins the record of a series of incestuous or consanguineous unions, but we do not know how far back the practice extended in her family. She herself had no less than eleven children. As space forbids details, we must simply give Ruffer's results, as far as possible in his own words:—"A Royal family in which consanguineous

¹ Ridgeway, *op. cit.* p. 218.

marriage was the rule produced nine distinguished rulers, among whom were Ahmose, the liberator of his country [from the Hyksos], Thutmose III [husband of his half-sister, Hapshepsut's daughter Meryt-Ra], Hapshepsut, one of the greatest conquerors and administrators that the world has ever seen¹, Amenhotep IV, the fearless religious reformer; the beloved queen Nerfertari, who was placed among the gods after her death, Aahmes, the beautiful queen, and Hatshepsut, the greatest queen of Egypt," who for thirty years herself carried on the administration, her half-brother-husband Thothmes II being strictly kept in the position of king-consort. "There is no evidence that the physical characteristics or mental power of the family were unfavourably influenced by the repeated consanguineous marriages." "The kings and queens of the XIXth Dynasty [circa 1328—1202 B.C.], a remarkably handsome set of people, were probably lineal descendants of those of the XVIIIth Dynasty. Seti I (Fig. 7), in spite of his big and heavy jaw, has a most noble and dignified appearance." His son "Ramses II, the great historical figure of this Dynasty, married two of his sisters, and had four children by the first, and three or possibly four by the second sister. He is even said to have married two of his daughters, but the evidence on this point is not conclusive. By other wives and concubines the king is said to have had 106 other sons and 47 daughters, therefore this descendant of a long line of consanguineous marriages cannot be said to have been infertile. His features are strong and refined, the teeth excellent, the only blemish is the complete baldness." The mummy measures 5 ft. 9½ ins. Little is known about his children. One son associated with him in the administration predeceased him, another, Merenptah, succeeded him, whilst "the other children formed the powerful tribe of the Ramessides, which exerted considerable influence for many generations." Merenptah was son of Ramses II by his first sister. He was a strong ruler and inflicted a crushing defeat upon the Lebu (Libyans) and their allies, the Akaiuasha (Acheans), the Shardena, the Thunisha,

¹ So venerated was he by posterity that his name is found on amulets not earlier than 7th cent. B.C., and even on those inscribed with the names of Rameses IX and Psammetichus; cf. vol. I. p. 76.

and the Luku (Lycians), when they made their great attack upon Egypt in 1229 B.C. We must here be content with these few samples of the Dynasty and refer the reader to Ruffer's description of the mummies and the portraits and to his tables of the XVIIIth and XIXth Dynasties, in which are given the heights of the Ramessides and a *résumé* of the chief marriages of the XXIst Dynasty, which shows that in it consanguineous marriages were common and marriages between brother and sister very few. "The Ethiopian Dynasty also followed the custom of close intermarriage, e.g. queen Amenertas married her brother Piankhi II, and their daughter Shepenapt III married her half-brother Taharka [Tirhakah, 'king of Ethiopia']¹, the son of Akalouka, and a child, Amenertas II (and possibly others), was born from this marriage. Taharka was a man of foresight, power and courage, but we know little of Amenertas II."

The persistent love of the Egyptian for matrilinear descent and for queens as rulers is further shown by Strabo², who, describing the Egyptians who had revolted from Psammetichus and settled in a district named Tenessis, says that they were ruled by a queen, to whom Meroe was likewise subject.

We now pass to the Ptolemies, whose "history is of special interest to the student of heredity, because the first four kings of the family, not being sprung from consanguineous unions, can be compared with the later kings who were born when such marriages had become the rule." After a detailed examination Ruffer thus concludes³:—"The Ptolemies born from consanguineous unions were neither better nor worse than the first four kings of the same family sprung from non-consanguineous marriages, and had the same general characteristics. Their conduct of foreign affairs and internal administration were in every way remarkable and energetic. They were not unpopular in their capital, and the Alexandrians rallied round their rulers when the Romans entered Egypt, and resisted the foreigner.

¹ 2 Kings xix. 9.

² XVI. 770, XVII. 786.

³ *op. cit.* p. 189. Ruffer bases this section on *A History of Egypt under the Ptolemaic Dynasty* (1899), by the late Sir John Mahaffy, to whom he frequently refers.

Though much has been written about the awful sexual immorality of the Ptolemies, they must not be judged by comparison with the *morals* of this century, but an opinion must be based on the study of the literature and customs of the time. The chief characteristic of the Alexandrian literature is its eroticism and the standard of morality was as low as it possibly could be. The spirit of disparagement which existed always led to a systematic slandering of the reigning king; and later on the Romans industriously blackened the characters of their future opponents. Thus it was not unlikely that the Ptolemies were better than they have been painted. Their standard of morality was certainly not lower than that of their fellow townsmen.

"The children from these incestuous marriages displayed no lack of mental energy. Both men and women were equally strong, capable, intelligent and wicked. Certain pathological characteristics doubtless ran through the family. Gout and obesity weighed heavily on the Ptolemies, but the tendency to obesity existed before consanguineous unions had taken place. The male and female effigies on coins are those of very stout, well nourished persons. The theory that the offspring of incestuous marriages is short-lived receives no confirmation from the history of the Ptolemies." The average length of life of those who did not meet violent ends was 64. Several women of the family reached an advanced age, amounting in three cases to over 60. "Owing to the lack of statistics in ancient Alexandria it is impossible to compare the length of life of Ptolemaic kings with that of other Alexandrian families. But when we consider the nature of these lives, diversified by intrigues, murders, wars, and debauchery, we may admit that the Ptolemies possessed remarkably strong constitutions. Sterility was not a result of these consanguineous marriages. No case of idiocy, deaf-mutism, etc., in Ptolemaic families has been reported. With regard to the theory that hereditary pathological tendencies are 'reinforced' by consanguineous marriages, cousins or near relatives who marry are not usually affected with nor predisposed to deaf-mutism, idiocy, epilepsy, nor to the other infirmities which are said to threaten the children of

consanguineous parents. There can be no question of any reinforcement of an hereditary tendency which does not exist on either side. The history of the Ptolemies does not show that their predisposition to obesity or to gout was increased by their consanguineous unions. Had the families of these monarchs suffered from some hereditary disease, the local satirists would have made capital of it, with due exaggeration, and the fact that they were silent is of the utmost importance."

In the person of Cleopatra, the last sovereign of her race and of ancient Egypt, all the allegations ever brought against the offspring of incestuous or consanguineous marriages meet their confutation. For, coming to the throne at the age of 17,



Fig. 8. Tetradrachm of Antony and Cleopatra¹.

in most critical times, she displayed extraordinary physical energy, ability and tact, until her death at the age of 39. Her morals were not worse than those of her subjects or other contemporaries; her luxury and extravagance not beyond those of other Oriental courts; she was not cruel when judged by the standard of her time; she was certainly not infertile since to Caesar she bore Caesarion and to Antony three other children, two of whom were twins; her ready wit, her knowledge of human nature and her power of bending it to her will, her charm of manner, her musical voice, and her mastery of many tongues, are all well attested, and it was by this remarkable combination of gifts rather than by mere fleshliness that she gained such potent influence over the two case-hardened

¹ My own specimen.

Roman libertines. Amidst the stress of war and politics, and the distractions of her court, she evinced a love of art, literature and learning, for it was she who added the famous library of Pergamus to its rival in her own capital. The portraits on her coins (Fig. 8) evince a strength of purpose. Her resourcefulness and courage in desperate straits abode with her to the last, and when all hope was gone with unflinching resolve she died by her own act rather than live to grace the conqueror's triumph.

We can now see a motive other than a mere freak of depravity for the marriage of brothers and sisters among races which have or had the custom of female kinship and female succession. Such marriages have been known in many parts of the modern world, for instance, in the royal families of Siam, Burmah and Peru. The same practice occurs among many barbarous peoples at the present time in Africa, Asia and Polynesia¹. In the case of the Burmese royal house these unions were confined to half-brothers and half-sisters. Such marriages are but the extreme form of a tendency to marry within the tribe or clan, a principle termed Endogamy by McLennan.

Whilst the principle which he termed Exogamy, that is, the rule of marrying outside the tribe, is usually found at work among the lowest savages, who, like the natives of Australia, lead the life of hunters, and have little or no property either in common or in severalty, Endogamy, on the other hand, is more commonly found among races who have settled down in fixed habitations, and who have learned to till the ground and have acquired property in it.

It is noteworthy that in many of the communities where intermarriage between brothers and sisters is known to exist

¹ Frazer's note on Paus. i. 7, 1; Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 290 *seqq.* Among such tribes are the Waganda of Central Africa, the Masai, the Obongos of West Africa, the Zabalat (between the Dender and the Blue Nile); it is found in some parts of Borneo, among the Yesos, the New Caledonians, and Hawaiians (in the latter case according to some being confined to the royal family). "Among the Veddahs of Ceylon the most correct marriage a man could contract was with his younger sister; but for a man to marry his elder sister was incest."

or to have existed, the practice was not general, but was confined to the kingly or chieftain families. This deviation from the usual rule is often ascribed to a desire to keep the blood royal pure. Under this category come the royal family of the Incas of Peru, the royal houses of Burmah and Siam, the Karagwahs of Equatorial Africa, the Wahuma and probably Bergoo and Bali¹. But, although a desire to keep the blood uncontaminated may explain this practice where it is confined to the ruling family, the existence of this custom in the whole community as in Egypt cannot be so explained, whilst it was even quite possible to keep pure the blood of the chieftain family without resorting to incestuous marriages. Thus the ancient house of the Bacchiadae, who even after the abolition of the monarchy continued to rule Corinth as a close oligarchy, "intermarried only amongst themselves, and held the management of affairs. Now it happened that Amphion, one of these Bacchiadae, had a daughter, Labda by name, who was lame, and whom therefore none of the Bacchiadae would consent to marry; so she was taken to wife by Aëtion, son of Echecrates, a man of the township of Petra²." By him she became mother of Cypselus, so named from the chest in which his mother concealed him when her clansmen sought his life. This child later on became despot of Corinth and expelled the Bacchiadae. Now although it is quite possible that family pride may have in some degree influenced the Bacchiadae in their desire to keep their daughters from marrying outside the clan, the words of Herodotus make it clear that with them the real reason was a desire to concentrate their wealth and power within their own family. This indeed is the doctrine put by Aeschylus in the mouth of the king of Argos, when appealed to by the daughters of Danaus to save them from an incestuous union with their cousins. The *Suppliques* opens with the arrival of Danaus and his fifty daughters on the coast of Argolis, whither they have fled from Egypt to seek an asylum from the fifty sons of Aegyptus, the brother of Danaus; when the Danaïds ask his aid that they may not become handmaids to the house of

¹ Frazer, *loc. cit.*

² Herod. v. 92 (Rawlinson).

Aegyptus, the king asks if their repugnance to their cousins arises from a family feud or because they consider it to be an unlawful union. They reply that no one would purchase relations as masters. The king, who was no sentimentalist, answers that "it is in this way that family influence increases in the world¹."

The practice of the Bacchiadae and the doctrine enunciated by king Pelasgus may give us the right key to the rise of Endogamy out of Exogamy. Its occurrence in any community may turn out to be a proof that female succession had there once been the rule.

Now we know that in Lycia not only was descent reckoned through females, but likewise inheritances passed to the daughters, and not to the sons; we have also learned that female kinship had once been the rule at Athens, and we saw some reasons for believing that such too had once been the case in Crete, Egypt and Libya. If we start from these data, the facts relating to the law of heiresses at Athens and Gortyn and the incestuous marriages of the Egyptians and the royal house of Caria can be easily and consistently explained. So long as a tribe which practises polyandry, and has female kinship, is in a hunter or nomad condition, without fixed habitations or property in land, the question of descent need not become prominent. But when such a community settles permanently and acquires property, and all the land is occupied, troubles begin to arise. The family home belongs to the mother, not to the father, and on the death of the mother it passes not to the son but to the daughter, who by a union with a stranger from another family, or it may be another tribe, rears a new family, when the daughters will again succeed. The sons therefore have to seek for homes with women of other families or of other tribes; if they belong to a militant race, they may capture the women of other tribes, and thus form fresh families where new ideas of kinship may arise. For the slave-woman being the sole property of her lord is not allowed to be polyandrous on penalty of being clubbed, and a greater certainty of the paternity of the offspring thereby results.

¹ *Suppl.* 338.

As *force majeure* in the end settles all things in all ages, the male was always the more important factor in the community, for success in war depended on the men rather than on the women of the tribe. In a warlike community the sons would thus be much more important than their sisters, as in the case of the Osmanli Turks, and we accordingly find numerous examples of a stage which may be taken as the first step from female to male succession. It is more than probable that among certain peoples at least the first step was taken in the chieftain families. Africa, both ancient and modern, presents admirable examples of this. Thus Strabo¹ when describing the habits of the Troglodyte Ethiopians who dwelt in Meroe states that they led a nomadic life, each community being under a *tyrannos* or sheikh, and, except in the case of these chiefs, all had their wives and children in common. But in case any man had dealings with the wife of the chief, he was fined a sheep. It is therefore clear that a strong chief could secure for himself the sole use of a particular woman or women. Again, in Ashanti, although the princesses were allowed to cohabit with any man they liked, in later times the kings had their wives very jealously supervised and attended by guards when they passed through the city. Again, although in Uganda² the royal succession has been through males for a very long time, there are not wanting facts which point to a period when this may not have been so, for every prince took his mother's totems, the royal totems—lion, leopard, and eagle—being seldom mentioned, and the clan to which the woman belonged claimed the prince as their child. Moreover, the precautions taken to prevent princesses bearing children and "the elaborate ceremonies observed in choosing and appointing the queen (who was not merely a princess, but the sister of the king), seem to point to a time when other customs prevailed, possibly succession through the female line." In at least one of these features there is a remarkable parallel to the practice of the Egyptians and the royal house of Caria. Again, in Ashanti the sovereignty though regularly held by a man was always derived from a woman. Thus

¹ xvi. 775.

² J. Roscoe, *The Baganda* (1911), p. 187.

Prempeh, the last king, inherited the throne through his mother. But, even when this step has been taken, it is still a long way from full male succession. The king in such a case is not succeeded by his own son, but by his sister's son. For although there is no doubt that the king is his mother's son, there may be very great uncertainty touching the true paternity of those reputed to be the king's sons. On the other hand there can be no doubt that the king's sister's son has in his veins the blood royal. Hence the succession passes either to the king's brothers by the same mother, or in default of them to the son of his uterine sister.

Now, since, in the cases hitherto before us, the son either did not succeed to the chieftainship at all, as his sister's husband probably became her war-chief, or, if the son did become chief, he had no means of securing the succession for his own offspring, difficulties were bound to arise. Thus in Turkey where a sultan was succeeded not by his own son, but by his brother, his first act usually on ascending the throne was to put out the eyes of his brothers, thereby incapacitating them from reigning, and thus securing the succession for his own sons. Uganda seems to show us traces of two steps in the gradual advance to complete patrilinear succession. The earlier of these we have just seen in the elaborate precautions taken to prevent the royal princesses having children. The second, that which we have just seen in the case of Turkey, is clearly indicated by the fact that in early days the king's brothers were not allowed to have sons, their male infants being put to death by the midwife, whilst in later times, down to the reign of Mutesa, as soon as a king succeeded to the throne, he had his brothers burned to death¹. In peaceful communities, such as Egypt, the sons saw the family property pass with their sisters into the hands of strangers, their own hopes for the future depending on their being able to secure by marriage the property of some other family. In such cases the only way in which a man could secure the enjoyment of the family property was to marry his sister. Similarly there was but one way by which a young prince could succeed to the throne and also secure that throne

¹ J. Roscoe, *The Baganda*, pp. 81, 188.

for his own children. For, although he himself might succeed through his mother, as did the kings of Ashanti, yet he would be succeeded by his sister's son, and not by his own. On the other hand, if he married his sister, by virtue of being her husband he became the chief, and his son by virtue of being his father's sister's son would succeed him. The action of Ptolemy Philadelphus, which we are told was in perfect accord with Egyptian custom, may have had many precedents in the old Egyptian dynasties. The reason for this practice in the royal families of many races, such as Egypt, Caria, Peru, Siam, and Burmah, is now clear.

In the laws of Gortyn and Athens we see at work the same desire to prevent the family property passing away to men of alien clans. The Gortynians (who were Dorians, probably early settlers direct from Histiaeotis rather than later ones from Laconia) were satisfied if the heiress did not carry the inheritance away from the *genos*, and with this proviso they left the heiress a considerable share of freedom. But the Athenians were so intent on keeping the inheritance in the family that they permitted the next of kin not only to put away his own wife in order that he might marry the heiress, but even to carry her off from a husband to whom she had been legally married before she had become an heiress. The laws relating to the marriage of heiresses at Athens and at Gortyn thus confirm the evidence previously adduced to prove that kinship had once been reckoned through women, and that inheritances at Athens and in Crete had in early times passed to the daughters, as was the case in Lycia and amongst the Cantabrians (p. 56) down to the late classical period, whilst our inquiry has likewise shown us at least one reason for the development of Endogamy out of Exogamy.

We saw that the *Eumenides* alluded to a time when a woman was always of a *genos* other than that of her husband. It would appear that such a state of exogamy gradually disappears, as the young men of each *genos* grow discontented with a system under which part of the property of the *genos* is constantly passing along with the girls of the *genos*, who are given in marriage to the men of other clans.

It must not be forgotten that, even in polyandrous communities where exogamy is strictly observed, the sexual right of the males of the woman's immediate relation-group over her is frequently retained, as among the Australian blacks. Such too would appear to have been the case with the ancient Iberians (p. 57), and such too may be the meaning of Strabo's story that the ancient Irish were polyandrous and cohabited with their sisters (p. 51). In such communities, where the rights of the males over each girl of the clan or tribe had not been entirely abrogated, the desire to retain property in the clan would soon operate, and the young men would form permanent unions with the young women of their own tribe.

In the Gortyn rule, which permitted an heiress to marry any one of her own *genos*, we not improbably catch a glimpse of the first step towards endogamy; the stricter provisions of the Attic law exhibit a narrowing down of the same tendency, whilst in the marriages of uncles and nieces and half-brothers and half-sisters, provided they had different mothers, the desire to keep the property within, not the clan, but the family, is clearly discernible; this reaches its extreme point in the Egyptian custom, which permitted full brothers and full sisters to intermarry.

If female kinship was the rule among the communities of the aboriginal race of Greece, the legends ought to furnish us with some confirmatory evidence. Indeed both Bachofen and McLennan have long since called in their aid for this purpose to some extent. Thus McLennan¹ has pointed out that the number of the Greek Eponymae "is remarkably great, considering the disposition of the later Greeks to substitute male for female pedigrees. Among the Eponymae are Salamis, Corcyra, Aegina, Thebe, the daughters of the river Asopus, Messene, Sparta, Athene, and Mycene—all of them belonging to the pre-historic period, whereas we know that many of the Eponymi of the genealogists were invented within historic times. Sparta is older than Spartus; Mycene than Myceneus. Mycene as an Eponyma is mentioned by Homer; Myceneus, who supplanted her, is, as Mr Grote points out, the creation of post-Homeric

¹ *Stud. Anc. Hist.* p. 228.

Greece." From this it is inferred that women were anciently the heads of the groups of kindred.

Tribes also explained their affinity to one another by pointing to the relationship of their primitive mothers. Thus the daughters of Asopus became by gods the mothers of tribes, which were thus kindred to one another. For example, the Thebans on being told to look for assistance to their next of kin remembered that Thebe and Aegina had been sisters, and accordingly asked the Aeginetans to help them against Athens¹. Again, the Lyctians of Crete, who claimed affinity with Athens and with Sparta, in each case traced their relationship wholly through mothers². To the cases cited by McLennan we may add the statement of Pausanias³ concerning Boeotia that "some of the cities are called after men, but the greater part are called after women." The use of the term *metropolis* supports the view that the Eponymae are earlier than the Eponymi. Of course it may be said that the reason why the heroines rather than heroes are set down as the first founders of cities may be due to the fact that *polis* is feminine, and not to the great importance of women in the earlier stages of Greek society. But to this objection the legends, when interrogated properly, will furnish a sufficient answer.

The list of Attic kings shows us several indications that succession at Athens was not from father to son, but rather from mother to son, and the lists of the early monarchs of other states exhibit a similar feature. According to Pausanias⁴, "They say that Actaeus was the first who reigned in what is now Attica; and on his death Cecrops succeeded to the throne, being the husband of Actaeus' daughter. There were born to him three daughters, Herse, Aglaurus, and Pandrosus, and a son, Erysichthon. The son did not come to the kingdom but died in his father's life-time, and Cecrops was succeeded on the throne by Cranaus, the most powerful of the Athenians. They say that Cranaus had daughters, amongst whom was Atthis: after her they named the country Attica, which before was called Actaea. But Amphictyon rose up against Cranaus

¹ Herod. v. 80—1.

² Plutarch, *De mulier. virt.* 8 (II. 247 F).

³ ix. 1. 1.

⁴ i. 2. 6.

and deposed him, though he had the daughter of Cranaus to wife. He was himself afterwards banished by Erichthonius and his fellow rebels."

Let us now turn to the pedigree of the early rulers of Argolis (vol. I. p. 96). It was Phoroneus, son of the river Inachus, who first brought mankind together and founded the town called Phoronicum after him. Phoroneus was succeeded by his daughter's son Argos, who gave his name to the district. He begat Phorbas, who begat Triopas, who begat Iasus and Agenor. Iasus begat Io, who went to Egypt. Her descendant Danaus returned to Argolis and reigned there. Danaus was succeeded by his son-in-law Lynceus, husband of Hypermnestra. He begat Abas, who begat Acrisius and Proetus. Acrisius begat Danae and was succeeded by Perseus, son of Danae¹.

Turning next to Sicyon, we find that whilst its earliest kings are represented as succeeding in the male line, nevertheless the genealogy shows remarkable instances of succession through females. Thus Apis begat Thelxion, who begat Aegyros, who begat Thurimachus, who begat Leucippus, who had a daughter Calchinia. She had by Poseidon a son Peratus, who succeeded his grandfather; Peratus begat Plemnaeus, who begat Orthopolis, who had a daughter Chrysorthe, who bore to Apollo a child called Coronus; he begat Corax and Lamedon; Corax died childless, and Epopeus, who had come from Thessaly, usurped the kingdom, but on his death Lamedon regained it. He married Pheno, daughter of the Athenian Clytius. Afterwards, having gone to war with Archander and Architeles, sons of Achaeus, he induced Sicyon to come from Attica and fight for him, and gave him his daughter Zeuxippe to wife. Lamedon was succeeded by Sicyon, who had a daughter Chthonophyle, who bore to Hermes a son Polybus, who succeeded his mother's father². The whole list of the Sicyonic dynasty is given elsewhere in this work (vol. I. pp. 105—6).

The royal line of Arcadia also furnishes several noteworthy examples of succession through females. Pelasgus, son of

¹ Paus. II. 15. 5 *sqq.*

² *id.* II. 5. 7 *sqq.*

Earth, begat Lycaon, who begat fifty sons and also Callisto, the mother of Arcas. Lycaon was succeeded by his son Nyctimus. But when Nyctimus died, Arcas, his sister's son, reigned in his stead. Arcas begat Elatus, the father of Aepytus, whose tomb is mentioned in the *Iliad* (vol. i p. 120). If succession had been through males it is strange that the son of Callisto should have succeeded to the exclusion of the numerous male issue with which the legend credits Lycaon.

But the pedigree of the Iamidae (vol. i. p. 121) furnishes us with still better examples of kinship traced through females. When Pindar "goes up to the far beginning of this race" he finds it in Pitane, who lay with Poseidon and bare the child Euadne "with tresses iris-dark." When the babe was born, Pitane sent her handmaids and bade them give the child to the hero son of Elatus (i.e. Aepytus) to rear, who was lord of the men of Arcady. There was the child Euadne nurtured, and when she grew up to maidenhood she bare to Apollo the boy Iamus, the ancestor of the great priestly family who took their name from him.

We have seen that Aristotle, in his *Polity of the Leucadians*, mentions an autochthon of Leucas by name Lelex. This man's daughter had a son Teleboas, who had two and twenty sons of the name of Teleboas, some of whom inhabited Leucas (vol. i. pp. 185—6).

As additional cases of a king being succeeded by his daughter's husband and not by his own son we may cite the following: the people of Megara said that Megareus son of Poseidon succeeded Nisus on the throne as he had married the latter's daughter Iphinoe¹, whilst Ion, the son of Xuthus, married Helice the only child of Selinus, king of Aegialus, and was adopted by the latter as his son and successor².

Let us now review the evidence supplied by the genealogies already cited. The Attic list, short as it is, furnishes two examples of kings succeeded by their daughters' husbands, Actaeus by Cecrops, and Cranaus by Amphictyon. In the Argolic list Phoroneus the autochthon is succeeded by his

¹ Paus. i. 39. 6.

² *id.* vii. 1. 3 *sqq.*

daughter's son Argus. Danaus' claim to Argolis is through his ancestress Io, and Danaus himself is succeeded by his daughter's consort Lynceus. Finally Acrisius is succeeded by his daughter's son Perseus. In the Sicyonic catalogue Leucippus was succeeded by his daughter's son Peratus, who was begotten by Poseidon. Orthopolis was succeeded by Coronus, son of his daughter by Apollo. Lamedon was succeeded by his daughter's husband Sicyon of Attica, who had married Lamedon's daughter Zeuxippe. Sicyon was succeeded by his daughter's son Polybus. Finally, the legend of Leucas furnished us with another example of an autochthon being succeeded by his daughter's son. Again, the royal house of Arcadia has shown us a good example of a chief succeeded by his sister's son. But as succession of sisters' sons to their uncles is a recognized concomitant of female kinship among modern races, this class of evidence points clearly to the existence of kinship through females in ancient Arcadia. For, even if Nyctimus had no sons of his own, his numerous brothers and their sons would have furnished many agnate heirs, if agnation had been the rule.

We must however briefly discuss the cases where kings are succeeded either by their daughters' sons or by their daughters' husbands. The instances cited (which could be largely augmented) are too numerous to be explained simply on the hypothesis that the king had no sons. Such a frequent deficiency of male issue was not likely to occur in the case of ancient kings. Thus Lycaon and Teleboas were credited with fifty and twenty-two sons respectively. But the succession of the daughter's husband or son means more than this, for it would imply that the king in each case had neither any surviving brothers nor any surviving brothers' sons, a very unlikely circumstance. On the other hand, female succession offers an obvious solution for this difficulty. The daughter is in each case the real heir, whilst her consort becomes both her prime minister and war-chief. But it may be said that if this was so she succeeded her mother and not her father. Yet this is exactly what really did occur, for her father only held sway by virtue of his being the husband of the chief of the state. Manifold

examples of this practice could be cited from modern barbaric and savage communities. Thus among the black tribes of Londa, where female succession is the rule, the headship of each community is commonly vested in a woman, whose husband acts as her commander of the forces. But the royal family amongst the Hovas of Madagascar presents us with the best known example. The succession was through women, and the sovereign was always a queen whose consort was her prime minister and commander-in-chief. We may therefore infer that the Attic legends which represent Cranaus and Actaeus as succeeded by their daughters' husbands have a solid backing of truth. In such communities the king is merely the guardian of the queen and her children; it may be only however until she has a son sufficiently grown to take the command in war. On the death of the queen the succession devolves to her daughter, whose husband becomes the new war-chief: in what appears to be a later stage, the queen is succeeded by her son or sons in succession to each other, but the last survivor of these is not succeeded by his own but by his sister's son, as in the case of Nyctimus and Arcas. Finally we may conclude that the many examples of kings being succeeded either by their daughters' husbands, or by their daughters' sons, or by their sisters' sons strongly corroborate the evidence already adduced for the existence of the rule of female kinship amongst the aboriginal people of Greece.

As the mate of the queen is both her general and chief counsellor, it is of the utmost importance to the community that the bravest and sagest man available should be selected. Nor is such a choice restricted to men of her own community, for a valiant stranger was often chosen. Thus when Erechtheus, king of Athens, was hard pressed, he is represented as calling Xuthus the Achean to his aid and giving him his daughter Creusa in marriage. Xuthus by marrying the heiress thus becomes practically king of Attica. Nor is this a mere isolated instance of this principle. Many other examples can be cited, not only from Greece, but from all parts of the world, and at various epochs. Thus Pelops became master of Elis by marrying Hippodamia, the daughter of Oenomaus and Menelaus

obtained Sparta by winning Helen the daughter of Tyndareos (p. 107). But in the cases just cited, though the legal claim of the Achean chiefs to the throne was through their queens, yet as they came of a race which, as we have shown, had male succession, they established the same principle in Peloponnesus.

It is obviously of great importance to the tribe to secure a most valiant man as consort for the female chief, for he will take the command in war in a community where the succession passes from mother to daughter, whilst in the more advanced system when sons inherit through their mothers the royal mate will be the progenitor of the future chief or chiefs, as in the case of Ashanti, where, to secure a vigorous royal line, it was customary (p. 48) to allow the women of the royal family to intrigue freely with any man of notable physique or courage.

The *Swāyamvara*.

In the first of the two stages just mentioned the readiest means of securing the strongest and bravest consort for the chieftainess was to make the heiress the prize of a grand contest. This institution known in India as the *swāyamvara* ('self-choosing') can be abundantly illustrated from many countries and epochs. In most cases however the girl is not allowed to choose her mate, but her father holds a competition in feats of arms, to which come all the aspirant young chiefs, the damsel and her kingdom being the prize for him who excels his compeers.

In the *Mahābhārata*, the great Hindu epic, the chequered fortunes of the Pandava princes form a principal theme. These heroes were the five sons of Pandu, 'the Pale.' Pandu belonged to the great line of Paurava kings, and he married Kunti, the daughter of Sūra, who was of the Yadava line, and ruled over the Sūra-senas. She bore to Pandu three sons, who were said to have been really engendered by Indra. A second wife bore to Pandu two other sons, who were said to be the progeny of the Aṣvins. Kunti treated her two stepsons kindly. It came to pass that Drupada, king of Panchala, proclaimed a *swāyamvara* for the hand of his daughter Draupadi, who, though

very dark, was comely. Her father having determined to allow her to exercise her own choice, princes gathered from all parts to seek both bride and realm, and a mighty joust ensued. At last Arjuna, 'the White,' the eldest of the sons of Pandu, 'the Pale,' bore off the prize by his passing skill in archery. Then the five brothers returned home and told Kunti that they had won a great guerdon, and asked her what they should do with it. She replied that, as they had ever shared everything, so let them share their prize also. This placed them in a sore perplexity, and they knew not what to do until the sage Vyasa bade them have Draupadi as their common wife, since fate had so decreed. She spent two days in the dwelling of each brother, none of the others during that time entering the house where she lodged.

Pandu, 'the Pale,' is one of the fair-complexioned Aryans from the Himalaya, whither he returned to die. He plays the same part in India as the Achæans in Greece. As Pelops of the ivory shoulder married Hippodamia, daughter of Oenomaus; as the fair-haired Menelaus wedded Helen, daughter of Tyndareos; Tydeus the daughter of Adrastus, and Xuthus Creusa, daughter of Erechtheus; so in India the fair-complexioned warriors of the north are seen winning the heiresses and kingdoms of the older race. The light complexion of Pandu and of Arjuna, and the emphasis laid on the dark skin of Draupadi, the daughter of the king of Panchala, indicate that the story is an echo of the Aryan conquest of the native non-Aryan races of Hindustan. Nevertheless, just as a miraculous cause was assigned for the whiteness of Pelops' shoulder¹, similarly Pandu's fair skin was ascribed to a

¹ Pindar (*Ol.* i. 26: *ἐπεὶ γιν καθαροῦ λέβητος ἔξελε Κλωθὴ ἐλέφαντι φαίδιμον ὄμιον κεκαθμένον*) held that Pelops' ivory shoulder was congenital, though he knows of, and scouts as impious, the legend of the piece being taken out of the babe's shoulder at the cannibal feast given to the gods by Tantalus. As Pindar is our oldest source, his version is to be preferred, and it is in accord with the story of Pandu. Yet Mr F. M. Cornford (*Cambridge Review*, 1911, p. 300) [in Miss Harrison's *Themis*, 1912, pp. 212—259] rejects the whole story of Pelops as a hero whose cult was a main feature at Olympia (Pindar, *Ol.* i. *passim*). He lies (in his tomb, the Pelopion) by the stream of Alpheus, and hath a share in the glorious blood-offerings, and beholdeth from afar the races in the courses of Pelops. Mr Cornford maintains that such heroic cults had no real human

sudden fright which befell his mother at the moment of his conception. Yet its true explanation lies in the fact that the Aryans from the Himalaya were much fairer in hue than the aboriginal races of India. Pandu ultimately returned to the Himalaya and died there, and thither too, after the great battle, went Draupadi; there too retired the surviving sons of Pandu, and there they died.

To the sons of Pandu the idea of even the limited form of polyandry under which brothers have a wife in common was plainly most repugnant. As Vyasa the sage is represented as recommending this practice to the Pandava princes, and as the existence of polyandry of the limited type, where brothers share a wife as amongst the aboriginal Britons, can be fully proved for tribes which belong to the indigenous races of Hindustan, we may reasonably conclude that, whilst polyandry was viewed with abhorrence by the fair-skinned Aryan invaders of India, it was general among the aboriginal population of the Peninsula.

Thus, speaking of the Todas, who dwell in the Nilgiri Hills of southern India, Dr W. H. Rivers writes: "The most characteristic feature of the social organisation of the Todas is the institution of fraternal polyandry." The Nairs of Malabar, he adds, have given their name to a wider form of the same practice, but in recent times at least there seems little proof for this, although beyond doubt the existence of fraternal polyandry was proved before the Malabar Marriage Commission

substrate, but grew out of some cult or ceremony. He sees in the story of Pelops' shoulder and the cannibal feast an initiation ceremony by which the individual underwent a rebirth. This he props up with the legend of the race of the Idaean Dactyls at Olympia given by Pausanias (v. 7. 6), a myth of such late origin that Pausanias himself scouts it (viii. 2. 2). From this he derives the Olympic games, regarding them as a Spring vegetation ceremony, in spite of the fact that they were held at Midsummer. As a cult must start by having some object of adoration, it is contrary to experience both in the ancient and in the modern world for a hero to be evolved out of a bundle of rites. His view therefore assumes a principle contrary to all the known facts, and is supported by the very uncritical proceeding of rejecting the statement respecting the Olympic games given by Pindar, who regularly frequented them in the first part of the fifth century B.C., in favour of a local legend which its relater Pausanias treats with contempt. For a full discussion of the views of Mr Cornford and Mr A. B. Cook on the origin of the Olympic games, cf. Ridgeway, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of non-European Races* (1915), pp. 52 sqq.

(1891). For one witness stated that formerly polyandry was very prevalent in South Malabar, and that it was still the practice for a woman of the Kammalar or artisan caste to have five or six brothers as husbands, and that he had known a woman in Calicut, who was the wife of five brothers, spending a month at a time with each. Another witness stated that polyandry existed also in some part of Cochin, whilst yet another said that amongst the Tiyans of North Malabar it was the custom for one man to marry a girl for the brothers of the family. "One of the names for marriage in Malabar is *usham porukka*, which probably means 'marriage by turns'. Finally, the Kanisans or astrologers of Malabar proudly point out that, like the Pandava princes, they used formerly to have one wife in common for several brothers, and that the custom is still observed by some¹."

As is well known, the Tibetans have a still more limited form of polyandry in which the eldest brother who succeeds to the family inheritance shares his wife with his next two brothers. But the latter are only minor husbands, for when the eldest brother is at home his stick or winter boots are placed outside the door as a warning that his brother-husbands are not to enter. In case of the death of the eldest brother, the wife can divorce the other two by a very simple process. She ties a thread to the finger of the dead man, and fastening the other end to herself she then snaps it, thereby breaking the bond that links her to him and to his two younger brothers, who are divorced by this act. The offspring of these marriages address all three husbands as father. In case there is no son in a family the eldest daughter inherits the property, has complete independence of choice and, unlike the Attic and Gortyn heiresses, can marry whom she pleases. Her husband is called a *magpa*. He is a younger son who has three brothers older than himself, and has neither a share in the family property nor in the family wife. The heiress who selects him as her *magpa* can divorce him at her pleasure and choose a fresh mate. The usual practice is that the lady assuages the anguish of the repudiated *magpa* by the gift of a sheep. On

¹ W. H. R. Rivers, *The Todas* (1906), pp. 698—9.

the other hand, the *magpa* cannot divorce his wife except for some gross misconduct¹. This Tibetan custom of the heiress choosing whom she pleases throws much light on the *swāyamvara* of Draupadi. To the practice of placing the stick or the boots outside the door curious parallels can be adduced from ancient authors. Thus Herodotus² tells us that, although amongst the Massagetae each man had a wife, there was general promiscuity, and that when any man was inside any particular woman's waggon he hung up his quiver outside, and that was quite sufficient to warn any other man from entering. Although the brief words of Herodotus impute general promiscuity to the Massagetae, they, like the other peoples just mentioned, may have practised only fraternal polyandry. That they were ruled by female sovereigns is proved by the fact that in their great and victorious struggle with Cyrus the fierce Tomyris was their queen³.

Later on we shall cite in full a passage from Strabo relating to South Arabia, where the marriage system was analogous to that of Tibet. When any of the brother husbands was with the common wife, he placed his staff in front of the door.

That the *swāyamvara* of Draupadi was not an isolated incident, but merely a single example of an institution common in India, is demonstrated by the fact that the Hindus, who, like the rest of mankind, in their Beast Fables ascribe to the animal kingdom all the institutions and ideas of human society, represent the Golden Goose (the king of the birds) as holding a *swāyamvara* like the king of Panchala: "The royal Golden Goose had a daughter, a young goose most beautiful to behold; and he gave her her choice of a husband." Having given her the right to choose, he called together all the birds in the Himalaya region. Birds of all sorts flocked together, and the fair gosling, her eye being taken with the peacock's bright neck and many-coloured tail, selected him to be her husband. The peacock so overflowed with delight that in breach of all modesty he began to spread his wings

¹ E. F. Knight, *Where Three Empires meet* (1893), pp. 138 sqq.

² *id.* 1, 216.

³ *id.* 1, 211—14.

and dance in the midst of the vast assembly, and in dancing exposed himself. Then the royal Golden Goose was shocked, and he said, "This fellow has neither modesty in heart, nor decency in his outward behaviour. I shall not give my daughter to him." Then the king bestowed his daughter on a young goose, his nephew¹. But in all ages and countries mankind in their beast tales attribute their own thoughts, customs and habits to the animals, and never *vice versa*. No better example can be found than in a South Nigerian folk-tale², which relates how the hare when caught by the tortoise in an attempt to steal the king's (the elephant's) meat was haled before the latter, as judge, who ordered him to pay a large number of brass rods and told him that if they were not forthcoming he would be killed and his mother and sister with him. But as this brass rod currency (made at Birmingham of ordinary stair rod brass) is of comparatively recent introduction³ and its use in paying fines cannot be earlier, we have here the principle of reading human life into beast life in full operation. But to this point we must soon revert.

Greece affords a ready parallel to the *swāyamvara* of Draupadi. Tyndareos, the king of Sparta, had two daughters, Helen and Clytemnestra, and two sons, Castor and Pollux. Clytemnestra married Agamemnon, whilst Tyndareos invited all the young bloods of Greece to come to seek the hand of Helen and the land of Lacedaemon. Tyndareos bound the suitors by an oath that they would abide by the choice and sustain the rights of the successful suitor to Helen. The Achean Menelaus won the bride, and became lord of Sparta. Yet, according to the *Iliad*, Castor and Pollux were both alive, not only at the time of Helen's *swāyamvara* but even when she fled with Paris. Thus, as she stood on the wall of Troy pointing out to Priam the various Achean captains, she looked in vain for her two brothers, for the land that gave them birth

¹ *Buddhist Birth-Stories* (translated by T. W. Rhys Davids), vol. i. pp. 291 *seqq.*
See also R. W. Macan's *Herod.* Bks. iv—vi. vol. ii. pp. 304—5 (App. xiv).

² E. Dayrell, *Ikom Folk Stories from Southern Nigeria*, p. 6 (Royal Anthrop. Institute, 'Occasional Papers,' No. 3, 1913).

³ Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, pp. 41—2.

had long since clasped them to her breast¹. Plainly then it was not because male issue had failed Tyndareos, but rather because the female succession was the rule among the Pelasgians. The wooing of Helen and the fact that he who won her became lord of Lacedaemon point clearly to the existence of the rule of female succession in the ancient house of Sparta. As Arjuna the White, son of Pandu the Pale, won Draupadi, the dark princess of Panchala, so the fair-haired Achean Menelaus was chosen to be the mate of Helen, the heiress of the ancient house of Lacedaemon.

Nor is this an isolated instance of the *swāyamvara* in Greek legend. Pindar² recounts that Antaeus, the Libyan king of Irasa, "had heard how sometime Danaus at Argos had devised for his forty and eight maiden daughters, ere mid-day was upon them, a wedding of utmost speed—for he straightway set the whole company at the race-course end, and bade determine by a foot-race which maiden each hero should have, of all the suitors that had come." The Libyan king in like fashion chose a bridegroom for his daughter:—"for love of a Libyan woman there went up suitors to the city of Irasa to woo Antaios' lovely-haired daughter of great renown; whom many chiefs of men, her kinsmen, sought to wed, and many strangers also; for the beauty of her was marvellous, and they were fain to cull the fruit whereto her gold-crowned youth had bloomed." Her father then set the damsel at the line, splendidly arrayed, "to be the goal and prize, and proclaimed in the midst that he should lead her hence to be his bride, who, dashing to the front, should first touch the robe she wore. Thereon Alexidamos, when that he had sped through the swift course, took by her hand the noble maiden, and led her through the troops of Nomad horsemen. Many the leaves and wreaths they showered on him." Thus the Greek stranger won the native princess and doubtless too her land, if we may judge from the beautiful story of the founding of Massalia. There is thus clear evidence that succession through women was once the rule not only among

¹ Il. III. 243: τοὺς δ' ἤδη κἀρεχεν φυσίβοος αἶα
ἐν Λακεδαίμονι αἰθεῖ, φίλῃ ἐν πατρίδι γαίῃ.

² Pyth. IX. 103 sqq. (Myers's trans.).

the pre-Achean population of Greece, but also amongst the Libyan tribes, whose descendants still retain in their customs indications of that practice (p. 73). The Greek Alexidamus had secured the Libyan maiden and her throne, just as Menelaus had acquired Lacedaemon as the spouse of Helen.

Greek history of a later time relates how Massalia was won for the Phoceans by a *swāyamvara*. Euxenus, one of the Phoceans who used to trade to Massalia, became the guest-friend of Nanus, the native chief. Euxenus once happened to arrive just as the chief was going to hold his daughter's nuptials, and was invited to the feast. After dinner the girl was to enter and present a cup of wine to whichever of her suitors she pleased, and the recipient was to be her bridegroom. The girl, whose name was Petta, on entering, whether by chance or by design, gave the cup to Euxenus. Her father held that she had made her choice under divine guidance, and gave her in marriage to Euxenus, who changed his wife's name to Aristoxene. "Down to this day there is at Massalia a family called Protiadae, who are the descendants of this woman." They took their name from Protus, the son born to Euxenus and Aristoxene¹. This story given on the authority of Aristotle has every mark of truth, and in several respects is closely paralleled by the English settlement of Virginia. For, to use the words of Captain John Smith, the real founder and first president of that colony², "in the utmost of many extremities that blessed Pocahontas, the great King's daughter of Virginia, oft saved" his life, sustained with food the starving colonists of Jamestown, and by her marriage with Master John Rolfe became the ancestress of some of the best families of Virginia. Petta seems to have carried the chieftainship with her, as by this marriage the Phoceans got possession of the site of Massalia. But as she was a Ligyan, it follows that the Ligyans (Ligurians) like their Iberian neighbours had the rule of female kinship.

The Sarmatians may have had the same practice, as we learn

¹ Aristotle, *Pol. of Massalia* (Athen. XIII. 576 a).

² *The Works of Captain John Smith of Willoughby by Alford, Lincolnshire* (Arber's edition, 1884), pp. 276, etc.

from the story of Zariadres and Odatís. The latter was the daughter of the Sarmatian king Omartes. Zariadres, the ruler of the contiguous region, desired to wed her, but her father rejected his suit, on the ground that he himself had no male children, and wished to marry her to one of his own family, although it is nowhere stated that the kingdom was to pass with her. Presently he invited all his kinsmen and friends to his daughter's nuptials, without mentioning the bridegroom. When the revelry was at its height Omartes called Odatís, and bade her take a golden cup and mix wine in it. This done she was to re-enter and present it to whom she pleased. As she was mixing it outside, Zariadres arrived in disguise, whereupon she gave him the cup, and ran away with him¹. We have already seen on the authority of Tacitus that the tribes of Germany who were the neighbours of the Sarmatians had been debased by intercourse and intermarriage with the latter people (p. 27). It is therefore significant to find the succession to the Sarmatian sceptre apparently though not certainly passing through a woman, and her spouse being chosen by the *swāyamvara*. It may not have been through any lack of male issue that Omartes refused his daughter to Zariadres, but rather because female succession was the rule of his race. He naturally desired that she should choose one of her own relations in order that the sovereign power might remain in the hands of a male of his own family². If, on the other hand, the Sarmatian succession was through males, Omartes having but this one child would naturally prefer that she should wed a relative rather than a foreigner, especially if that relative was likely to be his successor, since in that case his own descendants through Odatís might continue to enjoy the chieftainship.

But the admirable account of the Sarmatians and their womenkind left us by Herodotus³ five centuries before Tacitus, makes the second alternative the more likely: "They ride a hunting with their men or without them and go to war and wear the same dress as the men; in regard to marriage no

¹ Athen. xiii. 575 a.

² ἤθελε γὰρ αὐτὴν δοῦναι ἐν τῷ περὶ αὐτὸν οἰκῶν (Athen. loc. cit.).

³ iv. 116.

virgin weds until she has slain a man of the enemy, and some of them grow old and die unmarried because they cannot fulfil the law." The part taken by them in war and in the chase recalls the description given of the German women by Tacitus¹. But unfortunately Herodotus has given us nothing decisive as regards their law of succession, as he has done in the case of the Scyths, who were their next neighbours. There seems no doubt that the Scyths had succession through males not only in the royal house, but amongst the ordinary people. For if the king put to death a shaman whose predictions had proved false, he also put to death all his male children². It is most unlikely that such would have been the practice unless descent was reckoned through males and not through females. Herodotus also tells us that the Greeks ascribed to the Scyths the custom that each man married a wife, and the wives were common to all, but this he denies and explicitly declares it to be the practice of the Massagetae³. It is however not impossible that the Scyths once had such a custom, or at least some form of polyandry and matrilinear succession, but that when they became a master race, like the Turks, they asserted control over their women and at the same time adopted male succession, just as was the case in Athens. Dr Minns⁴ points out that the chief difference between the Scyths and the Sarmatians was in the position of the women, and that "among the former they were apparently entirely subject to the men and were kept in the waggons to such an extent that, as Hippocrates says, their health suffered from want of exercise." "We must," he proceeds, "regard the confined condition of women amongst the Scyths as exceptional, due to the position of all women being assimilated to that of those captured from conquered tribes, this being possible because the exceptional wealth of the leading men among the Scyths enabled them as members of a dominant aristocracy to afford the luxury of exempting their women from work, and so to establish a kind of *purdah* system even in the face of nomad conditions, which are naturally unfavourable to seclusion."

¹ *Germ.* 17 sq.

² Herod. iv. 69.

³ i. 216.

⁴ *Scythians and Greeks*, p. 84.

The Massagetae, like the Scyths, were waggon-dwellers, but their social life, as we have seen (p. 106), went to the opposite extreme: "Each man marries a wife, but the wives are common to all. There when a man desires a woman he hangs his quiver before her waggon and has intercourse with her, none hindering¹." Strange as is this statement, in view of the modern Tibetan practice (p. 105) as well as a similar story from Arabia (p. 121), it would lead us to believe that the Massagetae had at least some form of polyandry, more or less restricted, whilst the fact that they were ruled by the famous queen Tomyris², when Cyrus attempted to conquer them, would, in face of what we have learned elsewhere, indicate that succession was matrilinear in the royal house and therefore probably the same amongst the people.

In the story of Cleisthenes, the despot of Sicyon, we have a notable survival of the *swāyamvara* in classical Greece itself. Cleisthenes had proclamation made at the Olympic games that whoever among the Greeks deemed himself worthy to marry his daughter Agariste was to come within sixty days to Sicyon. So all the gallants of Hellas flocked thither, where Cleisthenes had a race-course and a palaestra ready to test their powers. Eventually the two Athenian suitors, Megacles and Hippocleides, found most favour with Cleisthenes, and of these Hippocleides seemed likely to be declared the winner, until on the final day of the contest, becoming unduly exhilarated at the banquet, he danced in a very unseemly fashion, finally even standing on his head. Cleisthenes, enraged at his lack of propriety, said, "Hippocleides, you have danced yourself out of your marriage." To which the tipsy offender replied, "Hippocleides doesn't care³." Now as the Sicyonians, who

¹ Herod. i. 216.

² *id.* i. 205.

³ Herod. vi. 129. The critics have now declared that Herodotus has attached to the marriage of Agariste an incident derived from the Jataka of the Dancing Peacock already noticed (p. 106). Mr Arnold C. Taylor pointed out the parallelism between the story of the Dancing Peacock and the marriage of Agariste to Dr R. W. Macan, Master of University College, Oxford, and the latter has endeavoured to show that, while the historical character of Agariste and her marriage with Megacles the Alcmaeonid is undoubted, the Greeks had attached to it an incident derived from the Indian tale. Dr G. F. Hill (*Handbook of*

were part of the aboriginal population of Argolis, had (*circa* 676 B.C.) under the leadership of Orthagoras, the ancestor of Cleisthenes, expelled the Dorians, and as in the case of Helen we found proof of the succession through females in the pre-Achean royal family at Sparta, we need not be surprised at the survival of the same practice in such a stronghold of the older race as Sicyon.

Finally, in the story of the contest in archery proposed by

Greek and Roman Coins, p. 6, n. 3) follows Dr Macan, but goes further and declares dogmatically that this passage of Herodotus (in which Pheidon of Argos is also mentioned) is "valueless as regards his date. The story of Agariste's suitors is only a Greek version of the Indian story of the shameless dancing peacock, and the personages are introduced regardless of chronology."

Dr Macan (Herod. Bks. iv.—vi. App. xrv. pp. 307—11) dismisses the notion "that the two stories have absolutely no connection with each other at all" as, "not worth discussing," but he concludes "that the fabulous element in the Herodotean story is derived neither directly nor indirectly from the *Jātakatthavannanā*, but from an earlier and remoter source. The fable of the dancing peacock is presumably far older than the Buddhist Birth-story in which it is incorporated. But the close resemblance between the Indian fable and the Athenian story seems to show that the fable must originally have reached the Greek world in very much the same form as that in which it is now to be read," etc. But I cannot see how the proverb 'Hippocleides doesn't care' could have arisen without the occurrence of some such *faux pas* as that related by Herodotus. As soon as it is realized that the *swāyamvara* was as much a Greek as an Indian institution, it seems rash to assume that the one story was borrowed from the other, especially as Dr Macan admits that it is not borrowed either directly or indirectly from the Indian form known to us. Unless it be denied that Greek suitors ever injured their future prospects by inopportune vanity and over-exhilaration, the argument for the borrowing of the Indian story has practically no foundation. Nor can I see why, supposing there has been borrowing, the story of Hippocleides should not have found its way to India. It has been shown above (p. 107) that men ascribed their own ideas, habits and institutions to beasts and not *vice versa*. It is therefore reasonable to hold that, if there was a borrowing at all, which is not so certain as Dr Macan thinks, the Hindu beast version is more likely to have been borrowed from a Greek human story than the contrary process. In any case we must dismiss Dr Hill's wholesale condemnation of the story of Agariste's wooing, which was only a desperate attempt to discredit on the basis of a parenthetic remark by Herodotus the well attested date of 747 B.C. for Pheidon, as his only hope of maintaining the out-of-date assumption, for it is nothing more, that coinage only began with Gyges, king of Lydia (c. 680—660 B.C.), i.e. some 70 years later than Pheidon. But no ancient writer attributes the invention to Gyges, whilst there are now good reasons for putting the beginning of that art about 800 B.C. (Ridgeway, *Cambridge Companion to Greek Stud.* p. 538).

Penelope to the suitors, when all hope of deferring her marriage was gone, we have what is practically the principle of the *swāyamvara*. She is to be the wife of him amongst the wooers who can string the bow of Odysseus and shoot an arrow through the apertures of twelve axes set up in a row. But whilst we have the same principle, the result was to be very different from that in the case of Helen or any other of the heroines lately mentioned. Penelope does not bring with her the house and wealth of Odysseus to her new husband. On the contrary, Telemachus wishes that she was married in order that he might be able to enjoy his patrimony without any further molestation from the suitors who had so long battered on the swine and goats of Odysseus and wasted his substance. The inference clearly is that Odysseus did not obtain his rights to Ithaca through Penelope, for in that case her second husband would have succeeded to the inheritance in virtue of his wife, but it is clear that Odysseus was the owner of the inheritance himself, and therefore it passed to his son, and that the second husband of Penelope would have had no claim to the property of Odysseus. Here then is another confirmation of the doctrine that with the Achæans succession was through males and not through females.

But according to a local Spartan story given by Pausanias¹, though unknown to Homer and the older literature, the contest with the bow at Ithaca was not the first competition for the hand of Penelope: "They say that Icarius set the wooers of Penelope to run a race. Of course Odysseus won; and it is said that they started to run down the street called Aphetais. It seems to me that in instituting the race Icarius copied Danaus; for Danaus hit upon this device to get his daughters married. When no one would wed one of these blood-stained damsels, Danaus gave out that he would bestow them in marriage without requiring wedding presents, upon such as might choose them for their beauty. A few men came and Danaus set them to run a race. He who came in first had the first choice and the second had the second, and so on to the last; and the daughters that were left had to wait till

¹ III. 12. 1.

other wooers came, and had run another race." In another passage Pausanias¹ relates that "After Icarius had given Penelope in marriage to Odysseus, he tried to induce his son-in-law to take up his abode in Lacedaemon. Failing in the attempt he next besought his daughter to stay behind, and when she was setting out for Ithaca, he followed the chariot entreating her. Odysseus endured this for some time, but at last he told Penelope that she must either follow him freely, or, if she liked her father better, go back to Lacedaemon."

This tale, late though its authority may be, is not without significance. No doubt according to the aboriginal custom the winner of the chieftain's daughter ought to have settled at her home and succeeded to the inheritance, as was actually done by the Achean prince Menelaus, who, being a younger son of Atreus and therefore not the successor to the throne of Mycenae, followed the practice of the Pelasgic folk and thus became king of Sparta after he had won Helen at her *swāyamvara*. But Odysseus refused to stay in Lacedaemon, for by the Achean custom he was to succeed to his own father Laertes at Ithaca, and he accordingly brought his bride to his own home as was the practice in all historical time amongst the Celts of upper Europe. There is therefore as great a divergence between pre-Achean Lacedaemon and Achean Ithaca in the law of inheritance as there is in the morals of Helen and Penelope.

At this point it will be desirable to discuss certain legends, which represent kings who, instead of holding *swāyamvaras* for the disposal of their daughters' hands, take the greatest pains to keep them from marrying or having children. Thus Acrisius shut up his daughter Danae in a bronze tower in order to avert the fulfilment of an oracle which declared that he himself would meet his death at the hands of Danae's offspring². Baffled by Zeus in his attempt to keep his daughter childless, Acrisius cast forth on the waters the mother and the child Perseus, who in time returned to Argos, and reigned in splendour at Mycenae (vol. I. p. 108). To the same class belongs the story

¹ III. 20. 10.

² Hor. C. III. 16; Apoll. II. 4. 1.

of Oenomaus, king of Pisa, who, warned by an oracle that one of the sons of his daughter Hippodamia would prove his bane, refused to give her to any man, except to him who could overcome him in a chariot-race; the unsuccessful suitor forfeiting his life. Each in turn drove off with Hippodamia in his chariot and was then pursued by Oenomaus. In this way the latter had despatched twelve suitors, nailed up their heads on his house, and buried the bodies of the hapless victims under a great barrow. Pelops, by bribing Myrtilus, the charioteer of Oenomaus, secured an easy victory, and the hand and realm of Hippodamia¹. This story formed the subject of the famous sculptures by Paeonius which adorned the east pediment of the temple of Zeus at Olympia. Again, Aleus, king of Arcadia, was so enraged on discovering that his daughter Auge was with child by Heracles, that he had her and the babe, Telephus, put into a chest and cast into the sea².

As we saw that under a system of female succession the king only reigns by virtue of being the queen's consort, in case of the queen's death before a daughter is of marriageable age he would still continue to act as her guardian; but on the marriage of his daughter the latter's husband becomes forthwith the new king-consort, and naturally would wish to exercise the power hitherto wielded by his father-in-law. In communities where the queen is succeeded by her son, the king-consort's tenure of power only lasts until his son is of age to rule. The king-consort is thus brought into direct rivalry with either his daughter's husband or his daughter's son. How dangerous a daughter's husband could be to the reigning monarch is demonstrated by the story of the murder of Servius Tullius by his daughter and her husband Tarquin. But what is more to the point, the early history of Attica supplies us with a good instance of the same principle, for we saw above that Cranaus was deposed and succeeded by Amphictyon, his daughter's husband.

Whilst it might be said that Acrisius and Oenomaus had no other children save daughters, the same is not true of

¹ Paus. v. 1. 6; v. 10. 6; v. 17. 7; VIII. 14. 11; Apoll. *Epit.* II. 4.

² Paus. VIII. 4. 9, etc.

Aleus, for he is reported to have had three sons as well as his daughter Auge. If descent passed through males, Auge's intrigue would have made little matter, as her offspring would not inherit. If, on the other hand, female kinship was the rule in Arcadia, as we have already seen clearly set out in the case of Nyctimus who was succeeded by his sister's son Arcas, the anger of Aleus against his daughter is at once explained. It must also be borne in mind that, because we hear of Arcadian kings being succeeded by their sons, it does not at all follow that the sons inherited from their fathers, for it is quite possible that their claim to rule was derived from the mother, whose husband may usually have been a man of the royal family. Aleus may have desired to marry Auge within the chieftain clan, as was the practice of the Bacchiadae of Corinth with respect to their daughters save in the case of the mother of Cypselus. We can now understand the meaning of these legends, and we are thus able to draw from them a further proof of the existence of the rule of succession through females among the Pelasgians of Attica and Peloponnesus.

There is another class of marriage which occurs occasionally in the oldest Greek legends. This is the case where a girl is married by her uncle. Thus in the royal Minyan family of Iolcus, Tyro, daughter of Salmoneus, after bearing offspring to Poseidon was wedded to Cretheus, her father's brother by the same mother (p. 3). The chieftain line of the Phaeacians furnishes a parallel case¹. Alcinous was married to Arete, daughter of his brother Rhexenor. "Arete is her glorious name and she is from the same parents as king Alcinous." Poseidon the Earth-shaker and Periboea, youngest daughter of Eurymedon, king of the giants, were the parents of Nausithous. He begat Rhexenor and Alcinous. The former, before he had a son, was smitten by Apollo of the Silver Bow, leaving in his halls only one child, Arete, and her Alcinous took to wife.

I have already (**Introduction**)² dealt with the theories of Wilamowitz-Moellendorff, Cauer and Bethe, of which Professor G. G. Murray is the chief exponent in this country, and

¹ *Od.* vii. 54 *sqq.*

² [This Introduction was never written. See Preface, p. ii.]

to bolster up which he devised his 'Expurgation' theory, in which he maintains that the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* are but mere patchworks completed from old nuclei in the eighth century B.C., by the Ionian Greeks, and that in the following centuries the same Ionians purged the poems from everything that savoured of cruelty and vice. But as Professor Murray and the late Principal Burrows relied on the genealogy of Alcinous and Arete as the main piece of evidence for this theory of the *Odyssey*, I must here deal briefly with their view. Professor Murray¹, after having given what he considered proofs of his theory for the *Iliad*, with which I have already dealt, proceeds: "Closely akin to this is the spirit in which our present text of the *Odyssey* treats of the marriage of Alcinous and Arete, the king and queen of the Phaeacians. 'Her name was Arete and she was born of the self-same parents that begat king Alcinous.' Exactly; Hesiod too, the scholia tell us, made the royal pair brother and sister. There are abundant instances of that sort of marriage in the royal houses of ancient divine kings. The royal blood was too superhuman to make it desirable for the king to wed any one lower than his own sister. Hera herself was sister and spouse of Zeus. The Pharaohs and the Ptolemies after them made a practice of having their sisters for queens....Such a queen was doubly august. Arete, we are told, 'was honoured as no mortal woman is honoured in these days, of all who hold their houses under a husband's rule.' She was hailed like a god when she went abroad. This is the genuine language of the Saga, and we know how to understand it. But in classical Greece there had arisen a spirit to which such a union was 'unholy,' *incestum*. And as we read on in the *Odyssey*, we find a genealogy inserted which in somewhat confused language, explains that when the Saga said 'parents' (τοκῆων), it only meant 'ancestors,' and when it said that Alcinous' brother Rhexenor died 'childless' (ἄκουργον) it only meant 'without male child'! Arete was really the daughter of the said brother. It was only a marriage between uncle and niece."

In face of the evidence already given respecting the royal families of Egypt, and the fact that the Ptolemies had no hesitation in adopting the native Egyptian practice of marriage

¹ *Rise of the Greek Epic* (2nd ed., 1911), pp. 144—5.

between full brothers and sisters, the assumption of such a strong feeling against such marriages in classical times seems baseless, whilst in the footnote¹ I have shown that his arguments from the Greek words *τοκήων* and *ἄκουρον* have no more validity than the view that the marriages of the royal houses of the Pharaohs and Ptolemies were due simply to a desire to keep the blood royal pure.

¹ Prof. Burrows in defending the theory of the evolution and expurgation of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*, as held by P. Caer, G. G. Murray, and others, relies upon two examples, one archaeological, the other linguistic (*Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 214-9). With the first of these I have dealt on p. 314, footnote, of this volume, as well as in the *Athenaeum*, Oct. 19, 1907, p. 489. His linguistic example is hardly more felicitous. It is the pedigree of Alcinoos and Arete. He says that "the meaning of the genealogy as it stands...is only extracted from it at the expense of two flagrant violations of the ordinary usages of the Greek language. 'Descended from the same ancestors' is not the legitimate meaning of the Greek words, but 'born of the same parents,' and Rhexenor on any ordinary principle of interpretation died 'without a child,' and not 'without a male child.'" "*ἄκουρον* would naturally be without a *κοῦρη* as well as without a *κοῦρος*." He proceeds: "In the version for which these two lines were originally written, Arete and Alkinoos were clearly brother and sister, and Rhexenor was the brother of both. Expressions that were really applicable only to a grosser version have been taken over into one that is more refined, and are strained to bear a new interpretation."

All his case rests on the use of *τοκῆς* and *ἄκουρος*. I take the latter first. All the ancient scholars find no difficulty in translating it as 'without male offspring' (see Ebeling s.v.). In the case of *τοκῆς*, which the schol. explains τὸ γὰρ τοκήων δηλοῖ καὶ τὸ προγόνων, again it is a question of usage and not of etymology. Nausithous and an unknown wife are regarded as the *τοκῆς* of Arete, by a very ordinary Greek usage which regards the grandparents as the parents. Thus Eur. *Troades* 1182 makes the child Astyanax address his grandmother Hecuba as *μητὴρ*. So too Plutarch, *Agis* 9, uses the plural *μήτρες* of the mother and grandmother of the young Spartan king. Heracles is regularly called Alcides, the son of Alcaeus, though really his grandson. It is one thing to use *τοκῆς* of grandparents, which is practically our English usage, quite another to use it in a general way as *ancestors*. No one would speak of his grandparents as his *ancestors*. Indeed it is hard to see by what other word the poet could have expressed what he wanted. He could not use *πρόγονοι*, for Alcinoos was the son of Nausithous and his unknown wife, and in no language would a man's father and mother be termed his *ancestors*, whilst as the parents of Alcinoos are the grandparents of Arete and her grandparents could not be called her ancestors, the term *parents* is not only properly used but is the only possible term. The value of the arguments for the 'expurgation' theory may be judged from these specimens specially selected by Prof. Burrows. But with the whole question of 'expurgation' we shall deal later on. [The subject is not treated in this volume.]

Rhexenor and Alcinous appear to have had the same father, though of their mother or mothers we hear nothing. As the succession in the house of Iolcus has already been shown to have passed through women (p. 3), the marriage of Cretheus and Tyro is readily explained. Since she had the right to the throne, Cretheus married her in order to enjoy the sovereign power as the consort of his niece.

The case of Alcinous and Arete is not so easily explained. The royal line of Scherie traced its descent from Periboea, daughter of Eurymedon, king of the Giants. She had borne to Poseidon a son Nausithous, who had removed the Phaeacians from Hypereia, and planted them in Scherie. He left two sons, Rhexenor and Alcinous; the former died quite young leaving no son, but an only daughter Arete, who was espoused by her paternal uncle. If agnation had been the rule, there was no need for Alcinous to marry Arete. But we must not hastily conclude from the words of the poet that descent through males was the Phaeacian rule, especially as we have just seen that the pedigree is traced through a woman. We do not hear who Arete's mother was, but it is quite possible that she had really the succession to the chieftainship, which in case she had had a son would have passed to him for his life, and then to his sister's (Arete's) son. There was therefore every reason for Alcinous to marry his niece and thereby secure the chieftainship for himself and the succession for his own posterity. Finally, the reverence in which Arete was held points strongly to her position being the same as that of the queens of the Pharaohs. The comparative method now comes to our aid. If it can be shown that the espousal of girls by their paternal uncles is a concomitant of female kinship, there will be a presumption that the marriage of Alcinous to his niece was probably the outcome of a similar rule of succession.

The labours of McLennan¹ and Robertson Smith² have shown that female kinship, or at least polyandry, was once the rule among the Hebrews and Arabs. As the evidence for the Arabs is later than that for the Hebrews, we will take the

¹ *Primitive Marriage*, pp. 203 sqq., *The Patriarchal Theory*, pp. 35 sqq.

² *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 181 sqq.

former first. Strabo¹, after mentioning the chief divisions of south Arabia, states that they were all ruled by single chiefs, that they had finely built temples and palaces, and wooden houses like those of the Egyptians, and that "the son does not succeed his father on the throne, but the first male child born to one of the nobles after the king has begun his reign. As soon as any one is invested with the government, the pregnant wives of the nobles are registered and guardians are appointed to watch which of them is first delivered of a son. The custom is to adopt and educate this child in a princely manner as the successor to the throne." This statement does not mean that descent was not matrilinear. For the existence of the latter practice is amply proved by another and more famous passage of the geographer², in which he describes the social system of the natives of Arabia Felix, the modern Yemen: "Brothers are in greater honour than children. The males of the family (*genos*) hold the chieftainship and other offices according to seniority. All the members of the *genos* (*συγγενέες*) have their property in common, but the eldest is the man in authority (*κύριος*). They even go so far that all have one wife in common. The one who is the first to enter her house enjoys her, placing his staff in front of the door, since it is customary for every man to carry a staff. But she always passes the night with the eldest brother. Accordingly all are brothers of all, and they even have intercourse with their mothers. An adulterer is punished with death. By an adulterer they mean a man from another *genos*. One of the chiefs had a daughter of remarkable beauty and she had fifteen brothers, all of whom were in love with her. Accordingly they visited her continuously one after another. The story goes that becoming tired of this she adopted the following device. She had a set of staves made like those of her brothers. Whenever any one of them left her house, she used to place before the door her duplicate of his staff, in a short time afterwards another and then another, taking care that the one who was likely to come next should not have a staff like the one before her door. It chanced one

¹ XVI. 768.² XVI. 783.

day, when every one of the brothers was in the market-place, that one of them as he approached her door saw the staff, and inferred from this that there was someone within. But as he had left all his brothers behind him in the market-place he suspected that she had an adulterer with her. He ran to their father and brought him to the spot, only himself to be convicted of having brought a false charge against his sister." We have met with practices similar to the use of the staff in this story both amongst the ancient Massagetæ and the modern Tibetans.

Professor Wilken saw in this story an example of Endogamy combined with absolute promiscuity within the tribal group, and not a regulated polyandry like that of Tibet. Professor W. Robertson Smith¹ rightly saw that Strabo in this passage means by *genos* not a tribe or clan, but simply a family. This is really what the term means in Attic Law. It thus here means a family such as those groups of brothers, amongst the aboriginal Britons, who had their wives in common (p. 31). He likewise argued that we have here not an unregulated promiscuity, but rather a very exactly regulated marriage-system, with all the characteristics of Tibetan polyandry. He holds that from such a system patrilinear succession arose amongst the Arabs. A group of brothers bring home a common wife, who bears children for them. It cannot be known which of the brothers is the child's father, "but, as all the husbands are of one kin, the child's kin is known in the male as well as in the female line and, as the joint fathers are all bound by natural ties to the children which grow up in their midst, a law of male descent readily establishes itself before the rise of the idea that the child belongs to one father²." But we must carefully abstain from holding with McLennan and Robertson Smith that the idea of succession through males has everywhere originated by this supposed process. For instance the cases of the Troglodyte Ethiopians, of the royal houses of Ashanti and Uganda, all point clearly to a change from matrilinear to patrilinear descent without any such intermediate stage as the Tibetan system. Professor Robertson Smith thought that it

¹ *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, p. 133.

² *op. cit.* pp. 122—3.

was "scarcely credible that such a small polyandrous group as Strabo speaks of could have been, as this seems to imply, strictly endogamous, and that they always had a sister (and only one sister) to be their wife." But we are not justified in inferring from this story that there was only one sister in the family. The special point of the tale is that a particular girl was unusually beautiful and that all her numerous brothers were deeply enamoured of her. It is in any case not unlikely that, as female infanticide is so constantly a predisposing cause or a concomitant of polyandry, few girls would have been reared in such a *genos*. The history of Abraham himself reveals evidence of kinship through females as well as the marriage of brothers and sisters. "Terah begat Abram, Nahor, and Haran, and Haran begat Lot. And Haran died before his father Terah in the land of his nativity, in Ur of the Chaldees. And Abram and Nahor took them wives: the name of Abram's wife was Sarai; and the name of Nahor's wife Milcah, the daughter of Haran, the father of Milcah, and the father of Iscah¹." Another passage of Genesis makes it clear that Sarai was Abraham's half-sister, but not uterine. He is very careful to explain this to Abimelech: "Yet indeed she is my sister; she is the daughter of my father, but not the daughter of my mother; and she became my wife²." Similarly there seems to have been no objection to a marriage between David's son Amnon and Tamar, his sister by a different mother³. Here then is a practice exactly like that which survived in Attic law from the days when female kinship was the rule in Athens. But in addition to the marriage of Abraham and his half-sister we are told that Nahor espoused Milcah, his brother's daughter, just as Alcinous married Arete⁴. Whatever may have been Nahor's motive, it is sufficient for us that we have a clear case of the marriage of nieces to their paternal uncles bound up in a system of female kinship. It is natural to conjecture that Nahor wanted to secure the property which Milcah inherited

¹ Gen. xi. 27—9.

² Gen. xx. 12.

³ 2 Sam. xiii. 13.

⁴ The converse to this is seen in the birth of Moses from the union of a nephew with his paternal aunt (*Num.* xxvi. 59), while Jacob married Leah and Rachel, daughters of Laban, his maternal uncle (*Gen.* xxx. 18 *sqq.*).

under the law of female succession, even though she had a brother (Lot). A similar motive may have actuated Alcinous. It would then appear that, as far as the data go, the marriage of Arete to her paternal uncle Alcinous points to the existence of female kinship among the Phaeacians, who, as already pointed out, were certainly not Achæans.

In the story of Antiope, mother of Amphion and Zethus, the founders of Seven-gated Thebes, we have another instance of the same practice. According to one form of the legend she was daughter of Nycteus king of Thebes by Polyxō. She was carried off by Epopeus king of Sicyon, for which Nycteus made war against him, and at his death left his throne to Lycus begging him to continue the war. Lycus did so, killed Epopeus and recovered Antiope, whom he married, though she was his niece. Here again it would seem that Lycus married Antiope because she had the legal right to the throne.

But it may be said that genealogies which so frequently ascribe a divine paternity to the offspring of the chieftains' daughters must not be quoted even as evidence for the existence of female kinship. The best answer to such an objection is to cite an exact parallel from a modern people amongst whom polyandry is practised at this very hour. In Ladak (Western Tibet) it is customary for the eldest brother to marry, as we have seen (p. 105), the two brothers next to him in age likewise becoming husbands of the elder brother's wife. Now in some districts of Ladak where many primitive customs have survived alongside of Buddhism, when an unmarried girl gives birth to a child, it is believed to be the offspring of a god, and it is therefore dedicated to the service of the gods, and given to the *lamas* to be brought up as a priest¹. The birth-story of Iamus, the ancestor of the great priestly family of Peloponnesus (vol. I. p. 122), finds thus a close parallel in this Tibetan belief. It is now clear that we are no more justified in rejecting the evidence of the legends and pedigrees for female kinship and polyandry, because children are often fathered on Poseidon and other gods, than we should be in

¹ Knight, *Where Three Empires meet*, p. 181.

denying the truth of Mr Knight's statement of the existence of polyandry in Ladak because the same account contains the Tibetan belief that the offspring of an unmarried girl has been begotten by some god. Although the Greek legends contain elements which from our standpoint are utterly incredible, yet, as they reflect faithfully the mental attitude of a state of society actually existing in our own time, we may reasonably hold that they mirror truly the ethics and institutions of primitive Greece, and are not the idle fabrications of scholiasts and mythographers.

At first sight it might be supposed that the stories of the marriage of nieces by their paternal uncles might give a clue for the explanation of the plot of the *Supplikes* of Aeschylus, long an unsolved riddle for the classical scholar¹. The daughters of Danaus were sought in marriage by their first cousins, the sons of Aegyptus, brother of Danaus. The Chorus of Danaids declare that they have voyaged from the fine-silted mouths of Nile in flight, not for a doom passed on them for any deed of blood, but because they loathe as unholy a marriage with the sons of Aegyptus². They pray that thunder and hurricane may repel "that lewd band of many males, the sons of Aegyptus, before they can ever set foot on the marshy shore of Argolis, and that they may perish before they ever obtain selfish possession of the daughters of their father's brother, and ascend the unwilling couch from which custom debars them³." They then pray that Zeus may receive the suppliants and that the gods may side with them against vice and violence, and they declare that human wantonness is putting forth new leaves. Danaus compares his daughters to a flock of doves in fear of hawks, winged creatures like themselves, though of the same blood, yet hateful, and defiling kindred⁴. How could a bird be clean that

¹ The explanation here given briefly has been published in full in the writer's *The Origin of Tragedy* (1910), pp. 188 sqq.

² Aesch. *Suppl.* 1—18.

³ *Ib.* 37 sqq.: πρὶν ποτε λέκτρων ὧν θέμις ἐλργεῖ
σφετεριζόμενον πατραδελφείαν
τῇνδ' ἀέκοντων ἐπιβῆναι.

⁴ *Ib.* 224: κίρκων τῶν ὁμοπτέρων φόβῳ,
ἐχθρῶν ὁμαίων καὶ μαινόντων γένος.

devours bird, and how could one be clean that takes in marriage an unwilling maiden from an unwilling sire?

Although in modern times there is a general feeling against the marriage of first cousins, there is nothing in such unions which excites horror in our minds, and this is probably the chief reason why the *Supplikes* fails in dramatic interest. But, if we of the modern world do not see anything impious in the designs of Aegyptus and his sons, much less ought they to have shocked the Athenians, who by the end at least of the fifth century B.C. regarded the union of even half-brothers and half-sisters as perfectly proper, provided, as we saw, they had not the same mother. As in primitive society, there is no clear distinction between brotherhood and cousinhood, the sons of Aegyptus simply wished to do what, or even less than what, the Attic law considered perfectly legitimate. The sons of Aegyptus could therefore argue that they had a perfect right to marry the daughters of Danaus, on the ground taken up by the Eumenides, that there is no bond save that through the mother. On the other hand the Danaids say that there is an impassable barrier of relationship.

When the king of Argos comes, he asks the Danaids why it is that they do not want to become handmaids to the race of Aegyptus. Is it on account of a family feud, or of an unlawful union? To this they reply: "No one would purchase relations for their masters¹." The king, who is no sentimental politician, rejoins: "It is in this way that family influence increases in the world." Later on the king says: "If the sons of Aegyptus have a right over you by the law of their state, on the plea that they are the nearest of kin to you, who would care to oppose such arguments? You must of course urge in your defence, in accordance with the laws of your country, that they have no authority at all over you²."

We have now before us the grounds on which the Danaids shun marriage with their cousins. They assert the doctrine of kinship through the father with as much vehemence as that through the mother is upheld by the Eumenides in the play

¹ *ibid.* 336.

² *ibid.* 387.

called after them. Although this central point excites but little emotion in the modern reader, it must have been of leading importance at Athens in the time of Aeschylus, or the great dramatist would not have made the action of his play hinge upon it. We have already seen him in the *Eumenides* setting forth the rule of male kinship as a new doctrine ordained by Zeus and preached by Apollo. As by the time of Isaeus it was an established part of Attic law that an heiress could be compelled to marry her father's brother or her first cousin on the father's side, the *Supplices* could have had little more dramatic interest for an Athenian audience in the days of Demosthenes than for us. We have seen undoubted proof that there had been a change from female to male kinship at Athens not long before the time of Aeschylus. It is plain that such a revolution could not have taken place in a moment, or without controversy. We saw that according to the ancient doctrine the wife was of a different *genos* from her husband (p. 62). But in the new Attic law, as seen in the orators of the fifth and fourth centuries B.C., the heiress is regularly married by the next of kin. Plainly there had been a gigantic stride from Exogamy to a very narrow Endogamy, and such a step could not have been made without exciting much opposition. The controversy which it occasioned in reference to the law of bloodshed is put before us in the *Eumenides*. Can it be that another feature of the same struggle is portrayed in the *Supplices*? On examining the passages cited above from the latter play, we find that the Danaids maintained the principle of Exogamy as stoutly as the *Eumenides* themselves. Yet they hold the doctrine of male succession as strongly as Apollo in the *Eumenides*. Thus they maintain the doctrine of Exogamy combined with male kinship. But, although in the fore-part of the play they protest that they do not want to wed their cousins because such unions are unholy, yet later on, when they are cross-examined by king Pelasgus, they abandon the argument based on incest, and confine themselves to their right to marry other than their cousins, who simply want to acquire their property. And to this the king makes the reply already quoted—that by such marriages families wax strong.

Can we now offer a consistent explanation of the plot of the *Supplices*? The transition from reckoning by male to reckoning by female kinship had been going on at Athens. Old-fashioned people may have been horrified at the innovation, whilst others were in favour of it, provided the change over was made complete, by the enforcement of the principle of marrying outside the *genos*, which had gone hand in hand with female kinship. In other words, the position taken up by the Danaids, that male kinship is the proper rule, but that a woman must not marry into her father's kindred, represents the view of conservative Athenians, and above all the view taken by the Athenian women, who, like the Danaids, resented strongly being made into a mere appendage to the family estate, and transferred with it, whether they liked it or not, to their next of kin. But the logic of king Pelasgus—that by such marriages families grow mighty—was irresistible. The last protest of the women was in vain, and by the end of the century the doctrine that the heiress became the property of the next of kin was the established law of Athens. The *Supplices* gives us a glimpse of the final stage in the gradual removal from the women of all the power which they had once possessed in the early age of the city.

The Old Testament furnishes an admirable illustration not only of the change over from succession through females to that through males, but also of the position taken up by the daughters of Danaus in refusing to marry their father's brother's sons, and also of the principle laid down in the Gortyn laws whereby the heiress might marry whom she pleased, provided he was a member of her own *genos*. The chief fathers of the families of the children of Gilead of the tribe of Manasseh “spake before Moses and before the princes, the chief fathers of the children of Israel.” Their complaint was that Moses “was commanded by the Lord to give the inheritance of Zelophehad our brother unto his daughters. And if they be married to any of the sons of the other tribes of the children of Israel, then shall their inheritance be taken from the inheritance of our fathers, and shall be put to the inheritance of the tribe whereunto they are received: so shall it be taken from the lot of our

inheritance.....And Moses commanded the children of Israel according to the word of the Lord, saying, The tribe of the sons of Joseph hath said well. This is the thing which the Lord doth command concerning the daughters of Zelophehad, saying, Let them marry to whom they think best; only to the family of the tribe of their father shall they marry. So shall not the inheritance of the children of Israel remove from tribe to tribe :...And every daughter that possesseth an inheritance in any tribe of the children of Israel, shall be wife unto one of the family of the tribe of her father, that the children of Israel may enjoy every man the inheritance of his fathers....Even as the Lord commanded Moses, so did the daughters of Zelophehad," for they "were married unto their father's brothers' sons¹." Thus we find them doing what we are told was a great innovation, marrying their first cousins, the very course to which the daughters of Danaus were constrained sorely against their will.

The contrast between the position of women of the upper classes at Athens in the fifth century B.C. and that which they occupy in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* is one of the most hackneyed commonplaces of scholars, for, whilst the latter associate as freely with the other sex as do English ladies of the present day, the Athenian women of the age of Pericles were kept in a seclusion resembling the harem system of the modern Oriental world. The learned have satisfied themselves with a vague supposition that the Homeric poems give a picture of what Attic society must have been in earlier days. But we have now traced the history of the social position of women at Athens from the legendary period, and at no epoch have we met any phase that at all resembles the noble conception of domestic life laid before us in the Homeric poems. For it is certainly not to be recognized in the early Attic days, when the girls enjoyed a licence exactly the same as that of the unmarried Thracian women of the time of Herodotus, and that allowed to their unmarried girls by the Maoris, Dyaks, Nagas, and many

¹ Numbers xxxvi, 1—10. It may have been due to such a reminiscence of matrilinear succession that Job gave his three daughters by his last marriage "inheritance amongst their brethren," i.e., his seven sons by his last marriage (Job xlii, 15).

other tribes of modern barbarians. On the other hand it is just as far removed from the harem-like seclusion of the later period when the stronger sex had gradually deprived the weaker of their personal freedom and their rights of property.

Of course it may be said by those who, like Prof. G. G. Murray, believe that the Homeric poems were expurgated in Ionia in the sixth century before Christ, that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* reflect the life of the highly civilized Greeks of Miletus and Ephesus. But to this there is a fatal objection. There is irrefragable evidence that, so far from the Ionian women associating with their husbands like the Achean ladies in the *Epics*, they did not even sit at meals with their lords, but were kept in a retirement as strict as that of the Hindu zenana. The testimony of Herodotus¹ is explicit on this point. He states that the Athenians who settled in Ionia, and "who reckoned themselves the purest Iones of all, brought no wives with them to the new country, but married Carian girls, whose fathers they had slain. Hence these women made a law, which they bound themselves by an oath to observe, and which they handed down to their daughters after them, that none should ever sit at meat with her husband or call him by his name, because the invaders slew their fathers, their husbands, and their sons, and then forced them to become their wives. It was at Miletus that these things took place." Thus the *Epics* reflect neither the life of the Athenians nor yet that of their kinsmen on the other side of the Aegean.

This difficulty is at once removed if we accept the tradition of the Greeks themselves that the Achaeans of Homer were not natives of Greece or any part of the Aegean basin, but had a few generations earlier than the time represented in the poems come down from northern lands beyond the Alps and the Hercynian forest, in all ages the only cradle of tall, fair-haired men and women under the sun. There dwelt those Celtic or Teutonic tribes the virtue of whose women roused not merely the admiration of the philosophic historian but that of the libertine Roman Dictator. The Sagas of the north have preserved for us many a picture like those left us in the

¹ I. 146.

Odyssey, in which the goodwife welcomes her husband's guests and with a noble dignity and gracious speech dispenses the simple hospitalities in her hall. Thus, as Helen sat in the hall of the great palace at Sparta, the foundations of which have lately been brought to light by Mr R. M. Dawkins, so in the *Lay of Beowulf*¹ Wealhtheow, Hrothgar's queen, "mindful of ceremonies, greeted in her golden array the men in Hall. Then the noble lady handed first the beaker to the chieftain of the East Danes, wished him blithe at the feast and dear to his Leeds....Next the Hëlming princess went the round to elder and to younger in every part, handed to each the jewelled cup till came the time when she, the diademed queen, with dignity befitting, brought the mead-cup nigh to Beowulf. She greeted the Leed of the Goths, she thanked the gods with wise choice of words, for that her desire was come to pass, that she might put trust in some warrior for remedy of woes....Then spake Beowulf: I pledged myself when I mounted and sat on the sea-boat, that I once and for all would work out the will of your Leeds, or fall in the death-struggle, in the grip of the fiend (Grendel). I am bound as an eorl to fulfil the emprise, or in this mead-hall to meet my death-day. To the lady his words were well-liking, the proud speech of the Goth; she walked in her golden array, the highborn queen of the nation, and sat down in her place nigh her lord."

The Dorians.

But it may be argued that, although the Homeric picture does not mirror the life of the aboriginal race of Greece, nevertheless it may very well reflect that of the Dorians, who had some time in the Iron Age descended from their home in the heart of the mountains between Thessaly and Boeotia and become the masters of Laconia and Argolis.

In the first volume of this work it was argued that the lower part of the Balkan peninsula, which we now know as Greece, was inhabited from the Neolithic period by the same melanochrous race which still forms the largest element in its population, and that these people were the authors of the great

¹ 614 sqq.; cf. 1932 sqq., where Hygd plays a like social part.

civilization of the Bronze Age; it was further urged that this race never spoke any other than an Indo-European tongue, and that it is their language which we find in the various dialects of both ancient and modern Greece; it was also argued that a body of tall, fair-haired invaders had descended into Greece from the Danubian and Alpine regions and beyond, somewhere about 1500 B.C., and that these people, known to us as Achæans, or Hellenes, were part of the great fair-haired race of upper Europe termed by the ancients *Keltai*, and now commonly described as Teutonic. This people brought with them the use of iron, they burned their dead instead of burying them as did the aborigines, they had garments of a different kind, which they fastened with brooches, they had round shields with bosses, and brought with them a peculiar form of ornament commonly termed Geometric or Dipylon.

The writer has also pointed out (pp. 12 *sqq.*) that they differed essentially in their social institutions and religion from the Pelasgians whom they conquered. From what we have just seen, there can be no doubt that the ancient race traced descent through females, as was certainly the case at Athens, in Arcadia, and in Argolis. On the other hand we have seen that the Homeric Achæans were strictly monandrous, whilst the wives of the Achæans expected a similar constancy on the part of their husbands, as is proved by the story of the jealousy of the mother of Phoenix and the part played by that hero in espousing his mother's cause against his father (p. 14). It was likewise shown (vol. i. pp. 351—2) that all the Illyrio-Thracian tribes of the upper Balkan belonged to the same melanochrous race as that of Greece, and that they had spoken always an Indo-European language. But, as we have pointed out, those tribes had been conquered in many instances by *Keltai* from the Alpine regions, or else driven out completely. Thus the Getae and the Trausi were certainly not ethnologically Thracians, though so termed geographically, for they were the "red Thracians," and Herodotus is our warrant that they differed essentially in all their customs from the indigenous Thracians whom they had mastered. Moreover, it appeared that the ruling families in most of the aboriginal Thracian

tribes were of this other stock, for they had gods different from those of their subjects, and in the case at least of the royal house of Macedon were blond-complexioned (p. 28).

Such then was the ethnical condition of the Balkan peninsula at the dawn of history. The Achæans remained masters of Thessaly until they were driven out or subdued by the Thessalians, an Illyrian tribe, who crossed the Pindus according to the traditional chronology in 1124 B.C., whilst the Achæans continued dominant in Argolis and Laconia until the Dorian invasion some twenty years later, in 1104 B.C.

Until the appearance of the first volume of this work it was universally held that the Dorians had introduced into Greece the new form of ornament known as the Geometric or Dipylon to which I have just alluded. But I was able to show that it had already a grip upon Peloponnesus before the Dorians had ever planted foot thereon, while it was especially dominant at Olympia, where that people had at no time a settlement. It was generally assumed by reviewers of my former volume as well as by others that the Dorians were but another wave of the same Celtic stock as the Achæans, and they took for granted that such also was my view. For example, Prof. G. G. Murray¹,

¹ *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (2nd ed. 1911, pp. 61-2, slightly modified from 1st ed. p. 40). I cannot accept Professor Murray's derivation of *Dorian* from *δαρῶν*, *hand*. He imagines that "the \wedge which served as the sign on the Spartan shields is not likely to have been originally a letter of the alphabet; perhaps it was a picture of a hand in profile pointing downwards with the thumb sticking out." He "suspects that the Dorians were the 'Tribe of the Hand.'" But Prof. Murray must not only also invent pictographs to explain the \mathcal{M} and the Σ on the shields of the Messenians and the Sicyonians, but he will likewise have to find pictographic originals for letters on the reverse of the archaic coins of Boeotia—the earliest inscriptions on coins on the mainland of Greece. Thus in the centre of the "mill-sail" incuse on the reverse of these pieces (the obverse of which always bears a Boeotian shield), the issues of Thebes, Tanagra, Acraephium, Haliartus, Coronea, etc. respectively bear



Fig. 9. Coin of Thebes.

who has adopted my theory of the Achean invasion from the north, not only makes the Pelasgians come from the same region, but adds: "most of all we hear of the great migration of the Dorians somewhere about 1000 B.C.... We can hazard a few general statements about these immigrants. They were of Aryan speech; and the Greek that we know is really their language. They seem to have been, to a preponderant extent, tall and fair, warlike, uncivilized. Authorities differ about the shape of their heads. They worshipped a patriarchal god whose name was Zeus. They used, in the later streams of invasion at any rate, iron weapons, and round metal shields, and fastened their cloaks with 'fibulae' or safety-pins." But a consideration of the facts above enumerated combined with an examination of the social and other characteristics of the Dorians had long before led me to the conclusion that so far from the Dorians being Keltoid they were really an Illyrio-Thracian tribe¹. These views, already given elsewhere², are here presented in a more elaborate form.

⊕, ⊖, ♀, ♂, Δ He must also account for the Δ found regularly on the reverse of the coins of Argos. Moreover δάρον does not necessarily mean "the hand with the thumb sticking out." It is used in Homer and Hesiod as a measure=4 fingers, *hand*. The hand with the thumb sticking out was also used as a measure, the *λίχας*, = a span of 10 fingers. Cf. my article MENSURA, in Smith's *Dict. of Antiq.* Again, as the Dorians had at least three and almost certainly four tribes (see *infra*, p. 138) there is no reason why all the tribes should have had but a single badge. There is no reason why they should not have adopted a Δ at a late period comparatively, when their forces consisting of Spartiates, Perioeci and Helots were collectively called Λακεδαιμόνιοι. Mr A. J. B. Wace (*B.S.A.* xv. p. 137), when treating of the devices on the shields of lead figurines of warriors found at Sparta, thinks it "remarkable that on none do we find the blazon Δ which Eupolis says the Lacedaimonians have on their shields." But probably the Δ was inside the shield (cf. the initials of Thebes and other cities on the rev. of the archaic coins of Boeotia, which are never on the shield's front). That true blazons were placed inside the shield is proved by a well-known silver coin of Locris, where a bird is seen on the inside of the shield of Ajax Oileus.

¹ It is but fair to Prof. Murray to say that in the second edition of his book (*The Rise of the Greek Epic*, p. 61 footnote) he writes: "Prof. Ridgeway has argued very forcibly that the Dorians were not Northmen, but dark-Thracians or Illyrians, with matriarchal and 'Pelasgian' habits."

² *Anthropological Essays presented to Prof. E. B. Tylor* (Oxford, 1907), pp. 295 *seq.*

It has constantly been asserted that the social life of primitive Greece can still be seen clearly surviving at Sparta in classical times in the simple and frugal lives of her citizens, in the absence there of gold and silver and all other appurtenances of luxury, and in the great freedom and influence allowed to women. We must therefore examine the historical and legendary evidence bearing on the relations of the sexes among the Dorian aristocracy of Laconia. Fortunately both Xenophon and Polybius have left us statements, about the meaning of which there can be no doubt. According to the former conjugal fidelity was practically unknown at Sparta: this he ascribed to the legislative enactments of Lycurgus, who directed all his attention to producing and rearing a vigorous brood of citizens. The lawgiver is represented as regulating the age of marriage for the sexes, and as he saw that when old men had young wives they exercised especial surveillance over them, he ordained on the contrary that an old man should bring in some man preeminent for physique and courage, and should get him to procreate children for him. Again, if a man did not care to cohabit with his wife, but should desire a child, he ordained that in case his eye had lighted on a fine woman who had borne fine children, he was to get her husband's permission and have children by her. He adds that "the women are ready to be mistresses of two houses and the men to give a share in their children to their brothers, who participate in the family and power, but do not make any claim to the property¹." The obscure sentence paraphrased above by the words "give a share in their children to their brothers" is rendered perfectly lucid by Polybius², who states that it was customary with the Lacedaemonians for three or four men, or sometimes more, if they were brothers, to have

¹ Xen. *Resp. Lac.* i. 9: αἱ τε γὰρ γυναῖκες διττοὺς οἴκους βούλονται κατέχειν, οἱ τε ἄνδρες ἀδελφοὺς τοῖς παῖσι προσλαμβάνειν, οἱ τοῦ μὲν γένους καὶ τῆς δυνάμεως κοινωνοῦσι, τῶν δὲ χρημάτων οὐκ ἀντιποιοῦνται.

² Mai, *Scriptorum Veterum Nova Collectio, e Vaticanis codicibus edita*, tom. II. p. 384: παρὰ μὲν γὰρ τοῖς Λακεδαιμονίοις καὶ πάτριον ἦν καὶ συνῆθει τρεῖς ἄνδρας ἔχειν τὴν γυναῖκα καὶ τέτταρας, ποτὲ δὲ καὶ πλείους ἀδελφοὺς ὄντας, καὶ τέκνα τούτων εἶναι κοινά· καὶ γεννήσαντα παῖδας ἰκανοὺς, ἐκδοσθαι γυναῖκά τινα τῶν φίλων, καλὸν καὶ συνῆθε. (Polybii *Excerpta*, Lib. XII. fragm. vi.)

one wife, and to have children in common, and it was esteemed right for a man, in case he had begotten a sufficient number of sons, to hand over his wife to one of his friends.

The specific statements of Xenophon and Polybius are corroborated fully by the famous passage in which Aristotle¹ criticizes the Spartan constitution: "Again, the licence of the women at Lacedaemon is equally fatal to the spirit of the polity and to the happiness of the State. For as husband and wife are constituent elements of a household, it is evidently right to regard a State also as divided nearly equally into the male and female population; and accordingly in any polity where the condition of the women is unsatisfactory, one half of the state must be regarded as destitute of legislative regulations. And this is actually the case at Lacedaemon. For the legislator in his desire to impart a character of hardness to the State as a whole, although true to his principle as regards the men, has been guilty of serious oversights in his treatment of the women, as their life is one of unrestrained and indiscriminate licence and luxury. A necessary result then in a polity so constituted is the worship of wealth, especially if the citizens are under the thumb of the women, as is generally the case with military and warlike races, if we except the Celts and any others who have openly attached themselves to men. It was in fact with good reason, as it appears, that the author of the myth made Ares the paramour of Aphrodite; for experience shows that military nations are all strongly inclined to the passion of love. Accordingly the influence of women prevailed at Lacedaemon; and while the Lacedaemonian empire lasted, a great deal of business passed through their hands. But what difference does it make whether women actually hold office, or the officers of State are ruled by the women? The result is in either case the same. And whereas bravery is of no use in any of the routine duties of life, but at the best is useful only in the conduct of war, the Lacedaemonian women were the greatest nuisance even in military matters, as they proved at the time of the Theban invasion, when not only were they wholly useless like the women in other states, but they were

¹ *Pol.* ii. 9. 5 (trs. Welldon).

the cause of more confusion than the enemy." Not only then have we irrefragable evidence of general polyandry, but also of the more limited or Tibetan form, wherein several brothers have the family property and one wife in common (p. 105). Nor can it be urged that this phase of society had sprung up in Sparta at a comparatively recent date. For according to Aristotle Lycurgus "made an effort to reduce the women into conformity with the laws, but they resisted so stoutly that he abandoned the attempt." This story is indeed at variance with the statement of Xenophon, who ascribes to Lycurgus' zeal for eugenics the great laxity of Spartan domestic life, but it is likely that Xenophon has ascribed to the legislator practices brought by the Dorian women from their original homes. Both stories however assume that polyandry had existed at Sparta from a very early stage in her history. With such testimony for the post-nuptial laxity before us, we may accept as true the charge of pre-nuptial unchastity preferred against the Spartan girls by Euripides through the mouth of Peleus¹. For there seems no doubt that they not only took part in the athletic exercises almost naked along with the youths, but that on certain festivals they danced and sang in a state of nudity when the young men were looking on².

McLennan³ cited that story which represents Lycurgus as declining, on purpose to set an example to his countrymen, to marry his brother's widow, and cut out from the succession his brother's son, as indicating the transition from female to male succession in the royal Dorian house. Though this story

¹ *Androm.* 595 sqq.:

οὐδ' ἂν εἰ βούλοιντο τις
σώφρων γένοιτο Σπαρτιατῖδων κῆρη,
αἱ ξυν νέουσιν ἐξηρημόσαι δόμους
γυμνοῖσι μηροῖς καὶ πέπλοις ἀναιμένοις
δρόμους παλαίστρας τ' οὐκ ἀνασχετοὺς ἐμοὶ
κοινὰς ἔχουσι.

This diatribe against sexual laxity is very appropriate in the mouth of Peleus, the Achean, who was proverbial in classical times for his moral purity: see *Ar. Nubes*, 1068' sqq. and *schol. ad loc.*

² *Plut. Lyc.* 14.

Studies in Ancient History, p. 222.

cannot be regarded as proving McLennan's contention, yet we have no difficulty in finding an undoubted case of female descent in another great Dorian family. For it is not only in Sparta that there are traces of polyandry and female kinship having once existed among the Dorians. Corinth likewise supplies some evidence of importance. In that city kings had been superseded in course of time by annual magistrates named *Prytanes*. These were chosen from the clan of the Bacchiadae, of whom we have already spoken (p. 91), "who intermarried only among themselves, and held the management of affairs. Now it happened that Amphion, one of these, had a daughter named Labda, who was lame, and whom therefore none of the Bacchiadae would consent to marry; so she was taken to wife by Aetion, son of Echecrates, a man of the township of Petra, who was, however, by descent of the race of the Lapithae, and of the house of Caeneus¹." Labda being childless, Aetion went to Delphi, and was told by the Pythian priestess that

"Labda shall soon be a mother—her offspring a rock that will one day
Fall on the kingly race, and right the city of Corinth."

When the child was born, the Bacchiadae sent ten of their number to destroy him, but his mother hid him in a chest (*κυψέλη*), whence he obtained the name of Cypselus.

Unless the succession of the Bacchiadae had been through women, there would have been no reason for their careful endogamy. On the contrary, they would have been able to strengthen their power by giving their daughters in marriage to leading men among the other citizens.

Again, at Argos and Epidaurus in addition to the three old Dorian tribes—Hylleis, Dymanes, and Pamphyli—there was a fourth named Hynrathia², which may perhaps have been named after Hynratho, the daughter of Temenus, who was married to Deiphontes. "Temenus...openly employed Deiphontes as his general in the battles instead of his own sons and he took his advice in everything; and, as he had previously made him his son-in-law, and loved his daughter Hynratho best of all his

¹ Herod. v. 92 (Rawlinson).

² Steph. Byz., s.v. *Δυμῶν*; Müller, *The Dorians*, II. p. 78.

children, he was suspected of trying to divert the kingdom to her and Deiphontes. Therefore his sons plotted against him, and Cissus, the eldest of them, mounted the throne¹. This story gives us an example of succession passing through the daughter (who is really the heiress) to a valiant warrior who by virtue of being her husband obtains the kingdom (cf. p. 107).

Another legend indicates that the feeling of the nation was in favour of the daughter Hyrnetho and her husband, for we are told by Pausanias² that Deiphontes and the Argives took possession of Epidaurus: "The latter had separated from the rest of the Argives after the death of Temenus, because Deiphontes and Hyrnetho hated the sons of Temenus, and the army was more attached to them than to Cissus and his brothers." Thus we have not only a Dorian tribe apparently named after a woman, as we saw amongst the Illyrians (p. 60), but in both Argolis and Laconia there is no lack of evidence that the Dorians at the time of their conquest had still the rule of female kinship.

The fact so much commented on by both ancient and modern writers, that two-fifths of the land in Laconia was in the hands of women, was probably due to the ancient custom of female succession and to an hereditary readiness on the part of the Dorians to leave their lands to their daughters, even at a time when descent was now reckoned through males.

In face of this evidence it cannot any longer be maintained that the Homeric picture of society reflects the social life of the Dorians at any period of their history. The facts demonstrate that the Dorian invader of Peloponnesus was no less polyandrous than the aboriginal Pelasgian population of that area. Nor is this otherwise than might have been expected. According to Herodotus³ the Dorians "had been exceedingly migratory; for during the reign of Deucalion, Phthiotis was the country in which the Hellenes dwelt, but under Dorus, the son of Hellen, they moved to the tract at the base of Ossa and Olympus which is called Histiaeotis; forced to retire from that region by the Cadmeans, they settled under the name of Macedni in the chain of Pindus. Hence they once more re-

¹ Paus. II. 19, 1.

² II. 26, 2.

³ I. 56.

moved and came to Dryopis; and from Dryopis in this way they entered the Peloponnesus and became known as Dorians." In another passage¹ Herodotus speaks of the Lacedaemonians, Corinthians, Sicyonians, Epidaurians, Troezenians, and the Hermionians, as Dorians and Macedni except those from Hermione, and as having emigrated last from Erineus, Pindus, and Dryopis. "The Hermionians were Dryopians whom Heracles and the Malians drove out of the land now called Doris."

As Herodotus identifies the Dorians with the Hellenes, he naturally supposes that their oldest home was in Phthiotis, but this does not gain any support from Homer, for the Dorians do not form any part of the Achean host, and in the only passage where we hear of the Dorian name they are mentioned not as inhabitants of either Peloponnesus or northern Greece, but as settlers in Crete, who, according to Andron and Diodorus, had come thither not from Peloponnesus, but from Histiaeotis, the first district which Herodotus positively states to have been their home, for he only assumes that they must have dwelt in Phthiotis because he assumes they were Hellenes. But we have already had many examples of the desire of the conquered to ally themselves to the master race by bonds of kinship. The Corinthians had excited much derision by asserting that their ancestor Corinthus was the son of the Hellenic Zeus. So too one legend made Pelasgus, Phthius and Achaeus all brothers, whilst one version of the story of Xuthus made him the father of Achaeus and Ion, bonds of relationship being thus provided in each case between the aborigines and their masters. It is therefore probable that the early Dorians were not Achaeans who had entered Thessaly from the west, but rather one of the aboriginal tribes whom the Achaeans had found there on their coming, and who were related to the melanochrous Illyrian and Thracian tribes and also to the Pelasgians of upper Greece and the Peloponnesus, who had under favourable conditions developed a culture far in advance of their kindred tribes of the upper Balkan.

Now whilst the Dorians are sharply divided by polyandry from the monandrous Achaeans of Homer, on the other hand

they agree completely in this feature with the Illyrians and melanochrous Thracians, who, although in the fifth century B.C. they had reached that stage when men begin to assert their sole right to the women whom they have purchased from their parents, nevertheless still permitted the utmost licence to their unmarried girls (p. 28).

Attachments between males. At this point I am compelled to make some brief remarks on a most unsavoury theme, the chief plague-spot of Greek society in every part of Hellas in the classical period. From the time of the elegiac and lyric poets it is but too familiar in the Greek writers. Theognis, Solon, and Socrates all approved of the romantic attachment felt by men for beautiful boys, whilst in the case of many no less famous, such as Parmenides, Sophocles, Epaminondas, and Alexander, this passion was unfortunately not restricted to romantic sentiment. Though it is possible that there were those in the various Greek communities who looked with abhorrence and disgust on both its phases, there can be no doubt that it was legalized in certain states, such as Thebes, Elis, Chalcis, and in various Cretan cities, such as Gortyn, though in some of these cases at least the lawgiver had once dealt sternly with it. At Athens it was condoned or viewed with tolerance by the most intellectual circles, as is clear from the *Symposium* of Plato, and a well-known oration of Lysias, whilst it was notorious to all that such an abominable relation had existed between Harmodius and Aristogeiton, who had delivered Athens from the tyrant Hipparchus and whose praises were a never-failing theme of song.

Nor was Sparta with all her rigid discipline and supervision of youth free from such unwholesome connections, for such they must have been, even though they but seldom overstepped the bounds of a romantic admiration. It cannot be alleged that this malpractice was but of recent growth at Sparta, for not only had the Dorians special terms for the lover and the object of affection, the former being termed *εἰσπνήλας*, the latter *ἀίτας*, but this passion for boys was also a marked feature of the Thessalians, who were, as we have seen, admittedly Illyrians, and we shall soon find that this people used the same word as

the Spartans for the object of admiration. We may even go further and point out that amongst the Albanians, the best representatives of the ancient Illyrians, a similar institution is in vogue at this hour though the best authorities declare that no evil consequences ever ensue. It is alleged that such attachments led to self-devotion and bravery in war, and it is commonly held that the Sacred Band of Thebes owed much of its success to these strange and unhealthy connections. Now, if we turn to the Homeric poems, they are found to be as pure and untainted with the sin of Sodom or any sentiment tending to it, as are the Icelandic Sagas, and the Nibelung Lied. What a contrast is there between these doubtful relations at Sparta and the noble friendship from early boyhood, growing with their growth, between Achilles and Patroclus. Here then is another sharply dividing line between the social institutions of the Homeric Achaeans and the Dorians. But of course it may be said by those who, like Prof. G. G. Murray, think that these poems as we have them reflect the life of Ionia in the seventh and sixth centuries before Christ that they were "purged" from all that could offend by the countrymen of Thales, Heraclitus and Anaximenes. But this is to idealize the Ionian Greeks in a fashion unwarranted by the stern facts of history. Herodotus¹ himself tells us that the Persians, the deadly enemies of the Asiatic Greeks, knew naught of unnatural crime until they had learned it from the Hellenes. That the Hellenes who were their instructors in vice were those of Ionia, there cannot be a shadow of a doubt. But of the theory of 'expurgation' we shall treat at length further on².

Physical characteristics. The Achaeans of Homer were large men with fair hair. But it is almost beyond doubt that the Dorians were neither remarkably tall nor xanthochrous³. For if such had been the case, as it was with the Thebans, both these points would certainly have been remarked in some

¹ i. 135.

² [The subject is not treated in this volume.]

³ This view gets some support from the archaic terracottas found at the Orthia shrine, of which one completely painted example has the face, neck and girdle white, the hair black and the dress purple (*B.S.A.* xiv. p. 58, Fig. 4p).

of the various passages in classical authors which refer to the Spartans, especially in view of the frequent reference to Spartan women and their national costume. Yet we have a full account of the physical features of the Thebans in the Pseudo-Dicaearchus (vol. I. p. 629). The Theban women, he writes, "are the tallest, prettiest, and most graceful in all Greece. Their faces are muffled up so that only the eyes are seen. All of them dress in white and wear low purple shoes laced so as to show their bare feet. Their yellow (ξανθόν) hair is tied up in a knot on the top of the head." From this description we may infer that the fair hair and great stature of that people were quite exceptional in Greece, a statement he would hardly have made, had the same features characterized the Spartans. There are several passages in the most familiar authors, which if the Spartans were blond-complexioned, offer every opportunity for reference to such a peculiarity. For example, when in the *Lysistrata* of Aristophanes, Lampito, the Laconian lady delegate to the Peace Conference, arrives at Athens, though Lysistrata is much struck with her appearance and robust physique, and makes some very minute observations on her personal appearance¹, there is not the slightest reference to the colour of her hair. Now, as at that time it was the fashion for Athenian ladies to dye their hair yellow (ξανθίζειν), as we know also from the *Lysistrata*² itself, and to wear *Cimbric* garments, doubtless through a desire to look like the splendid Celtic women of the Danube region, Lysistrata would certainly have alluded to the fashionable colour of Lampito's hair, had she been blond.

¹ 79 sqq.: ΑΤΣ. οἷον τὸ κάλλος, γλυκυτάτη, σου φαίνεται.
ὡς δ' εὐχροεῖς, ὡς δὲ σφριγᾷ τὸ σῶμά σου.
κἂν ταῦρον ἄγχοις. ΛΑΜ. μάλα γ' οἶώ ναι τὼ σῶ-
γυμνάδδομαι γὰρ καὶ ποτὶ πνύαν ἄλλομαι.

ΑΤΣ. ὡς δὴ καλὸν τὸ χρημ' ἔχεις τῶν τιτθίων.

ΛΑΜ. ᾧπερ ἱερεῖον τοί μ' ὑποβαλῶσσεται.

² 42 sqq.: τί δ' ἂν γυναῖκες φρόνιμον ἐργασάτατο
ἡ λαμπρόν, αἶ' καθήμεθ' ἐξανθισμέναι,
κροκωτοφορούσαι καὶ κεκαλλωπισμέναι
καὶ Κιμμερικ' ὀρθοστάδια καὶ περιβαρίδας;

ἐξανθισμέναι is the common reading.

There are also several passages where reference is made to the Spartan custom of wearing their hair long, and dressing it with peculiar care before battle. Thus on the eve of Thermopylae the Persian scout saw "some of the Spartans engaged in gymnastic exercises, others combing their hair¹." Herodotus with his love of minute detail would probably have added a distinctive epithet, had the colour of their hair been different from that of the ordinary Greek.

Fashion of wearing the hair. It will be naturally said that the passage from Herodotus just cited proves that the Spartans wore their hair long just as did the "long-haired" (κάρη κομόωντες) Achaeans of Homer, and that accordingly in this respect they closely resemble the latter people. But it must not be supposed that because the Spartans in the fifth century B.C. wore their hair long, as did the Homeric Achaeans, they are thereby to be identified as belonging to the same ethnic group, for Herodotus² expressly states that the Spartans had only adopted the practice of wearing their hair long after their overthrow of the Argives in the struggle for Thyrea (546 B.C.), having up to that time cut their hair.

But whilst the Celts of the Danubian and Alpine regions wore their fair hair unshorn, as did the fair-haired Achaeans, on the other hand we found that the Illyrio-Thracian tribes of the Balkan cut their hair, though the style of cropping varied in different areas (vol. I. p. 344), and was taken as a test of nationality. It is a striking proof of the persistence of ancient customs in the Balkan that at the present day amongst the Albanians, who must be considered in the main as the descendants of the ancient Illyrians, the hair is universally cropped, whilst the nature of the tonsure varies from tribe to tribe. Our best living authority on the Albanians, Miss M. E. Durham³, thus describes a feast at Skreli attended by the members of several tribes: "Early Sunday morning the guests

¹ Herod. vii. 208, cf. Plutarch, *Lycurg.* 22.

² I. 82: Λακεδαιμόνιοι δὲ τὰ ἐναντία τούτων ἔθεντο νόμον· οὐ γὰρ κομῶντες πρὸ τούτου ἀπὸ τούτου κομᾶν.

³ *High Albania* (1909), pp. 49—50, with sketches of the various head tufts. Cf. p. 23. The tuft is called *perchin*.

poured down the zig-zag in a living cataract on the one side, and flocked from the valleys on the other—from Hoti, from Kastrati and Boga, all in their best—men first, their women following....All had shaven heads, the unshaven patch varying in shape and position. To study head tufts one must go to church festivals. Only then are a number seen uncovered. ...The women too are shaven all round the temples and their faces look extraordinarily large and blank. Some are also shaven



FIG. 10. Painted terracotta mask, with the moustache shaved ;
Orthia sanctuary, Sparta.

in a strip along the top of the forehead, but the shaven strip is often covered by a fringe brought down over it. This is all the hair that shows, and is darkened by dye or oil." Thus then the Dorians agree in complexion and in cutting their hair with the Illyrian and Thracian tribes who bordered on Thessaly, some of whose descendants carry on the practice to this very hour.

Shaving the upper lip. The Spartans shaved their upper lip, as we know from Aristotle¹, whilst Plutarch² tells

¹ *Fragm.* 496: *κείρεσθαι τὸν μύστακα καὶ προσέχειν τοῖς νόμοις.*

² *de sera num. vind.* 4: *μὴ τρέφειν μύστακα καὶ κτεῖνεσθαι τοῖς νόμοις.*

us that the ephors on coming into office enjoined on all men to shave the moustache and to obey the laws. These statements are confirmed by some of the terracottas found at Sparta. One of these (Fig. 10)¹ is decisive on the point, because it has both a beard and whiskers but no moustache. Similar masks occur with the upper lip shaved, but as they have neither beard nor whiskers, they are not decisive². A fragment, perhaps from a vase, with black paint on a white ground, shows a man with a clean-shaved upper lip and a beard, a feature which has also been noticed in the terracotta figurines from Tarentum, but does not seem to have been peculiar to Sparta or to Spartan colonies³. On the other hand, the Achæans seem never to



FIG. 11. Terracotta Masks, showing (a) tattooing and (b) wrinkles.

have shaved the upper lip, whilst from the earliest date at which the Celts from the Danubian region come within our ken, they are especially distinguished by wearing a moustache, as is well exemplified in the famous statue of the Dying Gaul.

Tattooing. We saw (vol. I. p. 346) that tattooing was practised by all the Illyrian and aboriginal Thracian tribes, and that Strabo makes it a criterion by which to distinguish them from their Celtic invaders from the north who were constantly pressing down on them. We need not therefore be surprised to find signs of tattooing at Sparta. Amongst the terracottas found at the Orthia shrine and described by Prof. Bosanquet⁴,

¹ *B.S.A.* xii. Pl. x.

² *ibid.* Pl. xii, c.

³ Prof. R. M. Dawkins, *ibid.* vol. xv. p. 119, Pl. vi, 21 and 30. Cf. *Ann. d. I.*, 1883, pp. 194 *sqq.*

⁴ *B.S.A.* vol. xii. p. 342, Figs. 7 and 8.

there are certain female masks with markings "like cicatrices" which "probably represent tattooing (Fig. 11), such as may have survived amongst the Helots or been seen on the faces of imported slaves." There is certainly some evidence that the aborigines of Greece had this practice¹, whilst tattooed Thracian women are seen on Attic vases². Yet these tattooed masks may represent the practice amongst the Dorians themselves. I would suggest that we have another example in a terracotta fragment from the same shrine described by Mr Jerome Farrell³: "the body and head of an apparently nude woman in a sitting position without throne. One appliqué breast remains. The legs, if they ever existed, are lost; on the back are traces of a large herring bone pattern in black paint."

Dress. In the previous volume (pp. 297-9) we saw that the men of the Bronze Age of Greece are represented on the monuments either as nude, as in the siege scene on a fragment of a silver vase, or more commonly as wearing a loin-cloth or a garment like a pair of bathing-drawers. The women of the same period wore a tight-fitting *chiton*, often cut low, and a petticoat relieved with tucks or flounces, both of these being confined at the waist by a girdle. Neither of these garments was secured with brooches, for such are neither seen on works of art, nor were any found in the graves of the Acropolis of Mycenae, although several of the interments in them were certainly those of women. On the other hand, the Achean warrior in Homer invariably wears a *chiton*, a cut and sewn linen garment, such as that which fitted Odysseus like an onion-peel. Over this he regularly wore a cloak (*χλαῖνα*, *φάρος*) fastened by a brooch (*περόνη*). The Achean lady wore a long *peplos* fastened by a series of brooches. But the Iones, who were part of the ancient race, are described as wearing long *chitons* (*ἐλκεχίτωνες*) both in the *Iliad*⁴ and in the Hymn to the Delian Apollo⁵. These long *chitons* were almost certainly the lineal descendants of the flowing garments worn by the

¹ Tsountas, *Πρακτικά*, 1896, p. 31. Cf. p. 490 below.

² J. E. Harrison, *Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1888, p. 146.

³ *B.S.A.* vol. xiv. p. 54; cf. *Jahreshefte*, 1901, Fig. 27.

⁴ XIII. 685.

⁵ 147.

women of the Bronze Age. Although dresses fastened with brooches had come into fashion at Athens in the Dipylon period, yet it is unlikely that they ever ousted the long *chitons*, as the latter were certainly in regular use down to the fifth century, when, as we know from Thucydides¹, there came a complete change in the national costume, and a garb somewhat resembling the Doric had been adopted. The Spartan men from their twelfth year onwards wore winter and summer alike as their sole covering a *tribon*, a small cloak or mantle, similar to that which is characteristic of the tribes of the upper Balkan.

The Spartan girls seem only to have worn a single garment², a short *chiton* of wool, which when ungirded reached down to the calf of the leg. The married women seem to have occasionally worn the *himation* also. This Doric *chiton* was a single piece of cloth, left unsewn, but had its edges held together by pins on the left side of the wearer, thus frequently exposing the thigh, a circumstance which led Ibycus to apply the term *φαυμομπίδες* to the Dorian women. The Ionic *chiton*, on the other hand, was a sewn garment in the securing of which no pins or brooches were employed. It was probably the lineal descendant of the sewn *chiton* of the Mycenaean age.

Brooches. Just as the evidence of Homer for the use of brooches by the Achaeans has been amply confirmed by the contents of the ten great tumuli of the Early Iron Age at Halos³, in Achaia Phthiotis in the valley of the Spercheius,—the home of Peleus and Achilles,—where fibulae of an early stage of the safety-pin type were discovered, but not a single ‘spectacle’ brooch,—so the ancient evidence for the use of brooches by the Spartans has been emphatically confirmed by the excavations at the Orthia shrine⁴. Here large numbers both of the safety-pin and ‘spectacle’ families with their derivatives were found. But as the oldest (Geometric) stratum at the shrine dates only from the eighth century B.C., and as

¹ i. 6.

² K. O. Müller, *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, vol. II. pp. 280 ff.

³ *B.S.A.* vol. XVIII. pp. 8 sqq.

⁴ *ibid.*, vol. XII. p. 321; vol. XIII. pp. 78, 82, 112 sqq.

not only are brooches of the 'spectacle' type (which are entirely absent at Halos) here most abundant, but all the brooches belong to advanced classes, such as those with ivory or bone plaques, of their respective types, they can in no wise be claimed as evidence that the Homeric poems mirror the culture of the Spartans or other Dorians on the mere ground that the Homeric dress was fastened by brooches of some sort. As the whole question of the origin of both families of the brooch and their chronological importance has been discussed at length both in vol. I (pp. 553—93) and also in the Introduction¹ to the present volume, I need not here labour the matter further.

Disposal of the Dead. I have elsewhere pointed out (vol. I. pp. 490—1) that the Dorians did not burn their dead, as did the Homeric Achæans, but inhumed them, as was the practice of the indigenous Illyrians and Thracians. On the other hand, the Celto-Umbrian tribes of central Europe and upper Italy generally cremated their dead as did the Achæans of Homer. Plutarch² states that Lycurgus made excellent arrangements for funerals. "In the first place, in order to kill superstition, he raised no objection to burying the dead in the city, and having their monuments near the temples, thus habituating the youths to such sights, that they might not be perturbed by or shrink from death, as though it defiled those who touch a corpse or pass athwart a grave. In the second place he forbade the burial of any object along with the dead, but their practice was to inter the body wrapped in a purple cloak and olive leaves." Elsewhere the same authority says³ that when an ordinary Spartan died in a foreign land, it was the custom to celebrate his funeral rites on the spot and leave his body behind, but the bodies of kings were brought home. This did not always take place at once, for it was not till forty years after the battle that the bones of Leonidas were removed from Thermopylae to Sparta by Pausanias⁴. This practice in the case of kings is confirmed by Xenophon⁵, who records that

¹ [This Introduction was never written.]

² *Lyc.* 27.

³ *Ages.* 40.

⁴ *Paus.* III. 14. 1.

⁵ *Resp. Lac.* xv. 9: αὐτὸ δὲ τελευτήσαντι τιμαὶ βασιλεῖ δέδονται, τῇδε βούλονται δηλοῦν οἱ Λυκοῦργον νόμοι ὅτι οὐχ ὡς ἀνθρώπους ἀλλ' ὡς ἥρωας τοὺς Λακεδαιμονίων βασιλεῖς προτετιμῆκασιν.

by the laws of Lycurgus the kings of Sparta after death were to be honoured not as men, but as heroes.

In the spring of 361 B.C. Agesilaus, the greatest of Spartan kings, set out for Egypt on what was fated to be his last campaign. After displaying once again all his qualities as a leader of men, just as he was on the eve of returning home he died, far from his native land. It was formerly the general belief, until the appearance of the first volume of this work, that the cremation of the dead had no religious significance, and therefore its general practice in Homer has no ethnical bearing. This view is still maintained by Prof. W. Dörpfeld¹. I had pointed out that not only were the Homeric poems in sharp contrast in this as well as in many other respects to the method of disposing of the dead employed all through the Bronze Age of Greece, but also to the general practice of the Greeks of the classical period. But Prof. Dörpfeld holds that from first to last the practice was really the same and that the supposed change of custom found in Homer is only one of degree due to the peculiar condition of distant wars. The dead, he thinks, were always buried, in the Bronze Age, Homeric and Classical times, but for hygienic reasons the bodies were either embalmed or scorched before burial. The scorching might, in some cases, go as far as complete incineration, but this would only be the case when a man died abroad and his remains were to be brought home. Of a truth Aeschylus in a passage of surpassing pathos² refers to the return of the ashes of the heroes who fell before Troy, yet he gives not a hint that the bodies were burned to render the home-bringing more easy: "All remember right well those whom they sent forth, but instead of the men themselves nought but vases and ashes come back to each warrior's house. For Ares, gold-changer of bodies, he that holdeth the scales in the strife of the spear, keeps sending from Ilium dust that the fire has searched, dust that weighs on the hearts of the loved ones as they shed bitter tears, and he freighteth the urns, that are easy of stowage, with the ashes—now all that is left of the heroes." Now, if ever the body of a

¹ *Mélanges Nicole* (Geneva, 1905), pp. 95 sqq.

² *Ag.* 433 sqq.

warrior who had died in the land of the stranger ought to have been consumed on the pyre, it was that of Agesilaus. There was even a special reason for resorting to cremation in his case. But the Spartiates who were with him did nothing of the kind. On the contrary, they took every possible step to preserve his body intact, for they poured melted wax all over the corpse, since they ran short of honey for the purpose, and thus they brought him back to Sparta, where with great splendour and solemnity he was laid to rest with his Eurypontid fathers. This instance of itself is enough to disprove Dr Dörpfeld's theory. Nor can it be said that it was only the Dorians of Sparta who practised inhumation. The Megarians interred their dead, but they seem to have laid the body to face east, though according to Heraeus of Megara they buried the corpse to face the west, and moreover shared with Salamis the custom of laying three or four in one grave. The double usage in orientation at Megara was probably due to a mixed aboriginal and Dorian population. As the dead lay towards the west in Attica, Salamis, in some cases at Megara, and in the majority of the interments in the Shaft Graves at Mycenae, it may be inferred that this was the characteristic orientation of the autochthonous race. The Sicyonians according to Pausanias¹ buried their dead "in the ground," but as this statement refers to a late period, it is likely that it applies to the original race, who had expelled their Dorian masters in the seventh century B.C.

Sir Arthur Evans² found at Cnossus in 1907 "about a mile to the north (of the Palace) on the way to the headland where a Royal tomb had already been excavated, a series of 'Cyclopean' blocks," which proved to have been removed from their original context. Immediately below them there were two beehive tombs cut out of the soft rock. In their form and certain features of their contents they represent "the old Minoan tradition," but they belong "to a period about 800 B.C., when the Dorian settlement of a large part of the island was already an accomplished fact. The swords here were of the mainland type, iron succeeding the earlier bronze, and cinerary urns had replaced the earlier corpse burial; but

¹ II. 7. 3. See vol. I. p. 491.

² *Times*, July 15th, 1907.

the variety and invention displayed in the objects found, the continuity of many of the decorative motives, as well as the appearance of the characteristic 'stirrup vase,' pointed to a distinct survival of the old indigenous element. In one tomb there were nearly one hundred vessels, and among them the more important cinerary urns presented quite a new and very elaborate style of Geometrical design."

From the words cited, Sir Arthur Evans apparently holds or held that the cinerary urns were those of Dorians. But in view of the facts given above, this supposition must be rejected. On the other hand, the contents of these tombs exactly fit the Homeric period, when the Achæans, who preceded the Dorians on the mainland of Greece, always cremated their dead. Moreover, as the *Odyssey* represents Idomeneus¹, the son of Deucalion, the son of Minos II, as actually lord of Cnossus itself, and leader of all the Cretans who went to Troy, whilst there was no large influx of Dorians from the mainland until long after they had conquered the Achæans in Argolis and Laconia, the continuity of the older style of decoration and the presence of the 'stirrup' vases can be much better explained if the tombs discovered by Sir Arthur Evans belonged to the Achæan lords of Cnossus, who, headed by Minos I, had overthrown its ancient race².

Dialect. There are certainly labialized forms in Homer and later Greek which I have compared (vol. I. pp. 673-4) with the similar labialized forms in use amongst the Celts and their close kinsmen, the Umbro-Sabellian peoples of Italy. For example, *πίσυρες* for *τέτταρες* in Homer, and the form *ἵππος*, common to all the later Greek dialects, which had certainly replaced an older form *ἱκκος*, the existence of which is proved by the ancient lexicographers. The best modern philologists are agreed that the form *ἵππος* has come into Greece from elsewhere, and I have compared its labialized form with the Gallic *Epona* (the horse-goddess) and the modern Welsh *eb* (horse). When the Achæans were driven out of what was later known

¹ W. Ridgeway, *Minos the Destroyer rather than the Creator of the so-called 'Minoan' Culture of Cnossus*, p. 29. (*Proc. British Academy*, vol. iv. 1909.)

² *ibid.* pp. 28-9.

as Thessaly, by the invading Illyrian tribe of Thessali, nearly at the same time as the Dorians invaded Peloponnesus, some of them and their Acheanized subjects settled in Boeotia. Doubtless it was to them, and possibly to the Phlegyans who had previously captured Thebes and settled there, that Thebes owed her famous tall, fair-haired inhabitants. It is interesting to find in this very area some unmistakably labialized forms of the kind to which I have referred. Thus, the Boeotians said *πέτταρες* instead of *τέτταρες*, they called a woman *βανά*, not *γυνή*, as did the Athenians and the Ionians, or *γυνά*, as did the Dorians. Again, the Boeotians called the locust *πόρνοψ*, as did also their kinsmen who had settled in the Aeolid in north-west Asia Minor, when others of their number had found new homes in Boeotia, whilst it is certain that the indigenous population of Greece, such as the people of Mount Oeta, used the unlabialized form *κόρνοψ*¹. The Boeotian form *πέτταρες* = the Gallic *petor* found in *petor-ritum*, 'a four-wheeler,' and the Umbrian *petur*, whilst *βανά* corresponds to the Irish *ban*, 'woman.' It is now clear that as the Dorians do not use any of the labialized forms peculiar to Boeotia and the Aeolid, whither the Achaeans from Thessaly had migrated, they cannot have been part of the Achean stock which had entered Greece centuries before the Dorian migration. On the other hand, there is no evidence that the Illyrians and Thracians had any tendency to this sort of labialism, for the scanty available data point rather to their being distinctly a K-folk, as were their close neighbours the Ligurians, who formed the oldest stratum of population over a great part of Italy (vol. I. pp. 375 *sqq.*) just as the Illyrians did over a large part of the sister peninsula.

Whilst the Spartans thus differed essentially in their phonetics from the Achaeans of Homer and from the fair-haired

¹ Strabo, XIII. 613; Ridgeway, *Proc. Cambridge Phil. Soc.* 1904, pp. 8-9: "Mount Oeta in Strabo's time was occupied by the Aenianes, a Pelasgian tribe driven from their home in the Dotian plain in Thessaly, and by the Dryopians, classed by Strabo and Pausanias amongst the oldest tribes of Greece. The Oetaeans then who used the form *κόρνορες* were either Aenianes or Dryopians or both, since each tribe was Pelasgian. Thus the old tribes kept original K when not influenced from outside."

people who formed the leading factor in the population of a large part of Boeotia in the classical period, they undoubtedly agreed with the Illyrians in at least one characteristic. The Spartans, as is well known, used σ where all other Greeks used θ , e.g. $\sigma\acute{\iota}\omicron\varsigma = \theta\epsilon\acute{o}\varsigma$. Now according to a very important gloss in Hesychius¹ (cited from Amerias) the Macedonians called the Sileni $\Sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\iota$, whilst according to another gloss² the Illyrians applied the term $\Delta\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\iota$ to the Satyri, who are of course identical with the Sileni according to undoubted ancient testimony³. Again, there was an Illyrian tribe, the next neighbour to the tribes of Macedonia Proper, called $\Delta\alpha\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\epsilon}\tau\iota\omicron\iota$ who were also called Sesarethii ($\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\theta\iota\omicron\iota$)⁴. The occurrence of the parallel forms $\Sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\iota$ and $\Delta\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\iota$ forbids any rash emendation of either form into the other, as well as the explicit statement probably made by Strabo that there was a double form of the name of this tribe. It is plain that d cannot come from s , nor s from d , whilst it is equally certain that both can come from a common DH . For in Macedonian the medials regularly represent the original aspirates, e.g. $\text{Βίλιππος} = \text{Φίλιππος}$, Βερένικος , Βερενίκη (Βερνίκη) = Φερένικος , Φερενίκη . Thus a common form $\Theta\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma^*$ would give both $\Sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma$ and $\Delta\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\varsigma$, and a common form $\Theta\alpha\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\iota\omicron\iota^*$ would give both Dasaretii and Sesarethii , the former being almost certainly the form used by the Illyrians, and the latter by the Macedonians who bordered on this tribe. Thus we have fully proved for that form of Illyrian spoken in Macedonia Proper the assibilation of original DH , which characterizes Doric alone amongst the various Greek dialects. The fact

¹ s.v. $\Sigma\alpha\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\iota$. $\Sigma\alpha\upsilon\delta\omicron\iota$. 'Αμερίας τοὺς Σαίληνοὺς οὕτω καλεῖσθαι φησιν ὑπὸ Μακεδόνων. As Amerias was a Macedonian who wrote a treatise called $\Gamma\lambda\omega\sigma\sigma\alpha\iota$ and another called Ῥιζοτομικός , his evidence is of great authority.

² *id.* s.v. $\Delta\epsilon\nu\acute{\alpha}\delta\alpha\iota$. οἱ Σάτυροι παρὰ Ἰλλυρίοις.

³ Paus. i. 23. 5 says that "elderly Satyrs are called Sileni." Cf. Ridgeway, *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 14.

⁴ Strabo, vii. pp. 318 and 326, with Müller's insertion of $\langle \text{καὶ } \Delta\alpha\sigma\alpha\rho\acute{\eta}\tau\iota\omicron\iota \rangle$ in the second passage. The mss. read $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\rho\eta\sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$, which Kramer changed to $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\rho\eta\theta\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ because Steph. Byz. (after Hecataeus) mentions an Illyrian town $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\rho\eta\theta\omicron\nu$. But the form $\Sigma\epsilon\sigma\alpha\rho\eta\sigma\iota\omicron\upsilon\varsigma$ may be quite right and may be another example of the change of θ into σ .

that both the Dorians and other Illyrian tribes had in common the particular form of assibilation just mentioned, which is not found in the dialects of their neighbours, points unmistakably to their very close relationship and thus confirms the tradition that the Dorians were Macedni, a name which cannot be separated from Macedones. We have already seen above that the names of the heroines from whom many Illyrian tribes traced their descent all end in *-ω*. But this is not only the termination of the name of Hynrtho, the daughter of Temenus, from whom the Dorian tribe Hynrathia took its appellation, but is also the regular ending of names of women in Doric.

It is noteworthy that K. O. Müller¹, though he maintained that "the Dorians derived their origin from those districts in which the Grecian nation bordered towards the north upon numerous and dissimilar races of barbarians," nevertheless laid great stress on the fact of "the perpetual pressing forward of the barbarous races, particularly of the Illyrians," who "formed the northern boundary of the Grecian nation, from which they were distinguished both by their language and customs. In the fashion of wearing the mantle and dressing the hair, and also in their dialect, the Macedonians bore a great resemblance to the Illyrians, whence it is evident that the Macedonians belonged to the Illyrian nation." Herodotus² states that the Dorians were Macednians or Macedonians. Apollodorus³ makes Macednus son of Lycaon the son of Pelasgus, Hesiod⁴ describes Macedon as the brother of Magnes, whilst Hellanicus⁵ makes him a son of Aeolus. But Müller accepted the historical tradition that the Thessali were an Illyrian tribe, and, in spite of his preconceived opinion that there was a fundamental difference in race between the Dorians and Illyrians, nevertheless remarked that "many points of similarity in the customs of the Thessalians and Dorians might be brought forward. Thus for example, the love of the male sex (that usage peculiar to the Dorians) was also common

¹ *The History and Antiquities of the Doric Race*, vol. I. pp. 1—3.

² I. 56; VIII. 43.

³ III. 8. 1.

⁴ *ap. Constant. Porphy. de Themat.* II. 2, p. 48 B [fr. 5 Rzsch].
fr. 46; *Fragm. Hist. Graec.* I. p. 51.

among the Illyrians, and the objects of affection were, as at Sparta, called *deirai*; the women also, as among the Dorians, were addressed by the title of ladies (*δέσποιναι*), a title uncommon in Greece and expressive of the estimation in which they were held¹. In Macedonian there are "grammatical forms which are commonly called Aeolic, together with many Arcadian and Thessalian words²." Müller³ also pointed out that there was probably a connection between the Hylleis, the most famous of the three old Dorian tribes, who claimed descent from Hyllus, son of Heracles, and the Hylleans, a people who dwelt in Illyria (inhabiting, according to the mythographers and geographers, the islands of Melite and Black Corcyra).

Let us now sum up our results. The evidence shows that the Dorians were not, as supposed by Prof. G. G. Murray and others, a tall, fair-haired race of the same Celtic (Teutonic) stock as the Achæans, but, on the contrary, like the Illyrio-Thracians and the aboriginal population of Greece, they were melanochrous, and cut their hair in some form or another, were distinctly polyandrous in their habits, and had once the custom of succession through females. They never dwelt in splendour in the great palaces of Mycenæ and Tiryns, but on their conquest of Argolis left these ancient seats of the Pelasgian and Achæan monarchs to the owl and the satyr.

On the other hand, the Homeric Achæans were fair-complexioned, and were distinguished by their long flowing locks; they were monandrous, and had the rule of male succession strictly in force. The men wore a *chiton* and a *chlaina*, and the women wore a long *peplos* fastened with fibulae. Thus in physical appearance, in the method of wearing the hair, in dress, and above all in morality they are sharply divided from Dorians, as well as from Athenians and Ionians.

But we have already seen (vol. I. pp. 137, 238—9) that the style of ornament known as 'Dipylon,' which closely resembles the decoration of the Danubian and Hallstatt area during the early

¹ *op. cit.* vol. I. p. 5.

² p. 3 *μαρρία* (*dainties*) is found in Laconian Doric, Thessalian, and Macedonian.

³ *op. cit.* vol. I. p. 13.

Iron Age, is especially characteristic of the pottery and bronzes of Olympia, which according to all ancient testimony (confirmed by modern investigations of Greek dialects) was never occupied by the Dorians. We also adduced evidence to show that at the time of the Dorian conquest this style of art had already been established in Peloponnesus. All these facts, combined with the complete absence of any allusion in Homer to the Dorians of Peloponnesus, of the isles, of Asia Minor, of Cyrene, of Magna Graecia and Sicily, inevitably lead to the conclusion that the society pictured for us in Homer is not that of the Dorians. Moreover as that form of labialism which represents Indo-Germanic K by *p* is not a characteristic of the language of the oldest race of Greece, accordingly such sporadic forms as the Boeotian *πέτρες*, and Homeric *πίσυρες* = Attic *τέτρες*, and Boeotian *βανά* = Doric *γυνά*, Attic *γυνή*, and Aeolic *φῆρες* = Latin *ferae*, Attic *θῆρες*, which must have been introduced by some labializing folk, cannot have been brought in by the Dorians, who were not given to these kinds of labialism. We shall presently find that the attitude of the Dorians towards homicide is essentially that of the melanochrous Balkan folk, and stands out in strong contrast to that of the Homeric Achaeans.

It is now plain that neither Pelasgian nor Doric communities served as models for the picture of social life and institutions left us in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*. We must therefore regard it as mirroring the life of some other race, unless we revert to the old idea that the social life depicted in Homer never had any existence save in poetic phantasy. That might indeed have been maintained with some force, had it not been for the incontrovertible facts that xanthochrous people of large stature, such as the Achaeans of Homer, dwelt in central Europe, that there were such people still to be seen in part of Boeotia in historical times, and above all, that a social life and a rule of kinship exactly corresponding to those of the Homeric Achaeans had long been firmly established among the Celts when they first come within our ken. For it might have been urged that though the use of iron, and the fibula, the round shield, and the practice of cremation entered Greece

from upper Europe, yet such borrowings by no means prove that any of the race, amongst whom these practices had arisen, had necessarily accompanied them in their descent into Greece. Such an argument has of course little weight in view of the fact that the Homeric Achæans, who are using iron, are fair-haired and large of stature, like the Celts, and that at least in one spot of Hellas in historical days the ruling race had yellow hair, and were the tallest people in Greece.

But, if it be thus admitted that the material side of life portrayed in the Epic represents a genuine stage of culture, *a fortiori* the Homeric picture of the moral aspect of life must likewise reflect at least the moral ideals and institutions of the society amid which the epic poets dwelt. New metals, new weapons, new modes of dress can hardly pass from one land to another without any conquest, or direct contact, for even in these matters primitive peoples are slow to discard their ancient fashions of arms and dress in favour of those of alien folk. Thus although the Arcadians dwelt contiguous to the Argives and Laconians, it was not till the time of Philopoemen that they abandoned their oblong shields and short javelins for the round shield and long spear, and took to wearing breast-plates and greaves (vol. I. pp. 324—5). Again, although the Illyrian Iapodes, who were largely intermixed with Celts, had adopted the Celtic armature, they nevertheless retained their national custom of tattooing (vol. I. p. 348). If such be the case with material objects, it is much less likely that in early times, before the rise of literature, one race would adopt the moral code and most vital institutions of another unless both had been in close and continuous contact.

Moreover, it cannot be maintained that the Homeric system of monandry and succession through males was a natural development in Greece itself, for it has already been demonstrated that the principle of kinship through males had not been firmly established at Athens till the beginning of the fifth century B.C., whilst polyandry continued always to be the rule among the Dorians of Laconia. In fact, in none of the leading states of classical Greece can we discover anything resembling the noble conception of the relations between man and woman

depicted in unfading colours for us by the Homeric bards. As this higher life had vanished completely from the Hellas of the historical epoch, and was entirely foreign to the great Pelasgian and Dorian states in any stage of their history, we are inevitably led to regard the Homeric social system as not native to the soil of Greece, but rather as a fair flower from another land, which after thriving for a brief space in its new environment had then sickened and died. From whence then did this higher moral life come into the Greek lands?

Who were the Romans?¹

In an early part of the present chapter we surveyed the social life of all the peoples of ancient Europe, North Africa, and Asia Minor, and we found definite traces of polyandry or female kinship or both amongst all these nations with the exception of the fair-haired Celto-Teutonic race, and among the Italic tribes, who were the close kindred of the Celts.

We have already called attention to the close analogy between the strict monandry and rule of male succession set forth in Homer and those of the ancient fair-haired peoples of upper Europe, where neither were the men polygamous nor the women polyandrous, where marriage knew no divorce save death, and where on the one hand women had no undue influence (as Aristotle had remarked) nor on the other were they regarded as the mere adjuncts of men's lusts and passions, and as only fit to be shut up in a eunuch-guarded harem. In an earlier chapter (vol. I. p. 452) it was pointed out that the culture of the Early Iron Age of upper Italy, which is identical with that of the Alpine and Danubian regions once occupied by the Celts, closely resembles not only that revealed at Olympia, but also that described in Homer. From this it was inferred that the culture of the Early Iron Age of upper Italy, which has long been admitted to be the product of the Umbrians (the close kinsfolk of the Celts), and that of the Homeric age, that is, the Early Iron Age of Greece, were off-

¹ The main principles set out in this section were put forth in a paper read before the British Academy (24 April, 1907), and printed in its *Proceedings*, vol. III (1907-8), pp. 17-60, and also published separately.

shoots of the Alpine and Danubian culture, which was the creation of the Celts and those whom they conquered. If this hypothesis be true, we ought to find a similarity of institutions between the fair-haired peoples north of the Alps, the Umbro-Italic tribes, and the Homeric Achæans. That such was the case can be shown with little difficulty. In no legal system that the world has known are male succession and the patriarchal system more strongly laid down than in Roman Law with its doctrines of Agnation and Patria Potestas. Indeed the great prominence given to the latter principle led that eminent scholar and jurist Sir H. S. Maine into the error of supposing that the patriarchal system had played a much more important part in the development of human society than can be now admitted in the face of the researches of Bachofen, McLennan, and a host of others. The Teutonic law, as we have seen (p. 27), approximated closely to the Roman doctrine, whilst it has also been shown (p. 20) that in Homeric Greece the chieftainship of the community and the headship of the family were vested in a male, who in each case was succeeded by his son. The law of succession is then practically the same in all three regions. But in order that the rule of succession through males should have become so firmly established, it is obvious from what has been already shown (p. 93) that the community must for a long time have believed in the possibility of ascertaining with precision the paternity of any individual. Yet such a degree of certainty cannot be attained, so long as the women are allowed practical promiscuity before marriage, and when even after marriage there is little conjugal fidelity.

We have seen that a peculiar sanctity was attached to the union of man and woman by the ancient peoples of Germany, a doctrine entirely in harmony with the position of the wedded wife (*κουριδίη ἄλοχος*) in Homer. But, as this view was entirely at variance with the teaching of the ancient Attic Erinyes, and was proclaimed as a new and better principle to the Athenian audience in 458 B.C. by Aeschylus through the mouth of Apollo in the *Eumenides*, it is evident that the great doctrine of the Sacred Marriage (*ὁ ἱερὸς γάμος*) was not indigenous in Pelasgian Greece, but was rather of adventitious

origin. Moreover, as we have seen, it was never firmly established among the Dorians of Laconia.

Sacred Marriage. At this stage it will be advisable to discuss what was meant by the Sacred Marriage, and to endeavour to get a clear conception of what that phrase connoted for the Greeks. In the *Eumenides*, as we saw (p. 62), when the Erinyes disclaim any obligation to pursue with vengeance the wife who had murdered her husband, on the ground that such an act was not a case of the shedding of kindred blood, Apollo in an outburst of horror and indignation cries, "Truly ye set at naught the solemn pledges of Hera the Married and Zeus: ye fling aside the Cyprian goddess also and dishonour her by this doctrine, her that is the source of the joys dearest to mortals. For the marriage-bed ordained by Fate for husband and wife is a bond stronger than any oath, when it is fortified by justice." There can be little doubt that the poet is here referring not to the ordinary Attic marriage, which was merely a civil contract the essence of which was *enguesis* (p. 64), and which may prove to be parallel to that form of Roman marriage known as *coemptio*, but rather to a peculiar form of marriage which in addition to the legal contract had a solemn religious sanction. He tells us that this was under the special patronage of Zeus and Hera, and through the classical period this divine pair seem to have been regarded as the tutelary deities of wedlock (*θεοὶ γαμήλαιοι*)¹, and it was believed that they themselves had been united by some marriage rite of unusual solemnity and binding force. The periodical celebration of this marriage formed the grand feature in the festival of Hera held in her ancient seat at Argos. Amongst the higher classes at Athens in the classical period the religious view of marriage seems to have been general. When the time for the wedding drew near, sacrifice was offered to the Gods of Marriage by the bride's father some days before the marriage² or on the day itself³. The

¹ Ath. v. 185 B; Pollux, i. 24. Diod. Sic., v. 73, says that Zeus and Hera were the gods of marriage, but Pollux names Hera, Artemis, and the Fates (iii. 38). Artemis is mentioned also as a marriage-deity in Boeotia and Locris (Plutarch, *Aristid.* 20).

² Eur. *Iph. Aul.* 718 sqq.

³ Achill. Tat. ii. 12.

sacrifice itself was called the *προτέλεια* or *προγάμεια*¹, and the ceremony was regarded as the dedication of the bride to the deities named, some locks of the bride's hair being offered as a symbol of dedication. On the wedding day the bride and bridegroom bathed in water from the fountain Callirrhoë. But it was not merely at Argos that the marriage of Hera and Zeus was celebrated, for a similar rite was observed at Athens, Plataea, Samos, Hermione, as well as in Euboea, Arcadia, Crete, and far away at Falerii in Italy, whither the ritual had certainly been introduced by colonists from Argolis. Probably it was also part of the worship of Hera in many other places. But it must be at once carefully noted that for the existence of such a ritual in early times there is no evidence either at her immemorial sanctuary, the Heraeum of Argos, or at that of Olympia, nor again in her ancient seat at Samos. It must be remembered that her great festival at the Heraeum of Argos, though known in later times as the Heraea, bore simply the title of the Hecatombaea in the earlier period, whilst though in the Homeric poems she bears the distinctive title of Hera of Argos, there is not the slightest evidence for any connection of Zeus with that ancient shrine. It is interesting to observe that both in the Heraeum of Argos and in that at Olympia Zeus occupies at best a very secondary position in the shrine. Indeed in the former there was not even an image of the Father of gods and men, the only reference to him being the cuckoo on the sceptre in the hand of the great chryselephantine statue of Hera made by Polycleitus, whilst his birth was represented in some of the sculptures above the columns. Pausanias, who recounts the incident of the loves of Hera and Zeus when the latter appeared to her on Mount Coccygium in the form of a cuckoo, himself scouts the tale. In the Heraeum at Olympia, though Zeus was here permitted a statue, his position was distinctly secondary, for "the image of Hera," says Pausanias², "is seated on a throne, and he is standing beside her wearing a beard and with a helmet on his head." The relations between Zeus and Hera in these two shrines, her most ancient and most famous seats, are very

¹ Pollux, III. 38.² v. 17. 1.

different from those between Zeus and Dione at Dodona, where though both occupied the same shrine, Dione is secondary to Zeus, and those who came to consult the oracle addressed their petitions to Zeus Naïos and Dione Naia. But there is still weightier evidence from Olympia. The Heraeum occupied the centre of the Altis or sacred enclosure, and was said to have been built eight years after the coming of Oxylyus (c. 1104 B.C.) by the people of Scyllus in Triphylia¹, an aboriginal tribe, in honour of the great native goddess, whereas the temple of Zeus, which stood in a corner of the Altis, was built from the proceeds of the spoils of the Pisatans and their allies who had revolted and been subdued by the Eleans², circa 580 B.C. We thus have at least *prima facie* grounds for thinking that Zeus had gained an entry into the great shrines of Hera at a comparatively late date, and that consequently the ceremonial marriage between the goddess and her divine bridegroom cannot be placed in the archaic period. This view we shall see immediately is quite in accord with the evidence for the late incoming of Zeus to Athens.

Now it has been almost universally assumed by writers on Greek religion that there was in Greece a *primaeval* rite known as the Sacred Marriage, which typified the union between the Sky-god and the Earth-mother. Accordingly Welcker saw in the Marriage of Zeus and Hera evidence of a time when Hera was herself venerated as the Earth-mother, and he supposed the ritual to be the personal expression of the marriage of Heaven and Earth in Spring, "when the tilth rejoices in the travail of the corn-ear." Now as Aeschylus regarded the sacred form of marriage over which Zeus and Hera Teleia (the Married) presided as an institution but lately introduced into Athens by Zeus and Apollo, who are stigmatized as new and innovating deities by the Erinyes, the ancient goddesses of the land, this fact is alone sufficient to warrant the rejection of Welcker's hypothesis at least for Athens. But, as we have just seen that in the case of the two most famous fanes of Hera, the Heraea of Argos and of Olympia, Zeus was not of immemorial date in either, we are also justified in rejecting that hypothesis for the

¹ Paus. v. 16. 1.

² *id.* v. 10. 2.

Argolid and for Elis. Moreover there is no evidence that Hera at any time or at any place in Greece was identified with the Earth-mother. That function is definitely and clearly assigned to Gaia or Ge, and her various avatars or phases, such as Themis and Demeter; and though Aeschylus terms Gaia "one form with many names," Hera never occurs as one of her many titles.

In classical times though the Earth-mother was still venerated in various ancient shrines as Gaia or Ge, Demeter was by far the most common appellation under which she passed in Attica, Arcadia, Argos, and practically all over Hellas, whilst it is not unlikely that at Argos itself, where the goddess was worshipped under the title of Demeter Pelasgis, the Pelasgian Hera was regarded as her daughter.

Now there can be no doubt that in modern times the actual or symbolic union of men and women has been and is still regarded amongst many primitive tribes as exercising a fertilising influence on the cornfields and on banana and yam plantations; and that such was also the case in the primitive days of Greece is held by many as more than probable from the story of the loves of Demeter and her mortal lover Iasion "in a thrice-ploughed fallow field¹." But it will be observed that the mate of the Earth-goddess is a mortal man, not the Sky-god. There is moreover not the slightest evidence that this union of Demeter and Iasion was regarded as anything more than a mere liaison, the very antithesis of a sacred rite of marriage. Furthermore, neither in the later mythographers who relate how Demeter fell in love with Iasion at the wedding of his sister Harmonia, nor in the Homeric passage, is there the slightest suggestion of any 'fertility rite,' as is clear from the context in the latter case: Hermes had been sent by Zeus to bid Calypso let Odysseus depart. Full of grief she replies: "Hard are ye gods and jealous exceeding, who ever grudge goddesses openly to mate with men, if any make a mortal her dear bed-fellow. Even so when rosy-toed Dawn took Orion for her lover, ye gods were jealous of him till chaste Artemis slew him in Ortygia with her gentle shafts. So too when fair-tressed Demeter yielded to her love and lay with Iasion in a

¹ *Od.* v. 127.

thrice-ploughed fallow field, Zeus was not long without tidings thereof and slew him with his glistening bolt¹. Calypso herself had meant to keep Odysseus and to "make him to know not death and age for ever."

A current view is that the myth of Demeter and Iasion is but a replica of Aphrodite and Adonis, and that this class of myth shadows forth the sacrifice of splendid youths to the Earth-goddess to be her mates and thereby ensure her fruitfulness. Sir James Frazer finds in such cults "striking examples of the decay and rejuvenescence of nature, of those ceremonies by which mankind," in what he terms the 'religious' as contrasted with his supposed earlier 'magical' stage, "thought that they could help the god who was the principle of life in his struggle with the opposing principle of death and of the religious or rather magical dramas which turned in great measure on these themes²." But the Dawn cannot be the Earth-mother, and thus the story of her love for Orion and his tragic fate can hardly fall into the class of 'fertility rites,' whilst Calypso definitely ascribed the deaths of Orion and Iasion to the jealousy of the gods, who were determined that such lovers should not be made immortal. Not only in the case of Eos, but still more in that of Ariadne, does the theory break down, whether we take the Homeric version, in which Theseus plays an honourable part, or the later, in which he is presented as heartlessly deserting her in Naxos, as she lay asleep. She waked only to find him gone whose life she had saved and for whom she had left all; frantic with grief and rage

Then off she tore her bosom bands that hid the orbs below,
And flung them from her, and the waves in their unconscious play
Toyed with them as they tossed and rolled amid the curling spray.

¹ *Od.* v. 118 sqq.

² Sir J. G. Frazer now admits (*Golden Bough*, ed. 3, Part IV, *Adonis Attis Osiris*, vol. ii. pp. 160 sqq.) that Osiris may have been a real Egyptian king, not a mere vegetation abstraction, and I have given reasons (*Dramas and Dramatic Dances*, etc., pp. 86 sqq.) for thinking that Adonis and Tammuz were no less real human personages. Since I then wrote (1915) Tammuz has been found described in Babylonian documents as a real king (L. W. King, *Schweich Lect.* 1916, p. 29), and I have also given reasons for believing that Dionysus was not a mere vine or other abstraction but a real Thracian chief, buried and worshipped as a deified human being on the top of the Pangaeian range ("Euripides in Macedon," *C. Q.* xx. pp. 1 ff.).

In the Homeric version¹ Odysseus in the Land of the Departed by the Ocean saw "fair Ariadne, the daughter of Minos of the baleful heart, whom Theseus on a time was bearing from Crete to the hill of sacred Athens. Yet had he no joy of her, for Artemis slew her ere that in sea-girt Dia by reason of the witness of Dionysus." It is strange that if Ariadne was the Earth-mother she should be slain, whilst Theseus, her lover, had a long and prosperous life. The fact is that there is no more evidence of a 'fertility rite' in the tale of Demeter and Iasion (in spite of its frank grossness so sharply contrasting with the joyous purity of the great English idyll) than there is in

It was a lover and his lass,
 With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,
 That o'er the green corn-field² did pass
 In spring time, the only pretty ring time,
 When birds do sing, hey ding a ding, ding:
 Sweet lovers love the Spring.

Between the acres of the rye,
 With a hey, and a ho, and a hey nonino,
 These pretty country folks would lie,
 In spring time, etc.

Here to some folk-lorists in 'the green corn-field,' and 'the acres of the rye,' "the suggestion of a 'fertility rite' (to use their own phraseology) could hardly be clearer." But more of this anon. In view of this evidence and much more that can be cited, it is not safe to maintain that the early Greeks believed in the efficacy of unions real or merely dramatic for fertilising their lands, nor is there the slightest evidence that such unions were ever regarded as marriage in the full and legal sense. The myth already cited which declared that the marriage bond was unknown in Athens in early days clearly indicates that no marriage tie fortified by either legal formula or religious solemnity was there as yet established. It is also worthy of

¹ *Od.* xi. 321—5.

² The corn-field is of course the great common field of the old village community, and the lovers lay on the grassy 'balks' that separated the 'acres-strips.'

notice that in the *Theogony* of Hesiod we hear of no permanent married relations existing between the gods and goddesses, a fact which is in complete harmony with the stories of Demeter and Iasion and the others just cited. It is therefore quite clear that the solemn rite of marriage under the direct patronage of Zeus and Hera, which had been introduced into Athens at a comparatively late date, was something altogether different from mere carnal union, either actual or figurative, employed in Greece and elsewhere to fertilise vines and fields. For example, there was at Athens in historical times a mystic rite of union or marriage between the god Dionysus and the Basilinna, the wife of the King Archon. This took place on the occasion of the Anthesteria in the Bucolium near the Prytaneum, which according to Aristotle had once been the official residence of the King Archon, and as proof for this statement he cites the fact that to his own day "the union of the wife of the Archon Basileus to Dionysus and the marriage takes place there." But as Dionysus was not an indigenous Athenian divinity, since by all Attic tradition he had been imported from abroad, this ceremonial can in no wise be regarded as a *primaeval* personification of the union of Heaven and Earth or of any other two natural phenomena. First of all it is noteworthy that this ceremony is called both union with Dionysus and marriage. The term union (*σύμμιξις*) had no doubt come down from the time when the relations between the sexes had not yet at Athens been properly regulated, whilst the term marriage (*γάμος*) belongs to the period when a regular civil marriage tie had been instituted but when there was not as yet that religious marriage to which Aeschylus refers.

But, while it cannot be maintained that the symbolic marriage of the wife of the King Archon to Dionysus typified the union of Heaven and Earth, though, as Sir James Frazer holds, it may well have been a magical ceremony to promote the fertility of the vine, the mystic union represented at Phlya in Attica, that of the Great Mother, comes closer to the supposed primitive doctrine of the union between the Sky-god and the Earth-mother. There seems no doubt that at that place there was a bridal chamber used in such a piece of ritual, and it was

there, according to the author of a treatise called the *Philosophumena*¹, embedded in a work of Hippolytus the Christian writer, that the Bacchic rites of Orpheus were given to men before the institution of the Eleusinian rite of initiation. The reader will observe the lateness of our authority for this rite at Phlya, but with this point we shall soon deal more fully. But it is in the worship of Demeter at Eleusis that writers on primitive religion from Mannhardt downwards have found not only the chief stronghold of the vegetation spirit and the corn-mother, but also their main evidence for a primæval rite of Sacred Marriage between Heaven and Earth, which "as civilization advanced would take a purely human form".

M. P. Foucart and Miss J. E. Harrison hold that the Sacred Marriage formed the chief feature in the Mysteries at Eleusis, and in this they were followed by Sir James Frazer² and Dr Farnell³. The former thus writes:

"In the great mysteries solemnised at Eleusis in the month of September, the union of the sky-god Zeus and the corn-goddess Demeter appears to have been represented by the union of the hierophant with the priestess of Demeter, who acted the parts of god and goddess. But their intercourse was only dramatic or symbolical."... "The torches having been extinguished, the pair descended into a murky place, while the throng of worshippers awaited in anxious suspense the result of the mystic congress, on which they believed their own salvation to depend. After a time the hierophant reappeared, and in a blaze of light silently exhibited to the assembly a reaped ear of corn, the fruit of the divine marriage. Then in a loud voice he proclaimed, 'Queen Brime has brought forth a sacred boy Brimos,' by which he meant, 'the Mighty One has brought forth the Mighty.' The corn-mother in fact had given birth to her child, the corn, and her travail-pangs were enacted in the sacred drama."

¹ *Refutatio omnium hæresium*, v. 3 (ed. Cruice, p. 218).

² J. E. Harrison, *Prolegomena to Greek Religion*, p. 536.

³ *Golden Bough*, ed. 3, Part I (*The Magic Art*), vol. II. pp. 138-9.

⁴ *Cults of the Greek States*, vol. III. p. 176.

We may remark in passing that as the corn was sown in winter or early spring, and the reaping began in Greece about May 9th¹, and as the mystic union and parturition of Brimo took place between September 22nd and 25th, the dramatic performance was distinctly premature, if it were meant for the fertilization of the seed and the Earth-mother.

Now as any Dionysiac or Orphic elements were certainly not native to Eleusis, but had been brought in from Thrace, any mystic union or marriage forming part of the ritual cannot be regarded as primitive at Eleusis.

But was Demeter the Corn-mother at Eleusis? In the Homeric Hymn to the goddess, which dates from the end of the seventh century B.C., and which is our oldest document connected with her ritual at Eleusis, there is not the slightest evidence that Demeter was regarded as the first giver of corn to men there. On the contrary it is assumed all through that poem that barley was being grown plentifully on the Rharian plain by Triptolemus and the other native worthies, and was in common use by their folk before ever Demeter wandered thither in her vain search for her lost daughter. Moreover, though in classical times there was a sacred threshing-floor mentioned in inscriptions, which might naturally be regarded as sacred to the goddess, yet so far from that being the case, it was known as the threshing-floor of Triptolemus. These facts in themselves have sufficient weight to make us hesitate to adopt the theory of the Corn-mother in this case at least. As the present writer has discussed the question fully elsewhere² and given reasons for believing that the rites at Eleusis really grew up round the cult of the native hero Triptolemus, there is no need to pursue it further at this stage.

But let us now return to the theory of an immemorial rite of a Sacred Marriage between the Sky-god and Demeter. The evidence for this as in the case of the mystic marriage of the Great Mother at Phlya depends entirely on Christian writers,

¹ Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ed. 3, Part I (*The Magic Art*), vol. I. p. 32.

² W. Ridgeway, *The Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (1915), pp. 29—40; "The Origin of the Great Games of Greece," *Athenaeum*, May 20, 1911, p. 576.

such as Tertullian¹, Asterius Amasenus², Psellus³, Arnobius⁴, a scholium on Plato⁵, and an anonymous treatise the *Philosophumena*, to which we have already referred, embedded in the *Refutatio omnium haeresium*⁶ of Hippolytus.

Now, although there can be little doubt that these writers stated accurately the practices at Eleusis in their own times, we must not hastily infer from their statements that such rites formed part of the ritual as carried out some eight hundred years earlier in the fifth and sixth centuries before Christ. It must be borne in mind that they were writing centuries after the ancient Greek cults had incorporated many and strange ideas and rites not only from Thrace, but from the Orient and Egypt. Let us seek for evidence of the ancient usages and cults at Eleusis from the abundant records preserved to us on that famous site. There is a well-known inscription⁷ which dates from before the Peloponnesian War in the fifth century B.C. relating to the firstfruits of wheat and barley, and specifying minutely the offerings to be made from them and the personages to whom they were to be made. According to the ancestral rites and the oracle at Delphi, the priests were "to sacrifice to each of the two goddesses (i.e. Demeter and Persephone) a three-year old cow with her horns gilded, to Triptolemus and to the god and to the goddess and to Eubulus (brother of Triptolemus) to each a victim without blemish, and to Athena a cow with gilded horns." Not a word about Zeus! If the wheat and the barley from the firstfruits of which these sacrifices were made depended upon the union of Zeus and Demeter, it was certainly very ungrateful, not to say imprudent, to show such ingratitude to the Sky-god, the mate of the Earth-mother, by not giving him even such a victim as was offered to the local heroes Triptolemus and Eubulus. We must therefore regard the dramatized union of Zeus and Demeter as

¹ *ad nationes*, II. 7.

² *Encomium in sanctos martyres*, Migne's *Patrologia Graeca*, XL. col. 324.

³ *Quaenam sunt Graecorum opiniones de daemonibus*, p. 39 (ed. J. F. Boissonade).

⁴ *adv. nationes*, v. 20-3.

⁵ *Gorgias*, p. 497 c.

⁶ v. 3, ed. Cruice, p. 219.

⁷ Dittenberger, *Sylloge inscriptionum Graecarum* (ed. 3), no. 83.

by no means primitive at Eleusis and hold that the worship of Zeus had only been introduced there at some time later than the Peloponnesian War. But this is exactly what we might have expected in view of the evidence of Aeschylus, himself a native of Eleusis, that the worship of Zeus and the doctrine of the sanctity of marriage between mortal men and mortal women were of but recent date in Attica.

Moreover, there is a large body of evidence to show that in the early period the mate of Demeter, for husband we cannot call him, was not Zeus but Poseidon. In both of her great ancient shrines in Arcadia—Phigalea and Onceum—Poseidon was her paramour and by him she was the mother of Despoina, the goddess of the Arcadians. Finally, whilst to the last there is no temple or altar of Zeus in or near her sanctuary at Eleusis, in front of its portal was the shrine of Father Poseidon, and even this temple was of comparatively recent date. Thus we must reject the hypothesis that a mystic union between Zeus and Demeter formed a part of the ritual at Eleusis in the full classical and pre-classical periods. Furthermore there is no evidence that the Eleusinian mysteries were originally a harvest festival in honour of Demeter. The scholiast on Plato cited above held that "they were celebrated in honour of Deo and Core because Pluto had carried off the latter and Zeus had had intercourse with the former," but he makes no mention of a Sacred Marriage. Moreover, there is no evidence that the term *sacred marriage* was ever applied to such symbolic unions in ceremonies of fertilization, as for instance the mating of the wife of the King Archon with Dionysus or of Zeus with Demeter, whether under her name Deo or Brimo, in the Roman period. We shall soon see that Dionysius of Halicarnassus writing in the first century B.C. understood by the term *sacred marriage* what we call a *religious* in contradistinction to a *civil* marriage, and he states that it was the same as the *confarreate* marriage of the Romans, from which there was practically no divorce.

Now we saw that in Boeotia not only was there a fair-haired element from the north, but that there were certain phonetic peculiarities which also pointed to an invasion from that region. When therefore we learn that in the marriage ceremony in

Boeotia the bride was brought on a car to the bridegroom's house, and the axle-tree of the car was burned to symbolize the irrevocable character of the union, we are naturally reminded of the solemn marriage ceremony of the Teutonic tribes.

As men impute to their gods their own material forms and practices, and as the belief in the union of the Sky-god and the Earth-mother and the consequent fertilization of the latter must have been later than the union of the sexes, if at any time the term Marriage or Sacred Marriage was applied to symbolic rites in honour of divinities, we are justified in the conclusion that this was later than, and not antecedent to, the evolution, or the adoption from without, of a higher ideal of the union of man and wife, ennobled and rendered permanent not merely by a civil contract, but by solemn rites and a religious sanction presided over by the *θεοὶ γαμήλιοι*. These in the case of Athens and probably almost every community in Greece in the classical times, were Zeus, Hera and Aphrodite, as indicated in the *Eumenides* of Aeschylus.

But, although the sanctity of marriage became a fundamental doctrine of Christianity, because the Founder had enjoined "what God hath joined together, let no man put asunder," yet it cannot be maintained that either in ancient or in modern times, save in Christian communities, this supreme principle has ever got a firm foothold in the East, where either the women have been polyandrous, or the men polygamous, or, if monogamous, have the utmost freedom to repudiate a wife, if at any moment she becomes distasteful, and to take a new one in her place.

Now although towards the beginning of the Christian era divorce had become so common and so easy at Rome that the marriage tie can hardly be said to have existed, and under the Empire it became one of the chief tasks of the Church to inculcate the indissoluble nature of the marriage bond, such laxity had not always been the rule. Under the early Republic there were three ways of effecting a legal marriage (*matrimonium iustum, nuptiae iustae*). All these were marriages *cum conventione in manum mariti*, by which the woman passed entirely from under the control of her father or guardian and

from her own *familia* into that of her husband, to whom she became subject, and to whom she stood legally in the position of daughter to father, so long as the marriage subsisted. Towards the close of the Republic marriages *cum conventione in manum* had become very rare. If the marriage took place without *conventio in manum*, the woman remained under the legal control of her father or guardian, or was *sui iuris*. In the last case, all the property which she possessed or inherited was at her own disposal with the exception of the *dos*.

Marriages *cum conventione in manum* were of three kinds—*confarreatio*, *coemptio*, and *usus*. We shall take them in reverse order. (1) If a woman had remained with her husband during one whole year without absenting herself for three consecutive nights, she passed thereby *in manum mariti* by prescription (*usus*). In this we see but a special application of the ordinary Roman law of *usucapio*. (2) *Coemptio* was accompanied by a ceremony, but one that was purely legal. As we have seen that wife-purchase is one of the most widely-spread practices of the human race, we have no difficulty in recognizing its survival in the Roman *coemptio*, which was a fictitious sale of the bride to the bridegroom according to the technical procedure followed in the sale of *res Mancipi*. It was therefore necessary that as in *mancipatio* there should be five witnesses, who must be Roman citizens of full age, and a *libripens* to hold the scales, which had to be touched with a piece of copper (*per aes et libram*). Now, there is no doubt that *coemptio*¹ was a form of *mancipatio*, a formal process of sale (*uenditio imaginaria*), the essence of which was that the purchaser should take into his own hand the object proffered by the vendor². But this is exactly paralleled by the civil marriage instituted at Athens in the Regal period, according to the legend which ascribed to Cecrops the first institution there of a marriage bond (p. 63). The essence of this marriage lay in the process called *enguesis*,

¹ The form *co-emptio* is not easy, as it ought to mean, 'a joint purchasing' (cf. *co-emo*), but the fact that the woman so purchased passed to her husband's family completely from her own may sufficiently explain it. It would be rash to suggest that it points back to a time when several brothers purchased a joint wife.

² Gaius, i. 121: unde etiam *mancipatio* dicitur, quia manu res capitur.

which means the placing by the vendor in the hand of the purchaser of the object to be transferred. This was an ordinary process relating to any kind of business, and its employment in marriage contracts was simply an application of its general use in ordinary business. Thus in the civil form of marriage at Athens as well as at Rome we have a survival of wife-purchase. Now, as the Athenians were related in blood to the melanochrous Thracians, in the customs of the latter in the fifth century B.C. it is probable that we have a fairly good picture of the social condition of Athens in the archaic period. As we saw (p. 28), the Thracian girls were allowed full licence until they were sold by their parents for marriage, after which their husbands kept them under strict control, as each man had bought the right of the sole use of the woman from her parents. But this represents the stage when Cecrops had introduced at Athens a civil marriage bond by the ordinary process of the transfer of property.

(3) *Confarreatio* differed entirely from the two preceding by the fact that it was essentially a religious ceremony. It was performed in the house of the bridegroom, whither the bride had been brought in state, in the presence of at least ten witnesses, the *pontifex maximus* and the *flamen Dialis* officiating. A set form of words was recited, and a cake of *far* (*panis farreus*) was shared by the parties, who sat on the skin of the sheep that had been sacrificed. This peculiar form of marriage, though attributed to Romulus by Dionysius¹, was probably introduced by Numa², the Sabine king, since it is to him that Livy ascribes not merely the legal, but the moral institutions of Rome. The law ordained that a woman who

¹ A. R. II. 25 ἦν δὲ τοιοῦτος ὁ νόμος· γυναῖκα γαμετὴν τὴν κατὰ γάμους ἱεροῦ συνέλθοσαν ἀνδρὶ κοινῶν ἀπάντων εἶναι χρημάτων τε καὶ ἱερῶν. ἐκάλουν δὲ τοὺς ἱεροῦς καὶ νομίμους οἱ παλαιοὶ γάμους Ῥωμαϊκῇ προσηγορίᾳ περιλαμβάνοντες φαρραχέλους ἐπὶ τῆς κοινῶνίας τοῦ φαρρός, ὃ καλοῦμεν ἡμεῖς ζέαν. αὕτη γὰρ ἦν ἀρχαία καὶ μέχρι πολλοῦ συνήθης ἅπασιν αὐτοῖς ἡ τροφή. Cf. Gaius, I. 112: farreo in manum conveniunt per quoddam genus sacrificii cett. Pliny, H. N. XVIII. 10: in sacris nihil religiosius confarreationis uinculo erat; Ulpian, Tit. 9: caerimoniae huic praerant pontifex maximus et flamen Dialis.

² Livy, I. 19: (Numa) regno ita potitus urbem novam conditam vi et armis iure eam legibusque ac moribus de integro condere parat.

had been married to a man by religious marriage ceremonies should share all his goods and his sacred rites. Dionysius adds that the ancients called sacred and legal marriages *farracean*, because the couple shared a cake of *far* (spelt), which in old times was the staple grain of Latium.

That *confarreatio* was essentially the Patrician rite is demonstrated by Tacitus¹, who relates that on the death of Servius Maluginensis, the *flamen Dialis*, a difficulty arose in filling his office, and accordingly Tiberius made a speech in which he pointed out that by ancient custom three patricians born of parents who had been married by *confarreatio* ought to be nominated, one of whom was to be elected; but that such a supply was no longer available, as it once had been, owing to *confarreatio* having fallen into disuse, or being retained only by the few. Several reasons for this were alleged, chief of which was the carelessness of men and women, added to which was the troublesome nature of the ceremony, which was accordingly deliberately avoided, and also because the successful candidate passed from under *Patria Potestas*, as did also the woman who married the *flamen* by a ceremony which involved *conventio in manum*². To meet the exigencies of the case it was enacted that the wife of the *flamen Dialis* (*flaminica Dialis*) should be *sacrorum causa in potestate uiri*, but in all other respects should have the same legal rights as other women. Not only did this rule apply to the *flamen Dialis*, but also to the *flamines Martialis* and *Quirinalis*, all three being termed the *flamines maiores*³.

The *flamines maiores* were so termed in contradistinction to the *flamines minores*. Now as the latter were Plebeians, and there was no rule that these Plebeians should be the offspring of *confarreate* marriages, it seems as if this form of marriage was confined to the Patricians. But as the refusal by the

¹ Ann. iv. 16.

² The *flamen* thus ceased to be one of his father's *sui heredes*, whilst his wife passed under her husband's full legal control, and hence could hold no separate property as she could have done, had she been *sui iuris*.

³ Gaius, i. 112: nam *flamines maiores*, id est, *Diales*, *Martiales*, *Quirinales*, sicut *reges sacrorum*, nisi sint *confarreatis nuptiis* (here follows lacuna in Verona palimpsest).

Patricians of the *ius conubii* to the Plebeians was one of the sorest grievances of the latter, and this was the last concession to be made to them by the Patricians (in the Lex Canuleia, 445 B.C.), it is all the more probable that the Patricians had a form of marriage peculiar to themselves. It would then appear that the purely civil forms of marriage (*coemptio* and *usus*) were those in use among the Plebeians.

Now, if the Patricians held that marriage involved a very sacred religious obligation, whilst the Plebeians considered it merely a civil contract, the grounds on which the Patricians denied the *ius conubii* to the Plebeians may have had a deeper foundation than mere class feeling or the contempt of an aristocracy of conquerors for their subjects. As none but Patricians were united by the religious marriage, the union of Patrician and Plebeian could have no religious sanction, and the children of such an alliance were accordingly considered bastards (*spuri*). In fact the objection of the Patricians to the *ius conubii* may be compared to the prejudice generally felt in our day in England against a purely civil marriage.

Now, not only is it probable that Numa the Sabine instituted *confarreatio* at Rome, but one tradition states that Romulus chose him from the Patricians (*ex Patribus*) to be the first flamen Dialis¹, whilst another records that Numa himself instituted that flamenship and also those of Mars and Quirinus. The connection of Numa the Sabine with the office of flamen Dialis, combined with the fact that the three greater flamenships were confined to Patricians, who must be the offspring of *confarreate* marriages, naturally suggests both that the Patricians represented a Sabine master element, and that *confarreate* marriage, which was to the last so closely bound up with the Patricians and the three greater flamenships, was also of Sabine origin.

Of course this suggestion of a dual origin of the Roman people is directly opposed to the view of Theodor Mommsen. That eminent scholar rejected the traditions of the Romans themselves and held that they were a homogeneous people, and that there was no ethnical distinction between the Patricians

¹ Livy, i. 20.

and the Plebeians, and ever since he wrote, this doctrine has been almost universally adopted by writers on Roman history both on the Continent and in this country. This theory has undoubtedly the advantage of simplicity, but the charm of simplicity has often proved as fatal in the solution of historical problems as in those of Natural Science. For the deeper we penetrate into the inwardness of things, the more complex do all the phenomena of Nature prove to be, and in no department of her vast fields can this be affirmed with greater certainty than in all that appertains to Man. In no province has an undue simplicity of theory shown itself more fatal to a proper perception of truth than in the study of the history of our own country. Both Prof. E. A. Freeman and Prof. J. R. Green started with the fundamental assumption that the English are a pure Anglo-Saxon race whose ancestors had swept away all the older inhabitants of those parts of the country which they conquered and occupied. Yet the extraordinary prevalence of the melanochrous type, even in those parts of England which have the largest proportion of blonds, might well have given them pause. At the present day no one with any knowledge of Anthropology would give heed to the doctrine for a moment, though there are writers on English history as well as a large body of general readers in whose breasts the "pure Anglo-Saxon" Englishman is still a cherished fetish.

The views of early Roman history here given, first put forward in 1901 in the former volume of this work (p. 257) and more fully in 1907, strange as it may appear, have met with much support amongst scholars, but not unnaturally they have evoked some criticism from the older school. For example Dr W. Warde Fowler¹ in his most recent work still clings to Mommsen's theory. Thus he writes: "But in the course of the period within which the Numan calendar was drawn up, this community of patrician burghers began to suffer certain changes. A population of 'outsiders,' as in so many Greek cities, had gained admittance to the site of Rome, though not into its political and religious organism." But some doubts seem to

¹ *The Religious Experience of the Roman People* (Gifford Lectures at Edinburgh, 1909-10), p. 229.

have crept even into his confident heart, for in a note to this passage he writes: "I am, of course, well aware that quite recently attempts have been made to explain the *plebs* as the original inhabitants of Latium, and the Romans as conquering invaders: e.g. by Prof. Ridgeway in his paper, 'Who were the Romans?' read to the British Academy, and by Binder in his recently published volume *Die Plebs*. The theory is a natural one, and not out of harmony with the facts as known; but it has yet to be further developed and tested, and as those who hold it are not as yet in agreement with each other, and as the evidence, which alone can prove it, is of a very special character, archaeological and linguistic, I have expressed myself in terms of the older view," i.e., that of Theodor Mommsen which denies the truth of the Roman tradition, which, as we shall soon see, is supported by the archaeological and linguistic evidence. But although in the earlier part of his book Dr Fowler will have none of my heresies, yet, when he is nearing the close of his task, his faith in the older creed suddenly seems to fail and he is apparently ripe for conversion to the new doctrine. For he adopts my view of an invading conquering race in Italy as well as in Greece, which had a higher and less materialistic religion and higher moral ideals than the aborigines whom they mastered. "But in each peninsula (he writes)¹ this immigrant race was living in the midst of a far more primitive population; and it is perhaps to this population that we must look for the origin of the more detailed and imaginative notions of the life of the dead. Of the Greeks in this matter I have not space here to speak, nor am I competent to do so. But the conviction is steadily gaining ground that in early Rome we have to recognize the existence of two races; whether the older of these was Ligurian, as Prof. Ridgeway thinks, or primitive Latin, i.e. old Italic, as Binder believes, does not matter for our present purpose; nor are the arguments drawn from religion which these writers have used at all convincing to my intelligence." I may at once point out that there is no difference, except one of terminology, between Binder's view and mine. I simply gave the statement of that fine authority

¹ *op. cit.* p. 393.

Philistus of Syracuse, that the Ligyes (Ligurians) once held Latium, and I pointed out that they are identical with the 'Aborigines' of Cato and other older writers (vol. I. pp. 240, 255), and that Latinus, the eponymous king of the Latini, is called Rex Aboriginum. Binder, taking my view, simply makes the Plebs descended from the 'primitive Latins, i.e. old Italic.' In 1924 Dr D. Randall-MacIver published a valuable book¹ in which he has supplemented and brought up to date the great work of Oscar Montelius on early Italian archaeology, in the light of the excavations carried on since the issue of that work down to the present time. As we shall soon see, his results confirm those at which I arrived in my former volume (pp. 231—260) respecting the early ethnology and archaeology of the Italian peninsula. For the moment I need only state that he sums up emphatically in favour of there having been two distinct races in early Rome, a conclusion based on the evidence derived from the cemeteries in the Forum and on the Esquiline.

Let us now return to Numa the Sabine, who was said not only to have been the first flamen Dialis, but also to have established the two other greater flamenships—those of Mars and Quirinus. We saw that to the last the three greater flamens had to be Patricians, sprung from parents married by *confarreatio* and themselves married by the same sacred marriage rite. From these facts we thought that there was *prima facie* evidence for believing that the Sabines had made themselves masters of Rome and that their descendants formed the Patrician order. This *prima facie* probability would be rendered as certain as the nature of the case permits, if it could be shown that the three divinities, whose sacred rites were to the last administered by Patricians sprung from *confarreate* marriages, and who had themselves been married according to that ritual, were in origin not Latin, but Sabine. Varro² himself at once comes to our aid, for he tells us that the worship of Janus was instituted at Rome by Numa the

¹ *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (Oxford, 1924).

² L.L. v. 165: *Tertia est Ianualis, dicta ab Iano, et ideo ibi positum Iani signum et ius institutum a Pompilio, ut scribit in annalibus Piso, ut sit aperta semper, nisi cum bellum sit nusquam.*

Sabine, who according to the tradition just cited was himself the first flamen Dialis. In later times this functionary took charge of the worship of Jupiter, but was this so from the beginning? The form *Dia-lis* is separated by its vowel from *Diou-s* (*Iou-s* = *Iu-* in *Iupiter*) whilst it is closely connected with *Dia-nus* and *Dia-na*. But, as *Diana* also appeared as *Iana*¹, the masculine *Ianus* is only the later form of the archaic *Dianus*. On the other hand, there is also the adjective *Iouialis* formed properly from the stem *Ioui-*. It must also be remembered that according to *Livy's* account the god whom *Numa* served in his capacity of flamen Dialis was not the *Jupiter* of the *Plebeians*, who under the name of *Jupiter Elicius* had a separate cult of his own on the *Aventine*. *Numa*, who introduced the worship of *Janus*, was naturally the first flamen Dialis. Nor need we find any difficulty in the subsequent partial merging of the cult of *Janus* into that of *Jupiter*, who was already in possession of *Rome*. Thus, although *Janus* in early days had undoubtedly been different from *Quirinus*, yet *Horace*² identifies *Janus* with *Quirinus*, and even with *Matutinus*. The partial fusion of the chief male divinity of the *Sabines* with the chief male divinity already worshipped at *Rome* is perhaps the true explanation of the representation of *Janus* with two faces (*Fig. 12*), both being those of bearded men in the prime of life. The earliest *Janiform* representations which we know are those on the coins of *Tenedos* and *Lampsacus*, one face being that of a beardless male, the other of a female, and at *Athens*, where coins show two heads, both female³, one probably *Athena* of the *Acropolis*, the other *Pallas*, whose cult was confined to the *Palladion*, the ancient shrine and asylum at which *Orestes* took refuge⁴, in the lower city. The combination of these two offers a parallel to that of *Janus* and *Jupiter*. On coins of *Etruria* we meet with a type similar to those of *Tenedos* and *Lampsacus*, whilst on the first silver coins struck bearing the name *ROMA*, those issued in *Campania*, we now find that both faces are those of

¹ *Varro, R. R. i. 37, 3.*

² *Sat. ii. 6. 20.*

³ [*Seltman, Athens, its History and Coinage*, p. 97, Pl. xxii, 88, ee.]

⁴ *Ridgeway, Origin of Tragedy*, p. 175.

males, but both however beardless. Finally on the Roman *as* we meet the familiar Janiform type (Fig. 12) with two bearded faces as just stated. In the earlier forms where one of the faces is male, the other female, we probably have two closely connected deities, husband and wife, such as Dianus and Diana. Later on, when the fusion of Janus and Iupiter took place, and they were regarded as of equal importance, the double male face became the outward and visible sign of their blended attributes 'Father Ianus' and 'Father Iupiter.'

On the other hand, Dr Warde Fowler rejects the witness of the ancients. He thus writes¹: "Numa was said to have been



Fig. 12.

the first Flamen Dialis; but that is absolutely impossible, for the ancient taboos on that priesthood would have made it impossible for him to become supreme legislator. Evidently, this Flamen, who could hardly leave his own house, might never leave the city, and was at every turn hedged in by restrictions on his activity, was a survival of those magician-kings, who make rain and do other useful things, but would lose their power if they were exposed to certain contingencies; the number of possible contingencies increases till the unfortunate owner of the powers becomes powerless by virtue of

¹ *The Religious Experience of the Roman People*, p. 108.

the care so plentifully taken of him." This he supports by a reference to "Sir James Frazer's most recent account of this subject, in his *Lectures on the Early History of the Kingship*, chaps. III.—V. Prof. Ridgeway's idea that the Flamen Dialis was really a Numan institution is of course impossible, and the arguments he founds on it fall to the ground. Ovid, probably reflecting Varro, speaks of the Flamen Dialis as belonging to the Pelasgian religion, which at least means that he was aware of the extreme antiquity of the office; *Fasti*, II. 281. Dr Döllinger (*The Gentile and the Jew*, vol. II. p. 72) with his usual insight was inclined to see in this Flamen the 'ruins of an older system of ceremonial ordinances'. Let us now test the reasons given by Dr Fowler for holding in face of the native Roman writers that it was 'impossible' for Numa to have been a flamen Dialis. The chief of these is that the flamen was so hedged about by taboos and restrictions that no king like Numa could have held that office. But Dr Fowler assumes that the manifold restrictions upon the flamen Dialis in later times existed from the first day of the institution of that office. Yet he himself points out that in the case of these magician-kings "who make rain and do other useful things, but who would lose their power if exposed to certain contingencies, the number of possible contingencies increases till the unfortunate owner of the powers becomes powerless by virtue of the care so plentifully taken of him." There is not the slightest reason for believing that amongst all primitive tribes now every chief is rain-maker and magician and is thereby restricted from exercising civil functions. Nor was it otherwise in ancient times. Tradition said that when a great drought occurred, the folk implored Aeacus the great Achean warrior, who had become lord of Aegina, to go up to the mountain-top and to pray to Zeus his father for rain. Such a story as this shows that to the ancient mind there was nothing incongruous in a king who could obtain rain being a most active warrior and statesman. In Homer there is no more reference to such a cramping and cabining of a good king than there is of his being put to death after a stated period or when his bodily and mental powers began to fail. Of such a good king, Odysseus in his disguise as a beggar

speaks to Penelope¹: "Lady, no one of mortal men in the wide world could find fault with thee, for thy fame goes up to the wide heaven, as doth the fame of a blameless king, one that fears the gods and reigns among many men and mighty, maintaining right, and the black earth bears wheat and barley, and the trees are laden with fruit, and the sheep bring forth and fail not, and the sea gives store of fish, and all out of his good guidance, and the people prosper under him." Again so far from the king being put to death or dethroned when his powers began to wane, the Homeric poems testify to the very contrary. In a country where Nestor had lived and flourished as king of Pylus through three generations of "articulately-speaking men," the despatching of the priest-king was plainly not the fashion, whilst a well-known passage in the *Odyssey*² clearly regards a happy old age as the fitting guerdon for a good ruler.

Of course it may be said that Homer represents Greek and not Italian customs. But, as Dr Fowler admits my view of an immigrant race in Italy, and as practically all scholars have accepted my doctrine for Greece and Italy alike, and as the aborigines in both peninsulas were of the same stock, and, as again, the invaders in each case were from a common northern race, we may not unnaturally expect to find in Italy usages analogous or similar to those in Greece, no matter whether the particular usage is that of the aborigines or of the invaders. But the fact is that Dr Fowler, like certain other classical scholars just now, is too ready to thrust aside statements of the ancients themselves in favour of some theory which has no support in history and finds its only prop in some very dubious analogy drawn from modern savages, while he not unfrequently assumes that customs attested for their own time by late writers formed part of the primitive cults of archaic Rome.

As Dr Warde Fowler bases his assault on my defence of the Roman tradition—that king Numa was the first flamen Dialis—on Sir James Frazer's theories of 'God-kings' and the 'Origin of the Kingship,' and as Sir James not only sees what he takes

¹ *Od.* XIX. 107 *sqq.* (Butcher and Lang).

² *IV.* 210: αὐτὸν μὲν λιπαρὸς γηρασκέμεν ἐν μεγάροιςιν.

to be evidence for his view in the story of Servius Tullius, but also rests his whole hypothesis on the sacred Grove at Aricia, by Lake Nemi, in Latium, with its Rex Nemorensis, its fire festival, the cults of Egeria¹, Virbius, and Diana, I am compelled to discuss here at some length the evidence on which not only his own theories rest, but also those of others who have followed his methods. These theories are built upon a series of unproved assumptions, guesses and 'supposes,' the Solar Myth of Kuhn and Max Müller, the Tree Cult of Mannhardt, and the Totem theory of J. F. McLennan, the last two of which have been expanded in the famous *Golden Bough*. Starting with a brief ancient reference to a certain tree in the Arician grove, under which a man ever kept uneasy watch,

The priest who slew the slayer
And shall himself be slain

whenever some stronger ruffian might come, break a branch from the tree and challenge him to mortal combat, Sir James holds that "the golden bough which Virgil likens to the mistletoe that grows on the oak was the mistletoe itself seen through the haze of poetry or popular superstition"; and he thinks that he has shown grounds for believing that the priest of the Arician grove, the King of the Wood, personified the tree on which grew the golden bough. Hence, if that tree was the oak, the King of the Wood must have been the personification of the oak tree spirit. "It is therefore easy to understand (writes he) that before he could be slain it was necessary to break the golden bough. As an oak spirit his life or death was in the mistletoe on the oak, and so long as the mistletoe remained intact, he, like Balder, could not die. To slay him therefore it was necessary to break the mistletoe and probably, as in the case of Balder, to throw it at him, and to complete the parallel, it is only necessary to *suppose* that the King of the Wood was formerly burned, dead or alive, at the *Midsummer*

¹ In my *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races* (pp. 14 and 18) some reasons are given for thinking that the sacred grove may have been the burial place of the great local family of the *Egerii*, one of whom set up the cult of Diana, in what may have been his own family sanctuary, since another personage there was the nymph Egeria, evidently closely connected with the family.

fire festival annually celebrated in the Arician grove." The italics are mine. Frazer also holds that the oak spirit is the primitive Aryan god, and he supports his burning theory by asserting "that in the great shrines of Zeus in Greece the oak was the sacred tree or else that the sacred fire was made with oak." But the facts are all contrary. (1) At Olympia, where was the greatest shrine of Zeus in Greece, his sacred tree was a wild olive (*kotinos*), and his fire was made not with oakwood but with white poplar¹. (2) The oak was not the only sacred tree in Europe, for ashes and yews played this part in Ireland², and pines in France. (3) There were Druids galore in Ireland, but not one of them ever cut mistletoe off an oak with a golden or any other sickle, as the parasite was not native either in Ireland or Scotland. Thus tree-worship in these countries was not bound up with the mistletoe and the oak. (4) Balder slain by a mistletoe dart is the mainstay for the Nemi Priest-king theory, but in no account of Balder is the oak mentioned, nor is it ever connected with Odin and his sons, for it was under the great ash-tree, Yggdrasill, that they sat daily and delivered judgments³. (5) The mistletoe dart that slew Balder is not said in either account of the death of Balder to have grown upon an oak or indeed upon any tree. In both the *Elder* and the *Prose Eddas* the original suggests a sapling rather than a parasite. (6) Frazer finds a parallel for the Midsummer fire festival at Aricia in the burning of Balder, which late writers placed at Midsummer. Yet the Arician festival was not at Midsummer, but on August 14th, whilst the burning of Balder after he had been slain through the wile of Loki was simply the same as that of other great Northern chiefs. Odin and his sons bore Balder to the sea, launched his ship Hringhorni, made his pyre thereon, laid on it his body and that of Nanna his wife, who had died of grief⁴, and his horse also was burned with him⁵, with all his trappings—a strange Midsummer fire. The Norseman loved to be burned or buried on his ship, as is.

¹ Paus. v. 13. 8; 14. 2.

² Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*, p. 16.

³ *Prose Edda*, Brodeur's trans. p. 27.

⁴ *ibid.* pp. 72—3.

⁵ *ibid.* pp. 28, 73.

seen by Haki's dying order after the battle of Upsala¹. Thus not only did the Arician fire festival not fall on Midsummer, but Balder's burning had no more connection with the Midsummer fire than has the crematorium at Golder's Green. (7) In addition to the Nemi priest, Frazer based his theory of the Dying God, who rose again, on a late Basque tale of a hunter who dreamed that he was killed by a bear, but the bear breathed its own spirit into him and died itself, while the man came back to life; and (8) also upon the initiation ceremonies of some Australian tribes, who pretend that the boys then die, but are brought back to life again. The natives however regularly say in reference to this that only the women and children believe it. On such foundations was built the God-king theory, of which Dionysus, Atys, Adonis, Tammuz and Osiris are his chief examples, and on these Miss Jane Harrison and Prof. G. G. Murray based their Dionysiac scheme, the Eniautos Daimon, the Dithyrambos, and Greek Tragedy. But Sir J. G. Frazer now admits that Osiris may have been a real king, and there is no reason why all the others should not have been the same. With the God-kings is bound up his theory of the sacramental eating of the new corn, yams, etc. and of what he thinks is its later stage, the offering of the first-fruits to the God-king. But all his supposed cases of eating first-fruits sacramentally fall under the common practice of eating first-fruits of rice, etc., with the ancestral spirits as in China, Japan, and among numerous other peoples², except one on which he chiefly relies. Batchelor³ says that the Ainus before eating cakes made of the new millet address it as "O divine cereal." Dr Kandaichi, of Kyoto University, through my friend Prof. K. Hamada, of the same University, informed me that "it is doubtful if the Ainus think the corn itself a sort of god, for in harvest they offer a cake made of the first-fruits to Hosakaro Kamui, who is the god of a clan." It thus appears that the Ainus have a regular god of agriculture like those of the Japanese, Chinese, Burmese, etc., which are deified chiefs or ancestors.

¹ *Heimskringla*, trs. Magnússon and Morris, p. 40.

² Ridgeway, *op. cit.* pp. 230, 322, 345.

³ *Ainus and their Folklore*, 1901, p. 206.

Frazer, leaving out China, Japan, etc., where we have full historical knowledge of first-fruit offerings and those to whom they are made (the ancestors), gives a long list of cases, from savages, which in many instances are plainly offerings to dead chiefs, and finally relies on the sacred king of Tonga. He writes: "In the Tonga Islands the first-fruits of the year were offered with solemn ceremony to the sacred chief Tooitonga, who was regarded as divine." Frazer has printed in full Mariner's¹ description of this great festival (Inachi) held in October, but he does not give the early history of the chieftainship. Some five or six generations before Mariner's visit (1812) a younger and more warlike member of the royal family had seized the secular power, and Tooitonga had become a mere religious functionary. When the yams were ripe, Finow, the real king, sent to ask Tooitonga to fix the date and place. He generally named the tenth day, and the place was near "the grave of the last Tooitonga, which is generally in the neighbourhood, or the grave of one of his family will do." On the appointed day "the chiefs and matabooles (vassals) are seated in a semicircle before the grave with their heads bowed down." The procession advanced from the *maláí* where it was formed, but not to Tooitonga, for it "marched round the grave twice or thrice in a great circle, the conchs blowing and the men singing. Next the yams, still suspended from the poles, were deposited before the grave, and their bearers sat down beside them. One of the *matabooles* of Tooitonga, seating himself before the grave a little in advance of the men, addressed the gods generally, and afterwards particularly, mentioning the late Tooitonga, and the names of several others. He thanked them for their divine bounty in favouring the land with the prospect of so good a harvest and prayed that their beneficence might be continued in future." This done, the procession reformed, and "after parading two or three times before the grave," went back to the *maláí*. Here Tooitonga presided and shared out the yams, and other articles, "about a fourth was allotted to

¹ W. Mariner, *Account of the Natives of the Tonga Islands* (2nd ed. 1818, London), vol. II. pp. 78, 196—203; Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ed. 3, Part V (*Spirits of the Corn and of the Wild*), vol. II. pp. 128—132.

the gods, and appropriated by the priests; about a half fell to the king; and the remainder belonged to Tootonga." There is not a word about any offering or act of worship made to Tootonga himself, but all was to his ancestral spirits. It may also be noted that in Tonga there is not the slightest trace of the sacred king being put to death after a limited period or in case he showed any signs of decay. Such then are the foundations on which Dr Warde Fowler bases his attack on the traditional account of Numa, Miss Jane Harrison and Professor G. G. Murray their theories of the dithyramb and Greek Tragedy, with which I have dealt elsewhere¹, and Miss Phillpotts her theory of Scandinavian drama. Let us test the theory of God-kings in Scandinavia, for here the evidence is much later and much less scanty than in ancient Italy. In her *Elder Edda and Scandinavian Drama* Miss Phillpotts maintains that in Scandinavia there are traces of a primitive ritual drama similar to that postulated by Professor G. G. Murray for Greek Tragedy, and that this supports the Harrison-Murray theory,—that the belief of the early folk "that fertility could be secured by keeping their goddesses supplied with husbands from the royal family," was "the root from which tragedy was the plant"—that "the beginnings of Tragedy" are in the Helgi Lays in the *Elder Edda*, and that "no theory of lamentation for gods or heroes will explain these beginnings of tragedy in the North; the moral conflict, the family feud, the love-scene and the hint of rebirth—these are the tragic formulas with which we have to deal and they are inexplicable except as sprung from the soil of the ritual marriage and the ritual slaying"; and that the supposed primitive ritual drama only later admitted "into its form" the sad tales of actual human life². Let us briefly survey the facts.

¹ *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*, pp. 41—64.

² Even the *Holy Grail*, the most beautiful and spiritual of Christian legends, has not escaped the polluting miasma of the 'fertility rite,' for Miss Jessie L. Weston (*From Ritual to Romance*) says that she owes to Sir James Frazer "the initial inspiration which set me, as I may truly say, on the road to the Grail Castle," and further that the "perusal of Miss J. E. Harrison's *Themis* opened my eyes to the extended importance of these Vegetation rites," and much more to the same effect about Prof. G. G. Murray.

Frey, the Swedish king, founded the temple at Upsala, and in his reign there was great plenty as in that of his father Niord. The Swedes thought that he and his father "swayed the plenty of the year¹." Frey was buried at Upsala, and offerings were made at his howe.

There are three great mounds still at Upsala. From the Sagas and the relics (sixth century A.D.) found therein, Montelius identified them as those of kings Aun, Egil and Adils. Miss Phillpotts, on the ground that Aun sacrificed a son every tenth year² to prolong his own life (not for fertility of the land), that Egil was killed by a boar³, and Adils by a fall from his horse in the temple of *Dis*, a female divinity⁴, thinks that "the suggestion of sacrificial deaths could hardly be clearer." From the absence of weapons in the graves Montelius thought that their occupants were 'temple-kings,' not war-kings, and she therefore holds "that there is very considerable evidence for priest-kings at Upsala." But Montelius overlooked the practice of the later Iron Age, for there is ample evidence that in Germany and the North, swords, corslets, etc. were not always buried with their owners. With the Thuringians the *bernie* (corslet) went with the land⁵, whilst *Beowulf* affords like evidence for the non-burial of arms⁶. Again, when Gunnar of Lithend was slain (A.D. 990), Rannveig his mother bade that his famous bill should not be buried with him in the cairn, but should go to him who would avenge him⁷. Aun, who was said to have lived 210 years by sacrificing sons, was long bed-ridden, and not an ideal mate for a fertility goddess. Egil was killed by a bull when hunting (nothing strange), and although Adils perished by his horse tripping on the pavement in the *Dis* temple, his friend Godguest, to whom he had given another of his fine steeds, also died from a fall from it, but not in a temple. Furthermore, as Aun, Egil and Adils all had many

¹ *Heimskr.* (trs. Magnússon and Morris) vol. i. pp. 23, 23.

² *ibid.* vol. i. pp. 42, 43.

³ *ibid.* p. 46 (killed by a wild bull, not by a "boar").

⁴ *ibid.* p. 51.

⁵ *Mon. Hist. Germ., Leges*, vol. v. p. 126.

⁶ 2191 (a sword); 454 (a corslet); etc.

⁷ *Burnt Njal*, LXXVII.

wars, they were thus war-kings, and not 'temple-kings' as assumed by Montelius.

Moreover Dr Axel Boethius¹, of Upsala, informed me "that in one of the mounds was found a small piece, which might be part of a sword, and which was published by Dr Stjerna in his *Essays on Beowulf*²." This however is only a scrap of evidence. But, as pointed out by Nerman in his pamphlet³, the fact that there are scanty (if any) remains of weapons in the mounds of Upsala does not give a firm base for the conclusion that temple-kings (or women as some have assumed) were buried there. *All* the fire-graves of this period according to him are remarkably destitute of weapons. Consequently both because of the possible piece of a sword found in one mound and because of the common type of the contemporary graves, the doctrine of Montelius seems uncorroborated. On the other hand, the mounds being close to the great shrine and the holy grove naturally seem to indicate some close connection between these old kings and the temple. But that of course is a different matter, and there seems to be no ground for doubting that they were war-kings also, as were the kings in *Beowulf*.

The assumption that the annalists' delicacy prevented them from speaking more explicitly of such supposed sacrifices of kings—just as baseless as Professor Murray's 'Expurgation' theory for Homer—is confuted by the fact that these writers scruple not to give full details when kings were put to death because of famine, e.g. Olaf Tree-Shaver⁴, burnt to Odin "for the plenty of the year," and Domald⁵ whose blood "reddened the seats of the gods."

Moreover we are told the method of securing fertility at the great sacrifices: the first cup to Odin for victory, the second and third cups to Niord and Frey for plenty and peace, a fourth some drank to Bragi (Odin's son), and men drank a fifth, the Cup of Memory, to their dead kinsmen⁶. No Fertility goddess!

¹ In a letter dated 21. Sept. 1924.

² Viking Club, Extra Series, vol. III. 1912, p. 224, Fig. 93.

³ "Hvilka Konungar liggat i Uppsala höger," 1913, p. 8.

⁴ *Heimskr.* vol. I. p. 66.

⁵ *ibid.* p. 29.

⁶ *ibid.* pp. 165, 166.

The *Elder Edda* shows no trace of Drama, for the Helgi Lays¹, behind which Miss Phillpotts thinks there was a Fertility Drama, are simply narrative poems, sometimes with dialogue, as in Homer. She admits however that she sees no trace of this drama in the later Eddic poems, but she relies on² Saxo Grammaticus (*circa* 1200), who says that Starkad left Upsala "because at the time of the sacrifices he was disgusted by the effeminate gestures and the clapping of mimes on the stage and by the unmanly clatter of the bells." In this Olrik saw a reference to jugglers, but Miss Phillpotts thinks that as bells still hang on wedding trees in Sweden, they must be a survival of an earlier custom; yet of this there is no proof. King Hagleik kept at Upsala many "minstrels, harp-players and jig-players and fiddlers; and spell-workers he had with him also, and all kind of cunning folk³," who might well have disgusted Starkad. But several writers cited by Miss Phillpotts⁴ infer from Saxo's words that coarse pantomimic rites formed part of Frey's ritual. Her only support for this is an obscure story of a man taken for a victim, some later mumming obscenities, and an etymological guess⁵. But if there were really any such performances, they were meant to honour Frey, that king to whom the Swedes believed they owed good harvests, and we should have thus simply another case of dramatic performances in honour of ancient kings, chieftains, and other famous and holy persons, as in Greece, India, China, Japan, etc. There is therefore no evidence for Fertility Marriage Drama in Scandinavian cults, the *Elder Edda*, the *Eddica Minora* or in Saxo.

Dr Malinowski⁶ says that whilst the evidence which Sir James Frazer is able to adduce in support of his theory of public magic and its sociological importance is great, it is not quite adequate to substantiate all his theories, because "among the forms of public magic Sir James can find examples only by referring to sunshine, rain, and weather. Even this

¹ *Poetic Edda* (Bellows' trans.), pp. 269 *sqq.*

² *The Elder Edda and Ancient Scandinavian Drama*, p. 118.

³ *Heimskr.* vol. II. pp. 37, 38.

⁴ *op. cit.* p. 118.

⁵ *op. cit.* p. 119.

⁶ *Nature*, 19 May, 1923.

material does not allow him to demonstrate in detail how political power and social influence arise from the exercise of the magical functions." We are led to inquire, if vegetable and fertility rites are so important, how is it that there are no departmental magicians of agriculture on record? Why does the public magician only control the conditions of fertility and not fertility itself? How can magical influence grow into political power? Dr Malinowski proceeds: "These questions seem at first sight to qualify and invalidate Frazer's theories of early kingship and magic." But it is not merely at first sight.

If Sir James Frazer and Dr Malinowski had studied Chinese religion, which is thoroughly documented back to many centuries before Christ, the former would perhaps not have developed his doctrine of Early Kingship as arising from magic, while the latter would not have attempted to bolster up Frazer's theory, which is contrary to the doctrines of the Chinese and Japanese set forth fully in many incontrovertible documents down to the present hour, and which is also contrary to the current beliefs respecting the production of crops all over New Guinea, i.e. in the very area from which Dr Malinowski seeks to obtain support for Sir James Frazer.

In China the chief festivals were and are the great seasonal sacrifices in spring, summer, autumn and winter. On all those occasions not only the king, but all his people, prayed or gave thanks according to the season, to their ancestors, as those on whose kindly intervention depended the fertility of their lands, their success in fishing, and their prosperity in all other respects. The connection of these great seasonal sacrifices with husbandry can be amply proved from many passages in the Sacrificial Odes, while no less pronounced is the complete absence of any ritual for vegetational abstractions. This is markedly so in an ode¹ in which king Hsuan (B.C. 826-780), "on the occasion of a great drought, expostulates with God and all the spirits who might be expected to help him and his people; asks them wherefore they were contending with him; and details the measures he had taken, and was still taking, for

¹ *Shih King, Major Odes of the Kingdom*, III. 4 (trs. J. Legge, *Sacred Books of the East*, III. 1879).

the removal of the calamity." In his sore strait the king cries to Heaven: "There is no spirit I have not sacrificed to; There is no victim I have grudged; Our jade symbols, oblong and round, are exhausted;—How is it that I am not heard?...I have not ceased offering pure sacrifices; From the border altars I have gone to the ancestral temple. To the (Powers) above and below I have presented my offerings and then buried them;—There is no spirit whom I have not honoured. Hâu-ki is not equal to the occasion; God does not come to us"; and he declares that "the many dukes and their ministers of the past give him no help." "O ye parents and (nearer) ancestors, How can ye bear to see me thus?...How is it that I am afflicted with this drought?... In praying for a good year I was abundantly early. I was not late (in sacrificing) to (the spirits of) the four quarters and of the land. God in great heaven Does not consider me. Reverent to the intelligent spirits, I ought not to be thus the object of their anger....I look up to the great heaven;—When shall I be favoured with repose?" There can be no doubt that the spirits invoked were those of men and women once alive, whether they were Hâu-ki, the ancestor of his house, and the patron deity of agriculture, or the spirits of the four quarters or of the land, or of the grain, for such deities as those of corn, food, wind, maize, and the like are all merely secondary conceptions depending on the primary belief in the existence of the soul after the death of the body.

But the Chinese monarch saw after the departments of agriculture, fishing and the like: in spring he himself ploughed a field set apart for that purpose and prayed at the altars of the spirits of the land and grain, as we learn from the preface to one of the *Sacrificial Odes of Kâu*¹. The harvest safely garnered, there came the great celebration called Shang, i.e. first-fruits, which were offered not to a vegetation spirit, but to the ancestors, for no one dared to eat of the new crop until he had first made an offering in his ancestral temple. At this hour the Chins of Burma dare not eat the new food until they have laid offerings of the first-fruits in their corn or vegetable patches for their ancestors to enjoy. In modern China in each

¹ III. 5.

country district there is usually a temple with a theatre attached where theatricals are performed at least every autumn after the harvest. The image of the god is brought out that he may enjoy the play, which is given for his benefit as a thank-offering for sending a good crop. But as all such local Chinese gods are merely deified human beings, these performances are in honour not of any mere abstractions, but of some old mandarin canonized long since.

Again, when fishing began, the king offered the first fish to his ancestors, and to them when later the sturgeons arrived he offered one of the first caught, and only when this had been done partook of it himself².

Not least of the elaborate ceremonies in honour of the royal ancestors were the musical and dramatic performances.

Here we have the king himself acting not as chief magician, or as departmental magician, but as an intercessor, like Aeacus, who prays to God in Heaven, and to his ancestors, on behalf of his people, for good harvests, good fishing, and the like.

It may be also pointed out that in Japan the Spring festival (equinox) is in honour of the dead, and especially of the Imperial ancestors, that in July (13—16) there is a general honouring of the ancestors because this is the most critical time for the rice crops, that September 23 (equinox) is the Autumn festival of the Imperial ancestors, and that on October 17 the first-fruits are offered to the Shinto gods, i.e. deified ancestors, whilst on November 23 the Mikado tastes the first-fruits, offered, not to himself, but to his ancestors, as in China, Tonga, and in very many other places.

Dr Malinowski, having pointed out what seemed to be *prima facie* objections to Frazer's views, comes to his rescue with his own observations amongst some Papuan-Melanesian tribes of Eastern New Guinea where he thinks he found "a social and psychological situation such as is postulated by the *Golden Bough*": the office of the chief coincides there with that of the public magician. To the control of rain and sunshine the chief owes an enormous proportion of his executive powers, which he uses to strengthen his position and to enforce his general will. He

² *op. cit.* II. 6.

thinks that he has found it in the vegetable cults, for there are in these tribes departmental magical rites of fertility. Not only are they the most important ones, ranking even before the weather rites and always carried out by the chief, but also we can study there the sociological mechanism by which the garden magician obtains his political power. In each community we find a garden magician who performs his ritual for public benefit. These functions are always vested in the headman of the community. In villages which are capitals of a district and governed by a chief, he himself carries out the magic of vegetation. In this rôle the headman or chief commands not only a high respect as the man who has in his hands the forces of fertility and who knows how to tap them, but he also takes an actual lead in the practical pursuits accompanied by the magic. For the magical ritual is intimately bound up with the technical activities. This refers to several forms of public magic, such as canoe-building, fishing, and overseas expeditions, but most conspicuously to garden magic. He goes on to say that the magician controls the work of the whole community during the course of the year, and is regarded as the man responsible for success and failure and receives tribute from his fellow villagers.

The whole statement represents the position of the Chinese monarch, except the question-begging terms of *magic* and *magician*. Unfortunately, neither in his article nor in his interesting book *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, to which he refers, does he give any account of the machinery by which the chief or headman promotes fertility in the gardens or success in other operations. Yet not only in the ancestor-worship of China, Japan, India, Burma, the Indonesian islands, Polynesia, Melanesia, but in New Guinea itself have we the machinery. Dr Malinowski knows well how important is the cult of the dead in the region which he studied. He tells us¹ that the Trobriand natives believe that the spirits migrate immediately after death to the island of Tuma, but that they return to visit their own villages once a year to take part in the big annual feast *milamala*, when they receive offerings.

¹ *Journ. Royal Anthropol. Inst.* vol. XLVI (1916), p. 370.

He tells us that "the *milamala* comes in immediate succession to the harvesting activities." The Melanesians of Florida have ceremonies devoted to the propitiation of the various *tindalos* who preside over vegetation, "to inaugurate the time of eating the first-fruits of certain trees." As Dr Codrington has shown that the *tindalos* are the spirits of the dead, it is clear that as amongst Chins, Burmese, Chinese, Japanese, ancestral spirits are held to control the crops. So too in Fiji the first-fruits of the yams were offered to the dead chiefs in the Nanga¹.

My late friend Mr Wilfrid Beaver² stated that "with all the West Papuan tribes, not only is the cult of the skull very important, as is usual in New Guinea, but at times a Kiwa will dig up his father's or his mother's skull and appeal to it for advice or aid respecting his crops." Mr Beaver also noted that in a village called Manufa in the Gambisi district the bodies of the dead are placed upright in staked enclosures and the skeletons remain undisturbed until the occasion of a big annual feast or dance, when one or more of these 'graves' will be broken up and the skull taken and dipped in the blood of pigs killed at the feast, and then buried in the gardens to 'bless the crops.' Mr Gunnar Landtman has shown too the supposed efficacy of the skull of a father or other relative in warfare in his paper "The Magic of the Kiwa Papuans in Warfare³." Here then we have the machinery by which chiefs, headmen, and other garden magicians are supposed to secure good crops, about which Dr Malinowski is silent in his chapter on 'Garden Magic,' as well as in his article, although, strange as it may seem, elsewhere⁴ he himself demonstrates that the spirits of the dead are regarded as the machinery amongst the Trobriand islanders, of whom he had made a special study: "Weather—rain, sun and wind—have to obey a great number of spells, and they are especially amenable to the call of some eminent experts, or, rather, families of experts, who practise the art in

¹ Ridgeway, *Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races*, p. 350.

² In letters printed, *ibid.* pp. 345, 397.

³ *Journ. Royal Anthropol. Inst.* vol. XLVI (1916), p. 327.

⁴ *ibid.* pp. 385—6.

hereditary succession. In times of war—when fighting still existed, before the white man's rule—the Kiriwinians availed themselves of the art of certain families of professionals, who had inherited war magic from their ancestors." It must be remarked that his statement that the chief got his position by magic, is confuted by his own words just cited. He tells us that the hut of Bagido'u, the garden magician of Omarakana, was not fifty metres from his own tent, and that he was allowed to assist at his chanting over magical herbs. "In many garden ceremonies part of the ingredients are chanted over in the village, in the magician's own house, and, again, before being used in the garden. On the morning of such a day the magician goes alone into the bush, sometimes far away, to fetch the necessary herbs. In one charm as many as ten varieties of ingredients, practically all herbs, have to be brought....After the garden magician has finished his spell, he wraps up the leaves in a mat and puts them aside, to be presently used in the field....All actual ceremonies of garden magic take place in the field, and there are many spells which are chanted in the garden." In the Omarakana system¹ of garden magic there are ten magical spells, each associated with a special act: "Out of these ten spells there are three in which reference is made to *baloma* of ancestors. One of those three is by far the most important, and it is said during the performance of several rites, at the cutting down ceremony, at the planting ceremony, etc." Dr Malinowski gives the formula, and a free translation. The typical form of the spell consists of three parts: (1) The introduction (*u'ula*), (2) the body of the spell, (3) the final part. "The invocation of the ancestors, or, more correctly, perhaps, the list of their names, is always contained in the *u'ula*." "In the list of ancestors two points are to be noted: the first names are attached to the word *tubugu* (= 'my grandfathers'), whereas the last but one is used with *tabugu* (= 'my grandfather,' singular). The use of the plural in the first group is connected with the fact that in each sub-clan there are certain names, which are the property of this sub-clan; and every member of this sub-clan must possess one of these ancestral names, though he may

¹ *op. cit.* pp. 390 ff.

be called also by another non-hereditary name, by which he is known more generally. Thus in the first part of the spell, not one ancestor of the name of Polu is addressed, but the magician invokes 'all my ancestors of the name of Polu, all my ancestors of the name of Koleko,' etc. The second characteristic feature, which is also general in such lists of ancestors, is that the last names are preceded by the words,... 'You new *baloma*,' and then the names of the few last ancestors are enumerated. Thus Bagido'u mentions his grandfather, Muakenuva, and his father, Iowana. This is important, because it is a direct invocation of a *baloma*, 'O thou *baloma*.'...In the light of this fact, the ancestor names appear to be more likely invocations of the ancestral *baloma* than a simple enumeration, even though the ancestral names have an intrinsic, active, magical power."

It may be at once remarked that the garden magician here mentioned is not a 'chief,' but an hereditary professional, and accordingly the insubstantial arguments used by Dr Malinowski for the supposed development of the chieftainship from king-chiefs who originally owed their power to magic are invalidated by his statement, whilst the reader will at once recognize a close parallelism between the invocation of the ancestors by the garden magician and that of the ancestors, grandfather and father of Tootonga, by his chief vassal (p. 187).

No less unsatisfactory is his treatment of the Chieftainship. "Chieftainship in the Trobriands," he writes¹, "is the combination of two institutions: first, that of headmanship or village authority; secondly, that of totemic clanship, that is, the division of the community into classes or castes, each with a more or less definite rank. In every community...there is one man who wields the greatest authority, though often this does not amount to very much. He is, in many cases, nothing more than *primus inter pares* in a group of village elders...He is as a rule...not much more than a master of tribal ceremonies, and the main speaker within and without the tribe, whenever one is needed.

But the position of headman becomes much more than this when he is a person of high rank, which is by no means always

¹ *Argonauts of the Western Pacific*, 1922, pp. 62 ff.

the case. In the Trobriands there exist four totemic clans, each being divided into a number of smaller sub-clans—which could also be called families or castes, for the members of each claim common descent from one ancestress, and each of them holds a certain, specified, rank. These sub-clans have also a local character, because the original ancestress emerged from a hole in the ground, as a rule somewhere in the neighbourhood of their village community." Each can show the original hole or 'house' as it is called. "Often such a hole is surrounded by one of the tabooed clumps of trees....Not one is on the cultivable land. The highest sub-clan is that of the Tabalu belonging to the Malasi totem clan. To this sub-clan belongs the main chief of Kiriwina, To'uluwa, who resides in the village of Omarakana. He is in the first place the headman of his own village, and, in contrast to the headmen of low rank, he has quite a considerable amount of power. His high rank inspires every one about him with the greatest and the most genuine respect and awe and the remnants of his power are still surprisingly large." His sphere of influence extends far beyond his own village. "A number of villages are tributary to him, and in several respects subject to his authority. In case of war they are his allies, and have to foregather in his village. When he needs men to perform some task, he can send to his subject villages and they will supply him with workers." He has to pay the tributes, etc. This he does by his wealth. He takes a wife from each vassal village and her family has to supply him with large amounts of crops. "This wife is always the sister or some other relation of the headman of the subject village, and thus practically the whole community has to work for him. In olden days, the chief of Omarakana had up to as many as forty consorts, and received perhaps as much as thirty to fifty per cent. of all the garden produce of Kiriwina."

He had thus plenty of food to pay men for feasts, tribal gatherings, or distant expeditions. "Through his privilege of practising polygamy the chief is kept supplied with an abundance of wealth in food stuffs and in valuables, which he uses to maintain his high position."

He "has the best sorcerers of the district always at his beck

and call" and he uses them to punish the guilty. The terror of the sorcerer is enough to kill a native. "Only in extreme cases, does a chief inflict direct punishment on a culprit. He has one or two hereditary henchmen, whose duty it is to kill the man who has so deeply offended him, that actual death is the only sufficient punishment....It is through his right to practise polygamy that he actually achieves his position, and exercises his power."

These extracts call for some remarks: (1) Dr Malinowski does not include prowess or skill in war as an element in chieftainship; (2) he speaks of chiefs of 'high rank,' but does not explain how 'high rank' is attained; (3) he says that the paramount chief of Kiriwina owes his great position to his right to practise polygamy, but he does not explain how the chief or his forebears got the privilege of having the sisters or other relatives of the headmen in each of his vassal villages as his wives, nor does he explain how these villages became 'vassal.' Yet it evidently was not because the chief or his forebears were powerful magicians, for he states that the chief power is largely due to his having "the best sorcerers at his beck and call." If he or his predecessors got their power by excelling in magic, why need he keep sorcerers? Dr Malinowski himself gives the key to the chief's power and the awe in which he is held. For though he excludes prowess or capacity of leadership in war as an element in the growth of chieftainship, he tells us that not only did the chief use his great wealth from tributes to make 'distant expeditions,' apparently of no peaceful kind, but 'in case of war' his vassals had to assemble at his village. This demonstrates that he was a military potentate and that he and his predecessors owe their 'high rank' just as much to personal prowess and success in war as do the Rajput princes of to-day. From this they won the respect of their own people, and tribute in wives, food and other valuables from their conquered neighbours. The Trobriand paramount chieftainship thus falls into line with monarchies in all parts of the world, ancient and modern. *Force majeure*, not mere magic, has been the foundation of them all, whether in ancient Egypt, Babylonia, Assyria, Persia, or Israel (where the people, tired of being badly ruled

by priest-sorcerers, such as Samuel and his sons, chose Saul, who was pre-eminent alike in stature and prowess, and made him king after his crushing defeat of the Ammonites¹, whilst similarly David's elevation was due not to his magic but to his overthrow of Goliath); China (where Yu, the founder of the Hsia dynasty 2247 B.C., is not remembered as a sorcerer, but as a great sovereign who first raised embankments to check the inundations of the Ho); Japan (where the sword of the first Mikado is one of the chief of the sacred relics at Ise); and the great Teutonic, Scandinavian and early Irish monarchies. Who will say that it was by magic that Hrolf the Ganger and his descendants won Normandy and England?

The attempt of Dr Malinowski to bolster up Frazer's theory has only added one more instance to the contrary, for on his evidence he has failed to make good those weaknesses which he himself thinks prevent Frazer from being able "to demonstrate in detail how political power and social influence arise from the exercise of the magical functions," weaknesses which "seem at first sight to qualify and invalidate Frazer's theories of early kingship and magic." Finally, it may be noted that there is no evidence for kings being put to death after a limited period in any of the cases just cited any more than there is for such a practice amongst the Polynesians of New Zealand, Samoa, Tonga or Tahiti. Thus the result of the latest evidence derived from savage communities, on whose customs Frazer's theory of the Kingship and God-kings depends, demonstrates the futility of Dr Fowler's attack, based on that theory, upon the traditional statements that Numa was the first flamen Dialis and also a king.

His two remaining reasons for holding that my view is "impossible" are easily disposed of. "Ovid," he writes, "probably reflecting Varro, speaks of the Flamen Dialis as belonging to the Pelasgian religion, which at least means that he was aware of the extreme antiquity of the office." With his inference there is no reason to quarrel, but there is no proof that Ovid is reflecting Varro, and accordingly his vague expression is not to be taken against the combined testimony of Varro himself and Livy on which my case mainly rests. Moreover,

¹ *I Samuel*, chaps. ix—xi.

Ovid is probably referring to the mass of the restrictions which in his own day weighed so heavily on the flamen, but these were not only an accretion, as Dr Fowler himself admits, but they had probably arisen from the more material religious ideas of the aborigines, which, like their views on marriage, had gradually prevailed as the more lofty and noble ideas of the Patricians lost their robustness. Whilst therefore the flamen Dialis was Sabine, the ceremonies and taboos with which he was oppressed in the later period were probably elements from the indigenous religion. Thus, though the Goths who had conquered the indigenous population of Spain made a long struggle to maintain their own Mozarabic ritual, it gradually gave way to that of Rome as the Gothic spirit sickened in the unwholesome surroundings of the South, and the only survival of the rites of the Gothic church is the fact that on Easter Day in the cathedral of Toledo the archbishop takes the westward position and faces the congregation, all else in the service being *ad usum Romanum*.

Dr Fowler's last proof of the impossibility of my view is that Dr Döllinger was inclined to see in this flamen the "ruins of an older system of ceremonial ordinances." But mere inclinations or opinions in such matters, no matter how eminent may be the utterer, are worthless in scientific investigations unless backed by substantial facts. It may be pointed out that Dr Fowler has not attempted to explain from the old standpoint—that the Romans were a homogeneous people—how there arose such a fundamental difference between the Patricians and Plebeians in their views of marriage, the most important of social institutions, and how *confarreatio* was so indissolubly bound up with the greater flamenships.

We shall now continue our inquiry into the origin of the two other deities whose cults were in charge of greater flamens. We shall then proceed to bring forward other evidence, ethnological, archaeological, and linguistic. A full examination of the elements which went to make up the religion of the Romans as it stood in Imperial times will be presented in another volume¹.

¹ The materials of that volume have been already used in the Gifford Lectures at Aberdeen, 1909-11, but they have only as yet appeared in summaries in the *Aberdeen Free Press*.

According to Varro¹ Mars or Mamers (Fig. 13) was Sabine, whilst the same authority represents Quirinus as connected with the Quirites, the inhabitants of the Sabine town of Cures, a view endorsed by all modern writers. Dionysius likewise states that the Romans derived the worship of Quirinus from the Sabines. But to the form of the name we shall revert later on (p. 236).

It is now fairly probable that the cults of Janus, Mars, and Quirinus were Sabine in origin, that their priesthoods always remained restricted to Patricians, and to Patricians who were born of *confarreate* marriage, and had themselves been married by that sacred rite, which seems never to have been used by the Plebeians. From this it follows that this Sacred Marriage



Fig. 13. Romano-Campanian silver didrachm (circa B.C. 335-312): *Obv.* Head of Mars; *Rev.* horse's head, referring to the Equiria, 'horse-races,' the greatest festival of that god and held A.D. iii. Cal. Mart., and prid. Id. Mart².

was not Latin, but Sabine. Divorce was practically unknown in cases of *confarreate* marriage, for that sacred bond could only be dissolved by a ceremony called *diffarreatio*, of which nothing is known, but in which it is probable that a cake of *far* was used in some way. The existence of so secure a marriage bond is quite in accord with the lofty views of chastity and conjugal fidelity handed down to us in the imperishable tales of the maiden Virginia and the matron Lucrece. According to the writers of the Augustan age this

¹ *L.L.* v. 73: Mars ab eo quod maribus in bello praeest, aut quod Sabinis acceptus ibi est Mamers. Quirinus a Quiritibus. Dion. Hal. *A.R.* ii. 48: τὸν δὲ Ἐρυθρίων οἱ Σαβῖνοι καὶ παρ' ἐκείνων οἱ Ῥωμαῖοι μαθόντες Κυρίων ἀνομάζουσιν.

² My own specimen. These coins show by far the earliest representation of Mars, just as others of the series give us much the oldest document for, and representation of, the Wolf and Twins legend.

purity of life still flourished in their own time among the simple and uncorrupted women of the Sabine valleys¹. It would then appear that a body of Sabines had become masters of Rome, and had brought with them their own religion and their own form of marriage. Unless these Sabines had formed the original Patres, and were conquerors, there seems no reason why they should have refused the *ius conubii* to the Plebeians, many of whom were probably just as wealthy as the Patricians. Analogy too would lead us to believe that this restriction arose rather from pride of conquest than from pride of wealth. Thus at Sparta, where there was an aristocracy of conquerors, the offspring of a Spartiate and a Helot was considered illegitimate (being termed a *Mothax* or *Mothon*). On the other hand at Athens, where the Eupatridae were autochthonous, and not an aristocracy of conquest, they seem never to have denied the right of intermarriage to the other classes. Our contention derives additional support from the fact that just as in early days there could be no legal marriage between a Patrician and Plebeian, so in later times a marriage between a Roman citizen and a *Latinus* or a *peregrinus* belonging to a state which had not *conubium* with Rome, was a *matrimonium iniustum*.

Ethnology of Italy. In an earlier chapter (vol. i. pp. 240-1) I gave some reasons for believing that the 'Aborigines,' who according to Dionysius were the earliest occupants of upper Italy, had once a real existence (contrary to the opinion of Mommsen and his followers in this country²), and that they were identical with the Ligyes or Ligurians, who according to Philistus of Syracuse had once held Latium herself.

We found that the ancients themselves give a very clear and coherent account of the various elements in the population of upper Italy in the early part of the first millennium before our era³.

Dionysius of Halicarnassus gives us very valuable information on the early ethnology, and though his authority has so

¹ Hor. *Epod.* 2. 39: quodsi pudica mulier in partem inuet...Sabina qualis cett.

² H. F. Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, p. 15.

³ Ridgeway, *Early Age of Greece*, vol. i. pp. 231 sqq.

often been treated with contempt by modern writers because he wrote in the latter half of the first century before Christ, it must not be forgotten that he cites explicitly from writers who lived centuries earlier, and whose works are otherwise lost to us probably for ever.

First of all, there were the 'Aborigines,' as they are termed by Dionysius, following Cato and still earlier writers; secondly the Siculi; and thirdly the great tribes of the Umbrians. But though the last two mentioned lived intermixed in part at least of north-east Italy, especially the area round Este (Ateste), they do not seem to have been very closely related, although both were undoubtedly Indo-European. The Siculans seem never either on the mainland of Italy or in Sicily (to which they gave their name) to have cremated their dead¹, and in this respect they agree with both the Ligurians and the Illyrians, who, as we saw (vol. I. p. 355), shaded off into each other in north-east Italy. As the non-cremationists appear to have been the earliest stratum of population in that area, it seems not unlikely that they were practically either Illyrians or Ligurians, i.e. the northernmost extension of those who lower down were termed 'Aborigines.' In other words there seems to have been a more or less homogeneous Indo-European non-cremating population all over Italy, just as there was in the Balkan. The Umbrians and similar tribes from beyond the Alps, who all cremated their dead, were constantly overrunning this earlier population, becoming their overlords or driving them southwards. Similarly cremationist invaders from beyond the Alps either became masters of the native Illyrians, as in the Hallstatt area and in what is now the modern Styria and Carniola, or drove them south to seek new homes amongst their kindred lower down the Balkan, or to form settlements on the west side of the Adriatic, on the Italian coasts even as far south as the heel of the peninsula. That the extreme south-east corner of Italy was termed Iapygia from a people named Iapyges who had colonized it, there is little doubt, and similar

¹ Dr Orsi in a communication (dated 10 Dec., 1925) has most kindly informed me that, in all his excavations of Siculan cemeteries for the last 37 years, in only one case did he find traces of cremation.

settlers (termed Japuzko in the Iguvine Tables) may have dwelt on the borders of Umbria, and it seems quite probable that both these settlements were offshoots from the Illyrian tribes of Iapodes which maintained themselves down to Roman times on the north-east side of the Adriatic. The Aborigines were being continually hard pressed by both the Siculans and Umbrians, and those of them who had maintained their freedom for the most part dwelt along the Apennines, into which they had been driven from the richer lands of the plains by their powerful invaders. When the settlers from Greece landed in Italy at the mouth of the Po (where some of their number founded Spina), that region was chiefly in the hands of the Ombrikoï (Umbrians), and in dread of these the Greeks made friends with the Aborigines. The latter were only too glad of aid against their powerful foes, and the combined forces managed to defeat some of the Umbrians, and took their town Cortona, which served henceforward as a base of operations. According to the traditions the Greeks, with the help of the Aborigines, founded many important towns, among which were Agylla, afterwards known as Caere (*Cervetri*), Pisa, Alsion, Falerii, Telamon, and various others.

Next came the invasion of the Lydian Tyrseni from Asia Minor, for it is impossible to admit Mommsen's view that they were Rhaetians from the Alps, which has no other foundation except Corssen's guess that the name Rasenna is identical with Rhaeti. Apparently both the Greek settlers and their allies the Aborigines were glad of the coming of the Tyrsenians, for they were in sore need of assistance against the ever-increasing encroachments of the Umbrian tribes. The new combination of Tyrsenians, Pelasgian settlers, and Aborigines was very effective in checking for a long period the advance of peoples from the Alps. For the Etruscans are said to have conquered more than three hundred Umbrian towns¹. Henceforth the Umbrians only held their independence in the region called Umbria in the classical period, though doubtless forming a considerable element in the population of all the region up to the Alps. But though the men from beyond the mountains had

¹ Pliny, *N. H.* iii. 14 (19).

been checked for a while, the day came when the Celts, the close kinsfolk of the Umbrians, swarmed over the Alps into the valley of the Po, as the Umbrians had done many centuries before. By 390 B.C. the Etruscan power had suffered a catastrophe from which it was destined never to recover, while even Rome herself, after the disaster on the Allia, fell for the moment into the hands of the Gauls. Bought off by Roman gold the Gauls retired from the south side of the Tiber, but they established themselves over almost all northern Italy extending as far south as Sena Gallica and Bononia. In due time the shattered remains of the once powerful Etruscan confederacy fell before Rome, as did also the great Samnitic tribes, the most vigorous descendants of the Umbro-Sabellian stock, whom we first meet at the dawn of history. Besides the Etruscans and Gauls, we hear in the historical period of another people, who not only maintained themselves in the mountainous region of which Genoa may be regarded as the centre, but in all north-western Italy and in south-western France. These are the people known to the Roman writers as Ligures, and to the Greeks as Ligyes. As they occupy the same mountainous area as that assigned to the Aborigines by Dionysius, and as Philistus of Syracuse says that the Ligyes were expelled from their homes by the Umbrians, there is no doubt that the Aborigines of Dionysius and Cato are none other than the Ligyes or Ligurians of Philistus and other writers. As scholars have habitually scoffed at the evidence of Dionysius, it may be well to point out that Philistus of Syracuse, though unfortunately only fragments of his works have survived, was not only one of the most celebrated historians of antiquity, but enjoyed special opportunities for gaining a first hand knowledge not only of the history of Sicily and southern Italy but also of its northern regions. Born before 430 B.C., he witnessed the operations of Gylippus against the Athenians at the siege of Syracuse 413 B.C., and he was an old man when he met death in 356 B.C. As skilled in warfare as wise in council, he long had the confidence of Dionysius the Elder, but later he fell from favour, and then retired first to Thurii and later to Adria, near the mouth of the Po, with which he had already friendly rela-

tions, and where he composed the great work which made him famous. Thus he had the most exceptional means of acquiring an accurate knowledge of the early history and ethnology of all Italy.

We then tested the credibility of the statements of the ancient historians by the criterion of the actual material remains which modern excavations have brought to light throughout upper and central Italy. A survey of these relics other than those of post-Roman date showed (i) a series of remains associated frequently with Roman coins and Latin inscriptions which are indubitable proofs that these belong to the Roman period. (ii) In certain places, as for example at Bologna, are found graves containing the remains of men of large stature, with long iron swords and other gear similar to those found on the battle-fields where Caesar defeated the Helvetii and Boii, along the Alpine passes, and in the graves of Gaulish warriors in the valley of the Marne and elsewhere; these objects are often distinguished by a style of ornament well known wherever the Celts made their way in the centuries between 500 B.C. and A.D. 1, commonly termed the *La Tène* period, but by some 'late Celtic.' (iii) At an earlier level than the remains just named appear, for instance at Bologna, series of graves perfectly distinct not only from those just described, but also from those of a still earlier period, by their shape, decoration, and method of disposing of the dead. The latter are never cremated as were the Rhaeti, but are laid in the tomb. The true Etruscan tomb (for Etruscan assuredly these are) is a chamber entered by a door in the side, though this form is not found north of the Apennines, for in the Etruscan cemetery at the Certosa near Bologna the graves are large pits without a side entrance, into which one has to descend from above. They are rectangular, with the long sides running east and west; they contain a large oaken chest with a lid fixed by iron nails. The skeleton lies within the chest with its feet to the east. Many are seated with arms and legs extended.

(iv) In the famous cemeteries of Bologna, below the graves last described, come a large series readily distinguished from those of all the later periods. These all belong to the Early

Iron Age, usually termed the Villanova period by the Italian archaeologists, from the discovery of a large number of its characteristic remains at the place of that name near Bologna. The antiquities of this culture¹ are widely spread over upper Italy, and differ essentially not only from the later periods just described, but also from a still earlier epoch. They show a great advance in metal work. The cemeteries of this age reveal cist-graves, the bottom, sides, and top being formed of flat unhewn stones, though sometimes there are only bottom and top slabs. The dead were burned: the remains are usually in urns, each grave containing as a rule but one ossuary. Sometimes the vessel is covered with a flat stone, or a dish upside down, sometimes the urns are deposited in the ground without any protection. The vases are often hand-made, and adorned with incised linear ornament, but the bones, especially in later times, were often placed in bronze urns or buckets (*situlae*). Some faint traces of Mycenaean influence are found in the region round the mouth of the Po, but here, as we have just seen, the Pelasgians of Thessaly had planted Spina.

Though iron is making its way steadily into use for cutting weapons, flat, flanged, socketed, and looped axes of bronze are found in considerable numbers (Fig. 14). Brooches of many kinds, ranging from the most primitive safety-pin fashioned out of a common bronze pin, such as those found at Peschiera on Lake Garda (vol. I. pp. 554-5, Figs. 104-106), evolved through many varieties, are in universal use. Representations of the human figure are practically unknown, but models of animals of a rude and primitive kind are very common, probably being votive offerings. These are closely parallel to the bronze figures found at Olympia, where representations of the human figure are still comparatively rare. Almost all the Olympian bronzes of this type were found at the same level and in one particular part of the Altis at Olympia near the Heraeum and Pelopium, the shrine of Pelops the great Achaean leader, and they belong to the Geometric or Dipylon period. At Olympia likewise many brooches were found, and these too of types which can be paralleled in Italy (vol. I. pp. 566-7).

¹ vol. I. of this work, pp. 237-8.

There can be little doubt that the Villanova culture had commenced in the Bronze Age, for in a considerable number of cemeteries belonging to that period the dead were cremated and



Fig. 14.

not inhumed, as was probably the case in the preceding epoch to which we shall next turn. This difference in burial rites indicates *prima facie* a difference of race. The brooches were in use before the end of the Bronze Age, as is shown by the dis-

covery of primitive safety-pins in settlements of the Bronze Age, as at Peschiera.

(v) We saw that the researches of the Italian antiquaries during the last seventy-five years have collected a vast body of information respecting the earliest stages of human culture in northern and central Italy, and we are now conversant with its essential characteristics. The earliest stage is that revealed in the lake-dwellings of the plains of the Po, usually termed the *Terramara*¹. *Terramara* is the term applied to a substance looking like a mixture of clay, sand, and ashes, arranged in differently coloured strata—yellowish-brown, green, or black—found in flattish mounds. These artificial deposits occur over the provinces of Parma, Reggio, and Modena. Agriculturists had long used these mounds for manure, but in 1861 Ströbel showed that they were really the sites of pile dwellings. Like remains have now been discovered all over upper Italy, in Latium, and even as far south as Tarentum (Taranto) and Coppa della Nevigata. The antiquities found in these habitations indicate (according to Brizio) that their earliest occupants were still in the Neolithic period, but the great majority of the remains belong to the Copper and Bronze Ages (vol. I. pp. 235–6). They comprise vessels of earthenware, both large and small, and of manifold shapes, some of which correspond to those types found in the Balkan and Danubian regions, and also in Spain. The larger vessels are of coarse clay, roughly kneaded, and quite unglazed. The smaller vessels are made of a finer paste with thin walls and a smooth blackish surface. There are many articles made of bone and horn, comprising needles, pins, ornamented combs, and other objects. Stone axes, chisels, and spear-heads are not common, but there are numbers of rubbers, mealing-stones, and grooved spheroidal stones. Of copper and bronze there are numbers of flat axes, awls, chisels, spear-heads, knives, crescent-shaped razors, combs, pins, and needles. The flat celt is the earliest type of metal axe, being modelled from the stone axe which it superseded. Iron is not yet known, neither is glass nor silver found, and indeed there

¹ vol. I. of this work, pp. 234 *seqq.*

is but one doubtful object of gold. In all the earlier habitations brooches, rings, and bracelets are absent.

From the evidence now to hand, it is clear that these people dwelt in lakes and marshes, rearing pile-dwellings like the Stone and Bronze Age people of Switzerland, southern Germany, and many other parts of Europe. At the time of their first occupation they were still employing stone for cutting purposes, but at no long time afterwards they had learned to use copper, and later still bronze, for cutting and other important implements, while stone was only retained for meaner purposes. The Terramara civilization is probably contemporary with that seen in the earliest strata at Hissarlik.

The earliest stage with which we are concerned is the Neolithic (since we have here nothing to do with Palaeolithic man). The remains consist of cave-dwellings and hut-foundations; the dead were not burned, but were buried in caves or in holes hollowed in the ground. To this period likewise may belong the earliest lake-dwellings and the beginnings of the pile-dwellings, which cannot be separated from the lacustrine habitations, and which are found in the same localities with hut-foundations.

The view given above is that of the late Prof. Brizio, but Prof. Pigorini (followed by Prof. T. E. Peet¹) holds that the people who built the lake-dwellings and Terremare were distinct racially from the folk of the caves and huts. The latter he regards as a long-skulled, non-Aryan people. But, while he and Mr Peet ascribe the Italian lake-dwellings to two separate invasions of a different race, the first coming from Switzerland into Piedmont and western Lombardy, the second from the north-east and the Danube valley, yet they attribute the Terramara pile-dwellings not to these, but to a third invasion from the Danubian area, of the same race, who were so wedded to their system of lake-dwellings in their own country that they proceeded to erect pile-habitations even when they settled on dry ground. These people, they hold, were broad-skulled Aryans, but as not a single skull has been found either in Italian lake-dwellings or in Terremare, there is no proof of this contention.

¹ *The Stone and Bronze Ages in Italy* (1909), pp. 492 sqq.

But they do not explain why the first two bodies of invaders, whom they suppose to have been lake-dwellers in their own previous homes, might not when they were able to get dry ground in Italy plant on it pile-dwellings under the same love of their ancient type as is supposed to have led the third body of their own race to do so. The only strong reason urged by Pigorini and Peet against the foundation of the lake-dwellings and the Terremare by the aborigines is that in all cemeteries found near such habitations the dead are burned. But, since we found (vol. I. p. 498) in the Swiss lake-dwellings the transition from inhumation to cremation in the Neolithic and Early Bronze Ages, and since there is good evidence that the people of the Swiss lake-dwellings were of the same race as the aborigines of north Italy, and since Pigorini and Peet regard the first founders of lake-dwellings in north Italy as newcomers from Switzerland, there is no reason why the aboriginal people, if they were the founders of the lake-dwellings and Terremare pile-dwellings, should not have changed over to cremation, as their kindred in Switzerland had done. Moreover, it is very probable that the Umbrians, who always cremated, occupied a great number of the lake-dwellings and Terremare which they found ready on the spot, and they may have built others for themselves, as a protection against human foes, or floods, or both. It will be observed that a vital part of Pigorini's theory defended by Peet is the assumption that the aborigines of northern Italy, whom they suppose to have gone on living in hut-dwellings side by side with the supposed new pile-dwelling folk, were a long-skulled non-Aryan people, whilst the newcomers are supposed to have been broad-skulled Aryans. With both of these doctrines we shall soon deal (pp. 256 *sqq.*)¹. Dr D. Randall-MacIver², "having no thesis to maintain and no theory to champion," thinks that the people whom he terms 'Villanovans,' and whom he regards, as I did and still do, as coming "into Italy from the north side of

¹ This volume devoted to Sociology is not the place to re-discuss at length the other problems of the lake-dwellers and the builders of the Terremare in the light of the evidence collected since I treated of them in my former volume 23 years ago, but they are treated fully in the Introduction to this volume. [This Introduction was never written.]

² *Villanovans and Early Etruscans* (1924), pp. 257-8.

the Alps" with a civilization "closely related to the Early Iron Age civilization of Central Europe and the Upper Danube," "were related by a more or less close cousinship to the two other cremating peoples of the Iron Age in Italy, viz., those who lived in the region of the Italian Lakes and those who centred about Este with ramifications through Venetia," and he further holds that "they were also related in a degree that it is still too early to define to the Bronze Age people of the Terremare" and that "it is not yet safe to declare that they were actually descended from the latter." As I hold (Introduction) that both the long-skulled and the broad-skulled inhabitants of Italy and the Alpine regions and beyond were all of the same Indo-European race, that the earliest lake-dwellers and builders of the Terremare were the aborigines of north Italy, that they developed themselves Copper and Bronze culture, and that they were later conquered by the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age people from beyond the Alps, Dr Randall-MacIver's conclusion on this, as on nearly all the questions involved in my researches and his, re-asserts mine.

Now history tells us that a series of peoples corresponding to the different classes of material remains just enumerated have in their turn played a *rôle* in the historic drama of upper and central Italy. Romans, Gauls, and Etruscans held upper Italy, and there can be no doubt that our classes (i), (ii), (iii) represent the relics of the Romans, the Gauls, and the Etruscans. As the Villanova (iv) period precedes the Etruscan, we have in the Villanova antiquities the remains of the Umbrian tribes. Behind the Villanova or Umbrian culture lies (v) the Terramara. But we have just learned from Dionysius that upper Italy had been occupied by a people whom he terms the Aborigines, and that this people had in part been conquered by the Umbrians. Now Philistus of Syracuse tells us that the Ligyes were driven from their homes by the Umbrians and Pelasgians, from which it appears that the Aborigines of Dionysius are none other than the Ligyes or Ligurians so well known in Roman history. The Aborigines are said to have continued to hold their own in the Apennines, and it is in that region that through historical times the

Ligurians have dwelt uninterruptedly, extending from Genoa, not only to the Maritime Alps, but as far as the Rhone, though largely intermixed with Celtic tribes from beyond the Alps. The Ligurians of Roman times (vol. I. pp. 240, 375—6) were a small, active, hardy, dark-complexioned race. Though Spain was occupied principally by Iberic tribes, who, as we saw, were the close kinsmen of the Ligurians, nevertheless in north-east Spain the Ligyes proper had long had a foothold, for according to Thucydides it was the pressure of this people that had caused a body of Iberians from the River Sicanus to migrate to Sicily. These Ligyes occupied all Narbonese Gaul at the time of the founding of Massalia, for the Phocaeans obtained possession of that famous town by the marriage of their captain to the daughter of the native Ligurian chief (p. 109). Nor is there wanting evidence that they had once occupied the Po region, and even the Alpine districts, for Livy¹ mentions a Ligurian tribe called Laevi, who, down to the coming of the Celtic Cenomanni, dwelt near Verona, and they are probably to be regarded as forming all through the ages, whether Umbrian, Pelasgian, Etruscan, or Roman had the mastery, the main element in the population of all Italy. Just as they bordered on the Iberians in the west, so on the north-east they merged into the Illyrian tribes, who may also be regarded as their kindred. But as we have seen above that there is a strong resemblance between the material remains of the lake-dwellings and the Terremare of Italy and the remains found in the Balkan, and as Prof. Peet relies on the similarity between this culture in Italy and that found in the Terremare of Hungary (at Toszeg and about twenty other places along the edge of the Danube, above and below Buda-Pesth) and Bosnia (at Douja Dolina on the Save and at Ripač), a region occupied by the Illyrians right down to Roman times, this strongly corroborates the view that the Ligures were the first founders of the lake-dwellings and Terremare of Italy. As Strabo carefully discriminates the Illyrians from the Celts who had overrun them, so he points out that the Ligurians were no less carefully to be distinguished from the Celtic tribes of the Alps, although he

¹ v. 85.

also tells us that their manner of life was identical with that of their neighbours.

It must be borne in mind that whether the Ligures, as Brizio held, or the Umbrians, as maintained by Pigorini and Peet, were the authors of the Lake-dwelling and Terramara culture, it makes no difference for the purposes of my argument, since Pigorini and Peet agree with Brizio and the present writer that the Ligures were the inhabitants of north Italy in the Neolithic period, and were its oldest stratum of population. Let us now pass south of the Tiber and examine the literary records of the ethnology of that famous region and again test tradition by the evidence of the spade. As we have just seen, the remains of a culture similar to that of the Terremare have likewise been found in Latium. The legends alone are sufficient to indicate that there had been two or more races in Latium from a very early time, and I have already pointed out (vol. I. p. 254) that it is more than likely that this circumstance explains much in the subsequent history of Rome, such as the origin of the Plebs and its long and bitter struggles against the Patricians. Since I wrote in 1901 the excavations carried out so skilfully by the brilliant Italian archaeologist, Commendatore Boni, have fully confirmed my argument, for he has found in the Forum graves exhibiting two different ways of disposing of the dead—the one inhumation, the other cremation—of itself a proof of the existence of two races with very different views respecting the soul. In Latium, as in the region north of the Tiber, we hear of Aborigines, Siculi, and Pelasgians, though the Umbrian name does not appear. This fact is readily explained, since instead of the generic term we meet that of the Sabini, one of the chief Umbro-Sabellian tribes. The Siculi, as we have just seen, were the aboriginal people of north-eastern Italy, practically identical with the Ligurians on the one hand and with the Illyrians on the other, and on them first came the pressure of the Umbro-Celtic tribes from beyond the Alps, and those of them who did not submit to the invaders had to seek new homes amongst their cognate tribes further south. Whilst the accounts of the ethnology of Italy north of the Tiber are clear and harmonious, we saw (vol. I,

pp. 254-256) that the same cannot be said of the early traditions of Latium. But we saw that there was no reason to doubt the truth of the tradition of the alliance between the Aborigines of Latium and settlers from Greece, variously described as Achaeans or Pelasgians, and their joint expulsion of the Siculi.

Now, as the legends represent Latinus, the eponym of the Latini, as king of the Aborigines, it follows that the Latini were Ligurians, and are not to be identified with the Siculans or any of the Umbro-Celtic tribes—such as the Sabines—who entered Latium later on. We saw that the traditional ethnology of upper Italy is confirmed by the modern archaeological discoveries both in Latium and in all the region north of the Tiber.

If the Plebeians, who had the looser form of marriage, were the aboriginal Ligurians, it ought to be possible to produce evidence of matrilinear succession amongst both the aboriginal population of Latium and also amongst undoubted Ligurians. In this there is no difficulty. In the first place, Drances, the friend and counsellor of Latinus, the king of the Aborigines, and who is especially bitter against Turnus, the king of the Rutuli, is described by Virgil¹ as tracing his noble ancestry through his mother, whilst his paternity was uncertain, in itself a sufficient indication that the poet, who had so wide a knowledge of ancient Italian lore, deliberately adopted this language, because he was fully aware of the ancient mode of reckoning descent amongst the indigenous people of Latium. In the second place, the story of Petta, the daughter of the Ligurian chief of Massalia, told above (p. 109), proves a similar rule of descent for the Ligurians of southern France. Descent through females is thus proved both for the aboriginal folk of Latium, called Ligurians by Philistus, and for the Ligurians of classical times. If then the Plebeians were Ligurians, they naturally looked upon marriage very differently from the Sabine Patricians, and it was but reasonable that the Patricians with their views of marriage and patrilinear descent should refuse to intermarry with them.

¹ *Aen.* xi. 340-1:

genus huic materna superbum
nobilitas dabat, incertum de patre ferebat.

Disposal of the Dead. It was pointed out on a previous page (p. 212) that the Neolithic people of north Italy, who all agree were Ligurians, buried their dead, and that the people of the Terramara culture, whom we hold to be Ligurians, though Umbrians probably occupied many of their sites at a later time, may once have inhumed their dead, whilst the Umbrians regularly burned them, and evidence of both methods has been produced by the recent excavations in the Roman Forum. Although cremation was regularly practised by the upper classes at Rome at the close of the Republic and under the early Empire, nevertheless the poorer people seem generally to have buried their dead, partly perhaps because interment was cheaper than burning. But it would be a mistake to regard poverty as the sole reason, since in India people of very scanty means will do their best to provide a pyre of sufficient size to consume the corpse at least partially. It is therefore more reasonable to hold that a difference of belief respecting the departed was a large factor in the inhumation of their dead by the lower classes of the Roman commonalty. Both Cicero¹ and Pliny the elder² held that inhumation was the more ancient custom, and the latter tells us that several ancient Roman families always continued this practice. For example, Sulla the Dictator was the first member of the Cornelian gens whose body was cremated. The bodies of infants³ were never burned, but always buried, a practice which is also the rule among those rigid cremationists the Hindus at the present day.

Although when the first volume of this work⁴ appeared there were some critics who scoffed at my doctrine that in the different methods of disposing of the dead—by inhumation and cremation—we have a most important ethnical criterion, it has found general acceptance, and now Dr Randall-MacIver, like others, has adopted it whole-heartedly, but without the slightest reference to its author. He has retested the evidence on which I relied for regarding cremation as the rite of the Umbrians, whom he terms "Villanovans," and he points out that "in the fundamental

¹ *Legg.* II. 22, 56.

² *N.H.* VII. 187.

³ *Juv.* xv. 140.

⁴ 'Inhumation, Cremation and the Soul.' *Ch.* VII. pp. 481-551.

practices of burial and in the general characteristics of their culture," the Villanovans of Etruria "resemble the Bolognese Villanovans so closely that they must certainly be regarded as a branch from the same parent stock," though there are differences in detail¹. He further points out that the Villanovans of the same periods "have left extraordinarily little trace of their presence in Latium. Outside the city of Rome it cannot be said that there is any evidence of cemeteries or graves belonging to the two Benacci periods which are so richly represented at Bologna and in Etruria." But he admits that "the haphazard character of the exploration, however, must be taken into account; for the absence [non-discovery?] of cemeteries may be merely due to the fact that there has been no sufficient incentive to look for them." "Even in Rome itself the existence of Villanovans might have been altogether denied, if it had not been for the discovery of the prehistoric cemetery in the Forum made by Boni in 1902 and succeeding years. For the Esquiline cemetery had yielded practically nothing but inhumation graves, which must, of course, belong to a different race-stock from the cremating Villanovans. Whether this population of the Esquiline is to be identified as Picene or as Etruscan must remain an open question. Indubitably the race-stratum underlying the whole Bronze and Iron Age in this part of Italy is Picene, descended directly from the inhuming people of the Neolithic Age." But Dr Randall-MacIver leaves out of view a third possibility for the Esquiline inhumation graves, that of the Siculans, for whose settlement we have good historical warrant. I have already (Introduction)² called attention to the inconsistency of Dr Randall-MacIver in using the historical term "Etruscan," and calmly ignoring those of Umbrian, Ligurian and Siculan, which are equally well attested by the very same writers on whose evidence we have to rely for the Etruscans. It is absurd to use the term "Picene" for the earliest inhabitants of Latium, when we have the fine evidence of Philistus of Syracuse (p. 207) that they were *Ligydes*, i.e., Ligurians.

The contents of the tombs on the Esquiline show "that all

¹ *op. cit.* pp. 71 ff.

² [This Introduction was never written.]

centuries from the ninth to the sixth are fully represented, but it is almost impossible to state with certainty that there is any appreciable amount of material earlier than B.C. 850, and yet, if the dates are not earlier than B.C. 850, there is nothing to prevent the graves being considered as Etruscan, especially as the whole civilisation, alike in its general features and its details, very closely resembles the civilisation of Veii and other Southern Etruscan sites. At any rate, if the people who buried on the Esquiline were Picenes, it must be admitted that they had become completely Etruscanized. Whether this process was the result of conquest or peaceful penetration archaeology is powerless to decide." But, as was pointed out (vol. I. p. 263), we have the good authority of Censorinus¹ for believing that the Etruscans had a reliable chronology of their own, and as Müller² and Helbig³ set the commencement of that era in 1044 B.C., the process of "Etruscanization" may be placed long before 850 B.C. As it is now certain that the Chinese Annals and chronology are reliable well back to 2000 B.C., there is no reason why the traditional annals of Etruria and of Rome herself may not be equally trustworthy. Of the unreliable character of the chronology of Montelius, blindly followed by Dr Randall-MacIver, I have already spoken (vol. I. pp. 559 ff.).

The Forum. In a small patch of ground close to the temple of Faustina, Boni discovered what is probably no more than a corner of the oldest cemetery in Rome. We cannot estimate its original extent, but it is highly probable that the forty graves discovered are but a fraction of the whole, and future excavations may reveal other graves of the same class anywhere in the Forum⁴. As fourteen of the graves contained the bones of infants, there can be little doubt that the doctrine *minor igne rogi* was held in remote times at Rome, as it is still among the Hindus (vol. I. p. 532). Of the remainder, thirteen are cremation, twelve are inhumation, and one grave combines

¹ *de natali die*, xvii.

² *Die Etrusker: Einl.*, II. 2; IV. 7.

³ *Ann. Inst.* 1876, pp. 227 sqq. Niebuhr (*Hist. Rome*, trans. Hare and Thirlwall, ed. 2, 1881, vol. I. p. 136) however would place the first Etruscan *Saeculum* as far back as 434 years before the foundation of Rome, i.e. B.C. 1188.

⁴ Randall-MacIver, *op. cit.* p. 74.

both rites. These graves cover a long period. The latest (G in Boni's list) contains an imported Greek lecythus painted with bands and figures of running dogs. This cannot be placed earlier than late in the seventh century B.C. The graves I, K, M, AA, which all contain Pre-Corinthian pottery painted with bands accompanied in three cases by bronze *navicella* (boat-shaped) fibulae, must be placed perhaps a little earlier in the same century. In K and M there are bronze bracelets, and in M there are also iron bracelets, and amber ear-rings, while in I and AA there are ivory bracelets. D with its silver leech-fibula, a scyphus of black bucchero, and "oletta" painted with red lines, and L, O, HH, II, which all look earlier than the middle of the seventh century, may quite possibly belong to the eighth. The graves hitherto mentioned are all inhumation, and there is no evidence as yet to hand for dating any cremation graves in the Forum as late as the eighth century, "for it is to a very much earlier period, contemporary not with the Second but with the very beginnings of the First Benacci, that all the cremation graves and three of the inhumations, viz. B, P, KK, must be ascribed. So archaic indeed is the character of the contents in several that it may be quite legitimate even to regard them as actually pre-Benacci. They are so very closely related to the cremation graves of the Alban hills, that they must be almost contemporary with them, and the graves of the Alban hills in turn" Dr Randall-MacIver regards as "pre-Benacci dating back almost to the period of transition between the Bronze Age and the Iron¹."

But to return to the Forum: there seems no reason to assume that there was a break in the use of the cemetery, for "the local evidence does not at all suggest disuse after the pre-Benacci period, followed by a resumption of burying in the eighth century. Rather the whole cemetery seems to be continuous and homogeneous, so that there is nothing to prevent us from regarding it as a graduated sequence, beginning in the twelfth or eleventh century and continuing down to the end of the seventh. I must once more remind the reader that Dr Randall-MacIver's dates (those of Montelius) must be regarded as much too late,

¹ *op. cit.* pp. 74 ff.

and accordingly the earliest of the pre-Benacci graves must be put back to the fourteenth or thirteenth century.

Dr Randall-MacIver proceeds¹: "Some of the cremation graves which have no dating objects, other than local pottery, may well be of the ninth century, and a certain number of the *fosse* could very well be eighth. In regard to those *fosse*, it may be remarked in passing that as the early inhumations in B, P, KK must necessarily be pre-Etruscan it is natural to suppose that *all* the inhumations in the Forum are of the Picene race," i.e. in proper historical language, of the Ligurians. But the tradition that some of the Siculans once occupied Rome and other parts of Latium invalidates Dr Randall-MacIver's conclusion, for as the Siculans inhumed their dead, both on the mainland, as in the cemetery near Matera in the ancient Apulia (vol. I, p. 492), and also in Sicily (*ibid.*), it is difficult to discriminate between the graves which might have been theirs, and those of the aboriginal Ligurians.

I have thought it best to give the results of the latest discoveries in Latium, not in my own words, but in those of Dr Randall-MacIver, who cannot be suspected of having any bias in favour of my conclusions, which, however, the facts themselves have compelled him to adopt.

In view of the mixed nature of the population of early Latium we need not be surprised at the dual forms of disposing of the dead. The Siculi had overmastered the Aborigines of Latium, who were almost certainly Ligurians, as we have seen; these Aborigines in their turn later on expelled or subjugated the Siculi, whilst finally came the Sabines from Reate. The earliest inhabitants of south Italy and Sicily, as well as the aborigines of upper Italy, had all interred their dead, whilst on the other hand the Umbrians, who had advanced next after the Siculi, always practised cremation, as did also their kinsmen the Rhaetians of the Alps. But as the Sabines belonged to the later stratum of population, we may conclude with safety that it was with the Sabine element that cremation got into Rome. The Corneli *it* is true were reckoned Patricians under the

¹ *op. cit.* pp. 74 ff.

Republic, but it is not unlikely that certain wealthy members of the older population had been admitted at a very early period into the ranks of the Patricians, and the Cornelian gens may well have been one of that number. A notable instance of such a survival is presented by the funeral custom of the Pisharoti Clan, Cochin, South India, who, although now holding a high position as devout Hindus, are proud of the fact that they stand practically alone in not cremating their dead as do all Hindus and professors of Hinduism, but inhumate them, as did and do all the aboriginal Dravidians, from whom they are sprung. But if it can be shown that a great Patrician gens, and that too of the most undoubted Sabine origin, cremated their dead, we shall have added another proof to our contention that the Patricians were Sabines. The famous gens of the Appii Claudii, the haughtiest of all Patricians, were descended from the Sabine chief Attus Clausus¹, who on coming to Rome with his followers had been at once received by the Patricians into their ranks. This fact in itself points clearly to the Patricians being Sabines, for otherwise it is hard to conceive why they should thus at once have admitted the Sabine newcomer into their order. But, as we have very conclusive evidence that the Appii Claudii burned their dead, we may conclude that this practice was not merely Patrician, but also Sabine.

Armature. Before the Constitution of Servius Tullius, only Patricians served in the army. According to Festus² all who had a property-rating of less than 120,000 *asses* (= 10,000 *asses librales* = 100 cows³) had once been described as "un-classed" (*infra classem*), i.e. not in the *classis*, that is, not enrolled for military service. To the question of the basis of assessment we shall return later on (pp. 396 *sqq.*).

According to Dionysius⁴ and Livy⁵ the First Class was equipped with a bronze helmet, a breastplate and greaves, and carried a round shield (*ἀσπίς*, *clipeus*), a spear and a sword; the Second bore the oblong shield (*θυρεός*, *scutum*) instead of

¹ Liv. II. 16, IV. 3, x. 8; Dion. Hal. v. 40, xi. 15.

² p. 113 Müller.

³ W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, pp. 391-3.

⁴ Dion. Hal. iv. 16-17.

⁵ I. 43.

the round shield, and wore no breastplate; the Third also bore the *scutum*, and had neither breastplate nor greaves; the Fourth had the *scutum*, a sword, and a spear¹; the Fifth bore only javelins (*σάβρια*)² and slings.

It will thus be seen that it was only the First which had complete armour and bore the round shield, all the rest who had shields carrying the *scutum*. To the eighty centuries of the First Class were added eighteen centuries of *Equites*, but the Roman *Equites* (vol. I. p. 468) down to a late epoch bore round shields with a central boss. As it has been shown (vol. I. pp. 456-65) that the round shield with the boss was essentially characteristic of upper Europe, while the oblong shields, such as the Mycenaean, the Boeotian, the old Arcadian, the *ancile*, and the *scutum*, were indigenous in Mediterranean lands, it thus follows that the ninety-eight centuries of the First Class bore the characteristic shield of the Early Iron and Bronze Ages of central and upper Europe, whilst the inferior classes, who wore only partial armour, carried the *scutum* so distinctive of the south. These facts, even if we had no other evidence, would suggest that the First Class represented the ruling aristocracy in a community composed of conquerors and their subjects. But as the Umbrians carried the round shield, and the Sabines were a tribe of the Umbrian stock, and as the round shield was that borne by the Roman *classis*, which was composed wholly of Patricians down to the time of Servius Tullius, once more the inference is irresistible that the Patricians were Sabines.

The Value of Traditions respecting the Kings of Rome. It may be objected that in speaking of the Servian Constitution the writer has ignored the great authority of Theodor Mommsen. But as re-examination of the ancient literature combined with modern archaeological discoveries has led him to reject Mommsen's theories respecting the ethnical relations of the Patricians and the Plebeians, the origin of the Roman Monetary System, the ratable unit of the Servian Constitution, and the provenance of the Etruscans, and as not a

¹ According to Livy (*loc. cit.*) they had only a *hasta* and *uerutum*.

² According to Livy they carried only *fundas lapidesque missiles*.

few modern scholars have followed him in his conclusions, he has later re-investigated the grounds on which Mommsen, though fully admitting that there had been a Regal period and that the Monarchy had been replaced by a Republic, nevertheless refused to mention in his history even the name of Tarquin, with whom the monarchy was said to have ended, or that of Servius Tullius, with which was connected not only the great wall, but the Constitution which gave citizenship to the Plebs.

Mommsen rejected the traditions because (1) he assumed that *all* the archives had perished in 390 B.C. when the Gauls burned the Capitol, and (2) because supernatural elements, such as the appearance of Castor and Pollux, are found in the legends. The writer has already tested Mommsen's reasons and given his views at length¹. If oral traditions respecting events in the life of a family or a community can be proved to have value, and that too in an age when there is much more to distract the attention from mere local events, the value of such local traditions must have been far greater at an epoch when people had little more to think and talk of than their own petty concerns.

Many Romans escaped in 390 B.C. across the Tiber to Caere with their most precious and portable family relics, such as the *imagines* of their ancestors, weapons and the like. But as family records were closely bound up with those of the city, there would be in the former considerable material for re-constructing, at least in their main features, the City archives. Again, the Great Agger and the Great Cloaca were not burnt, and there is no reason to suppose that in their brief sojourn at Caere the Romans would have forgotten the names of the builders of these and other such works.

According to our era the traditional date for the Expulsion of the Kings was 509 B.C., whilst Lucius Tarquinius Superbus, the last king, was said to have begun to reign in 534 B.C., Servius Tullius in 578 B.C., Tarquinius Priscus in 618 B.C., Ancus Marcius in 642 B.C., Tullus Hostilius in 673 B.C., and Numa in 714 B.C. The Expulsion was therefore only 119 years before 390 B.C., the destruction of the Capitol by the

¹ "On the Value of Tradition respecting the early Kings of Rome," *The Classical Journal* (of America), vol. xiv. pp. 371-82 (1919).

Gauls, and Servius began to reign less than 190 years before that same fatal date. The writer gave examples of the trustworthiness of tradition for periods of 119, 140, 185, 220, 268 and even 300 years, starting with his own experiences of oral tradition derived from a Peninsular veteran in 1866, and others, including members of his own family, who had a clear recollection of the Irish Rebellion of 1798 and earlier events. In the case of a yeoman said to have been shot through the forehead in 1798, the writer saw that man's grave opened and the bullet hole in the frontal bone. He cited other incidents connected with that Rebellion and produced, when the paper was first read¹, a dagger and a skull as proof of the truth of the stories. He laid stress on the case of a military road, laid out but never completed, across the Bog of Allen, which ran close to his family home, Ballydermott (King's Co.), on the lands of which a short section had been completed, with materials excavated from the adjoining park, resulting in a large pond, known to this hour as Moss's Hole, whilst the road itself with other sections bears also the name of Moss, the road-maker. At the top of Ballydermott Bog, in a deep morass on the borders of Co. Kildare and King's Co., the engineer had met with complete failure, and the writer's family and their dependents used to tell how when the labourers went to work on this particular section in the morning they found that the materials laid down the day before had been completely engulfed. There was no one endowed with the genius that enabled Stephenson in after time to overcome like difficulties when laying the Liverpool-Manchester line across the Chat Moss.

Although there is no mention of such a road in the Acts of the Irish Parliament, there is incontrovertible evidence for the project and for the date of its final failure.

Before 1752 the English Government seems to have determined on making a military road between Dublin and the West on the Roman principle in a straight line from Dublin to Athlone on the Shannon, the key of Connaught at all times. This project was probably² closely connected with another for

¹ *Proc. Cambridge Philological Soc.* 1917, p. 12.

² For this view I am indebted to my learned and acute friend, Mr J. Chaloner Smith, C.E., one of the engineers of the Board of Works.

making a canal to connect the capital, the river Barrow and even the Boyne with the Shannon. Arthur Young¹ states that the roads were very good so far as the bye-roads were concerned—far better than those in England; but he excludes turnpikes in general from his commendation—"They are as bad as the bye-roads are admirable. It is a common complaint that the tolls of the turnpikes are so many jobs, and the roads left in a state that disgraces the kingdom." Young attributes the good roads in Ireland to an Act of the Irish Parliament in 1763, introduced by Arthur French of Moniva. This Act abolished the previous system of Statute labour on the roads, and gave to the Grand Juries the charge of making them by presentment. Mr M. B. Mullins² pointed out that Young was mistaken in attributing the general excellence of the roads to the Act of 1763, and he states that the movement had an earlier date, as "is proved by the Report of Colonel Roy, who was sent over in 1766 with a view to military defences." Mr J. Chaloner Smith, to whose learning and kindness I am indebted for the information here given, thoroughly endorses Mullins' conclusion. "The urge," says he, "was strong enough. Flood had entered the Irish Parliament in 1759 and the storm was rising in America." Mr Chaloner Smith made a careful examination of his collection of old maps, to discover the date of the inception of this road, and of its final abandonment, the results of which he has most kindly placed at my disposal, and which I here give in summary.

(1) In 1752 Messrs Noble and Keenan published a map of Co. Kildare, showing the line of the new road from Clane, Co. Kildare, to Ballinagar in King's Co. It is thus clear that the road was projected long before French's Act in 1763 and Col. Roy's visit in 1766. (2) In 1783 Lieut. Alex. Taylor, H.M. 81st Regiment, published a large scale map of Co. Kildare, showing, as well as the intended course for the Grand Canal, the intended line for the Ballinagar Road, cutting the boundary between Kildare and King's Co., almost parallel to each other, with Ballydermott House shown in trees between the two,

¹ *Tour in Ireland* (1776-9) (Bohn's ed. vol. II. p. 77).

² *Presidential Address to the Institution of Civil Engineers of Ireland, 1859.*

almost on the north side of the proposed road, and south of the line of the proposed canal. (3) In 1788 J. Brownrigg, Surveyor to the Canal Company, published a fine map showing "that part of the Grand Canal now perfected," etc. It shows the Clane-Ballinagar Road as made from a point about midway between Clane and Prosperous to Shee Bridge, at Wood of Allen, about seven statute miles in all. This length has "MOSS'S ROAD" engraved alongside it in capital letters on the map. The section which accompanies the map shows that at the Bog of Ballyteague the engineers met with soft bog 80 feet deep, which they had to reduce by about 30 feet by draining before they could consolidate it sufficiently to take the canal across. The Clane-Ballinagar Road probably met with as bad or worse when it came to the morass already mentioned at the top of Ballydermott Bog. (4) In 1793 Lieut. Alex. Taylor, who now describes himself as Lieutenant in the Royal Engineers, published a map of Ireland. It shows the intended line of the canal west of Clane, but of the Clane-Ballinagar Road not a trace. By this time the road works had probably been definitely abandoned. Mr Chaloner Smith sums up¹: "I think it fairly certain that Moss's Road was the Clane-Ballinagar or middle section, about 30 miles in a dead straight line, of a proposed system of military roads which was to be extended later east to Dublin in a straight line, and north-west and south-west from either Ballinagar or Tullamore to Athlone and Limerick, also by straight line roads. In carrying out the idea, work was begun on the middle section, which had the advantage of being an old and non-military proposal. There was nothing to prevent the scheme being carried out under French's Act of 1763, so as to camouflage the military aspects of the job, but the Ballydermott Bogs took a hand in the game and probably some change of policy as well, and caused the abandonment of the scheme." There seems but little doubt that the attempt to carry through the road was made between the issue of Taylor's map in 1783, and Brownrigg's in 1788. The silence of Taylor's map in 1793 is ominous, and indicates that the scheme had collapsed. The ardent and impru-

¹ Letters from Mr Chaloner Smith, C.E., 21 Feb. 1926, to Sir Philip Hanson, and 31 March 1926, to the present writer.

dent folk-lorist might readily see in the name of Moss's Road the name of a fairy artificer, such as Wayland-Smith, as "moss" in Great Britain though not in Ireland south of the Boyne = peat bog. But fortunately there is good official evidence to show that Moss was a very real personage. In answer to my queries respecting Moss's Road, Captain Mew, R.E., Acting Director of the Irish Ordnance Survey, most kindly made elaborate searches into the records of his Department and into other possible sources. He has furnished me with a memorandum dated 8 April 1840, in which Moss is categorically stated to have been "the contractor" for the abortive road, and directions were given to have his name attached to its portions on the Ordnance maps then being issued¹. Now if the name, not even of the engineer, but only that of the contractor, for a road which was as complete a failure as the first Tay Bridge of Sir Thomas Gouge, could survive amongst the peasants of the lonely boglands of Kildare and King's Co. down to the present hour, a period considerably longer than that from the Expulsion of the Kings to 390 B.C., *a fortiori* the Romans, who lived in a city and had daily and hourly before their eyes the Great Agger, must have remembered with perfect accuracy the name of its builder, and although every scrap of documentary evidence had been destroyed by the Gauls, the Romans after 390 B.C. could have written down with accuracy the name of the builder and the main facts of its construction. The same method of argument holds good for the substantial truth of the tradition which assigns to Tarquin the Elder the construction of the Cloaca Maxima. It must be remembered that in all countries, even in our own, the State chronology to this hour is commonly based on the reigns of its Kings and Queens, and as at Rome under the Republic the State chronology was reckoned by the Consu-

¹ Copy of Memorandum: Mosses Road occurs on sheets 18, 19 and 20 (King's Co.). Is it after a man named Moss it is called? Please say whether it ought to be engraved. Reply: 'It is called from the Contractor Moss; the road is partly made and partly traced out; it certainly ought to be engraved and called Moss's Road.'

(Signed)

R. Fenwick,

Lt. R.E.

8th April 1840.

lates, it is reasonable to suppose that under the Monarchy the events were dated by the reign, as is at this moment the case in semi-civilized communities such as that of Uganda where the succession of kings for at least three hundred years has been kept with great care among a people who had not the art of writing.

No greater weight is to be attached to Mommsen's second reason for his scepticism—that as there are supernatural elements in the stories of the Regal period, such as the presence of Castor and Pollux at the battle of Lake Regillus, these legends are to be rejected *in toto*. In 1798, after the final defeat of the Irish rebels at Vinegar Hill, the writer's grandfather captured two leaders of the rebellion, Colonel Perry and Father Kearns. He knows the very spot in Berrymore where his grandfather overtook them. They were brought to Ballydermott, mounted on two horses, the priest on a fine black mare named Belle, taken to Edenderry, tried by court martial and hung from the branch of a great tree. Myths at once arose in the case of the priest. One of the labourers used to declare that from that day the mare on which the priest rode walked lame, although the family averred that she did not go lame till some years later, owing to an accident. Moreover, it was market day in Edenderry, and the writer was often told by servants and other country folk that it rained blood after Father Kearns's execution, and that the white caps of the women were besprinkled with blood as they returned from market. Years after he had known these stories orally, he read in Musgrave's *History of the Irish Rebellion* the account of the capture of the rebel leaders by his grandfather. Thus the local and family tradition in this respect, like that of Moss's Road, was absolutely accurate, whilst the peasantry had added miraculous elements; but it would be ridiculous because of this to doubt the truth that Father Kearns was a real personage and a leader of the Irish rebels. Again, most people know that at the time of the immortal retreat of the "contemptible" little British Army from Mons in 1914, a story was started and spread with lightning rapidity that angels had intervened between the German pursuers and the hard-pressed British troops. But no one will deny that not only the retreat

from Mons, but the Irish rebellion and the execution of Father Kearns in 1798 are historical facts.

With regard to the value of the tradition of the battle of Lake Regillus, in which supernatural agencies make their appearance, we ought to bear in mind that in 390 B.C. there must have been people still living in Rome who had known and conversed with individuals, who remembered the overthrow of the Monarchy in 509 B.C. and the chief incidents, such as battles, in that struggle.

In view of these considerations, and many other such incidents might be cited, we are led to conclude that the occurrence of supernatural incidents in the stories of famous events, not necessarily of remote date, does not invalidate the historical value of the main facts in the tradition. We must therefore reject Mommsen's method when dealing not only with early Roman, but with all other early history. The writer also gave two examples of the traditions of a family—the date of its settlement in a certain place and a quarrel over a family seal going back respectively to 1693 and 1732. These had been tested by documents in public records and found accurate, yet the family home had been burned in 1790, documents and everything except the plate and three pieces of furniture. Again, all in the English Pale remember James II's flight from the Boyne, usually terming him "Dirty Jimmy." The writer possesses a choke bayonet used at the Boyne, and a saddle, a handsome saddle-cloth and a holster taken from a French officer on the retreat to Aughrim. But this is nearly 235 years ago, a period which, if added to 390 B.C., brings us back to 625 B.C.—the reign of Ancus Marcius. Finally he cited a case connected with the plantation of Cromwell's Ironsides in Co. Tipperary in 1651 under Colonels Matthew and Prittie. The colonels planted their troopers on their grants of land. In 1884 two of the descendants of Prittie's troopers sought a reduction of rent from Lord Dunalley, Prittie's descendant. In the Land Court an old farmer named Armitage gave evidence regarding the customs, etc., of the estate. He stated that he was 92, that he remembered his grandfather, and his grandfather had talked with some of the men who came with Cromwell. He was cross-examined, but

the Court was convinced of his veracity¹. There was thus but one step in oral tradition between 1651 and 1884. We can even go farther. Although these troopers were mostly young men when they settled in Ireland, yet each of them must have known in his English home those who were old enough in 1588 to remember the coming of the Spanish Armada, when

"From Eddystone to Berwick Bounds, from Lynn to Milford Bay,
The time of slumber was as bright and busy as the day."

Thus between 1588 and 1884, that is, nearly three centuries, there were but two steps in the tradition. But at Rome the same space of time would take us back to 690 B.C., that is, to the traditional reign of Numa Pompilius, the Sabine king, who set up the temple of Janus in the Forum and was himself the first Flamen Dialis.

Ancient Lays and Ballads. But there was another means of preserving the accounts of important events. Macaulay was thoroughly justified in holding that the Romans had ancient ballads embodying the most important events in their annals. Dionysius of Halicarnassus² mentions that the ancient legends of Romulus and Remus were still sung in hymns by the Romans down to his own day. As Dionysius often cites the *Origines* of Cato (234-149 B.C.), he almost certainly drew on that fine authority, since a statement of his is fortunately preserved to us by Cicero³, that the guests at banquets used to sing to the lyre in turn of the great deeds and virtues of illustrious men. Cicero⁴ laments that these songs were lost, but Niebuhr thought that we may possess, without knowing it, some fragments of these lays on the oldest coffins in the sepulchre of the Scipios. According to Varro⁵, they were sung by modest

¹ For this statement I am indebted to my brother-in-law, the late Rt Hon. Arthur Warren Samuels, Attorney-General for Ireland, and Justice of the King's Bench, Ireland, who held a brief in the case and was present at the hearing.

² *A.R.* I. 79, *ὡς ἐν τοῖς παρπλοῖς θυμοῖς ἐπὶ τῷ Παμπλίῳ ἐπὶ καὶ τῷ ᾄδεται.*

³ *Tusc. disp.* IV. 2, 3: *grauissimus auctor in Originibus dixit Cato, morem apud maiores hunc epularum fuisse, ut deinceps qui accubarent, canerent ad tibiam clarorum uirorum laudes atque uirtutes.*

⁴ *Brut.* 18, 19.

⁵ *ap. Non. II. 77*: (*aderant*) in conuiuiis pueri modesti, ut cantarent carmina antiqua, in quibus laudes erant maiorum, assa uoce, et cum tibicine.

boys sometimes to the flute, sometimes with the unaccompanied voice. The peculiar function of the *Camenae* was to sing the praises of the ancients¹, and amongst them those of the Kings, "for never" says Niebuhr "did Republican Rome strip herself of the recollection of them any more than she removed their statues from the Capitol. In the best time of her freedom their memory was revered and celebrated."

The *Nenia* played a very important part in old Roman life, or rather death. It is described as a song which at funerals is sung to the flute in praise of the dead², whilst Cicero³ says "let them celebrate the praises of men of renown with a song called the *Nenia* accompanied by a flute-player." It only came secondarily to mean a dirge. Probably Niebuhr is right in holding that at least some of the songs sung at banquets were no others than those first heard at funerals.

The present writer has shown⁴ that the value of historical ballads is far greater than was conceived even by that "very wise man (cited by Andrew Fletcher of Saltoun), who believed that if a man were permitted to make the ballads, he need not care who should make the laws of a nation." Amongst primitive peoples ballads are composed on every remarkable event not by communal thinking and co-operation, as some do fondly think (such as Prof. Child, Kittridge and Gummere), but by gifted individuals. Thus Ellis⁵, speaking of the traditional ballads of the Polynesians, states that their ballads "were a kind of standard or classical authority, to which they referred, for the purpose of determining any disputed fact in their history." He relates how that when disputes as regards past events arose in public meetings, "at such times, a reference to some distich in any of their popular and historical songs often set the matter in dispute at rest." He mentions one case at which he was present respecting

* ¹ Fest. Epit. s.v. Camenae, Musae...quod canunt antiquorum laudes.

² Paul. Ex Fest. p. 161: *nenia* est carmen quod in funere laudandi gratia cantatur ad tibiam.

³ de Legibus, II. 62: honoratorum virorum laudes...cantus ad tibicinem prosequitur, cui nomen *neniae*.

⁴ 'The Origin and Influence of Historical Ballads,' Manchester University (Ludwig Mond Lecture), 3 March, 1926; *Manchester Guardian*, 4 March, 1926.

⁵ *Polynesian Researches*, vol. I. p. 286.

the stealing of the anchor-buoy of the *Bounty*, when Captain Bligh lay in the Bay of Papara, Tahiti, in 1788 or 1789. After disputing for some time without convincing his opponent, the individual who had stated the fact referred to the following lines in a ballad relating to that event: "Such an one a thief, and Tareu a thief, thieved the buoy of Bligh." The song was one well known, and the existence of this fact among the others that had taken place, the remembrance of which the ballad was designed to preserve, was conclusive. Most of their historical events were thus preserved. These songs were exceedingly popular for a time. The facts on which they were grounded became thus generally known, and they were undoubtedly one of the most effectual means of preserving the knowledge of the leading events of former times. The practice described by Cato was also that of the Homeric Greeks, for Phoenix found Achilles singing to his lyre the glorious deeds of heroes, whilst in the *Odyssey* Demodocus the blind bard is represented as singing a ballad that he had made on the Wooden Horse and the Fall of Troy which had occurred but a few years before. The Sagas of the Norse and the ancient Irish annals regularly cite as their authorities ballads made on the events which they narrate at the time of their occurrence by scalds and bards, whilst William of Malmesbury and other mediaeval historians regularly cite as authorities *carmina vulgaria* and *cantilenae*, and the Anglo-Saxon Chronicle gives the long ballad or narrative poem called the Battle of Brunanburh as its sole record for the description of that famous victory in 937 when Athelstane defeated the Scots and the Danes from Dublin. In India we can trace such ballads on actual events back from 1912 to the Rig-Veda. The Ballads of the Marathas, which were sung and handed down orally until 1891, were and are sung by companies of strollers called Gondhalies (from Gondhal = "ballad"), but the name of the clever member of the band who made the ballad is regularly given at the end of the poem. These ballads recount not only the great victories but also the defeats of the warlike Marathas from about 1660 down to modern times, one even being on the first introduction of a railway. There are many references in the great Hindu Epic of the Mahabharata to the names of the

bards who composed certain portions embodied in it, and the nucleus of the Epic was a ballad on the quarrel between the descendants of Pandu the Pale and his brothers, whilst the other and older great Epic, the *Ramayana*, was almost certainly a ballad composed on Dasaratha, a real historical king, as early as 1200 B.C. In the *Puranas* it is regularly assumed that it is an individual bard who composes the song. In the still earlier Brahmanic literature we learn that at the Horse-Sacrifice (Asvamedha) a Kshatriya (warrior caste) lute-player sang songs in honour of the exploits of the chief's ancestors, and such ballads usually end with the *envoi*, "He fought, he won that battle." Finally, in the Rig-Veda there is a full account of the battle between Sudas the great Aryan king and the ten kings, with episodes, the names of the leading warriors and the like. Nowhere in India from the present hour to 1200 B.C. is there the slightest evidence for "group collaborations." In China the historical ballads made on striking events as they occurred play the same part, as is also done by the Monogatari in Japan. The ballad is thus the foundation of history in all lands, and where literature is highly developed and great Epics arise, as in Greece and Hindustan, they are the materials which when passed through the alembic of the brain of a Homer come forth a glorious amalgam, and also become the material for the great dramatic literature of both these countries. In China and Japan, where there is no regular fully developed Epic, they furnished the themes for the serious dramas, which play such a part in teaching the masses the history of their race, whilst in Ireland and Scandinavia, as in ancient Rome, they have neither produced nor been utilised for Epic nor for great dramas. Thirdly and finally, the part that they have played in preserving and ennobling the national life is simply incalculable. It must suffice here to point to the effect on England of Tennyson's *Last Fight of the Revenge*, based on the prose narrative of Raleigh (1591) and the long ballad of Gervase Markham (1595).

Language. If we are right in following the traditions respecting the Latins and the archaeological evidence, we must hold that the basis of the population of Latium, as well as that

of all upper Italy, was and is still Ligurian. But as the present writer has shown elsewhere (vol. I. p. 647 *sqq.*) that in the case of conquest it is the language of the conquered masses which ultimately prevails, and not that of the conquering minority, the Latin language was that of the Ligurian Plebeians, and not that of the Sabine Patricians. A brief examination of some of the linguistic phenomena of Latin and the Umbro-Sabellian languages will render this doctrine very probable.

Latin represents original Indo-European *Q* by *c* or *qu*-, whilst Umbrian, Sabellian, and Oscan represent original *Q* by *p*, e.g. Latin *quatuor*, from which are derived such names as *Quartus* and the like; Umbrian *petur** and Oscan *petora* (cf. Gallic *petor-ritum*, "four-wheeler") from which come such names as *Petronius*, *Petreius*, *Petrilius*; again Latin has *quinque*, from which come such forms as *Quinctius*, *Quintilis*, *Quintilius*, and the like, whilst Umbrian and Oscan have *pumpe* (cf. Aeolic *πέμπε*) from which come the forms *Pontius* (= *Pomptius*), the name of the famous Samnite chief, *Pompeius*, and *Pompilius*, the gentile name of Numa the Sabine king of Rome. But Latin, like Greek, shows sporadic instances of complete labialism, e.g. *lupus* instead of *lucus* (cf. Gk *λύκος*, Skr. *vrikas*). But as *hirpus*, the Sabine and Samnite name for the wolf¹, shows labialism, it has naturally been inferred that such forms as *lupus* were introduced into Latin from some of the Umbro-Sabellian tribes. But we may go further and in the light of the facts already stated urge that it was the Sabines who brought such forms into Rome. Yet until the present writer put forward a contrary view², it had been held by the best philologists that the Sabines did not fully labialize, but were a *Q* people. The chief ground for this assumption was that in *Quirinus*, the name of one of the chief Sabine deities, as we saw above (p. 203), the first syllable shows *qu*. On the other hand, I have pointed out that in the name of Numa Pompilius, the Sabine, the regular labialized form is seen, and although historical sceptics may declare that no such king as Numa ever reigned

¹ Servius *ad Aen.* xi. 785; cf. Conway, *Italic Dialects*, vol. I. pp. 200, 362.

² Ridgeway, "Who were the Romans?" *Proc. British Academy*, 1907, vol. xiii. pp. 17 ff.

at Rome, this does not invalidate the evidence as proof that the Romans believed that such forms as Pompilius were Sabine. Moreover, when we examine the name *Quirinus* itself, we at once find strong reasons for believing that the form with *qu-* was not employed by the Sabines themselves, but was only the local pronunciation at Rome. We have seen above (p. 203) that the name *Quirinus* is connected with the Sabine town of Cures, and there is little doubt that the name means nothing more than the hero or god of Cures. But *Cures* itself never appears in a form with *q*, and what is still more to the purpose, the Greek writers on Roman history never represent *Quirinus* by such forms as *Κουρίνος** or *Κοιρίνος**, though representing Lat. *qu-* by either *κου-* or *κο-*, as in *Κούιντος*, *Κόιντος* = *Quintus*, but always by *Κυρίνος*, whilst St Luke¹ maintains the same rule in giving as *Κυρήνιος* the name of *Quirinius*, the Roman governor of Judaea at the time of the birth of Christ. These facts combined with the name *Cures* itself prove that the true Sabine form has no *qu-*. Thus the principal argument for the Sabines being a *Q* folk falls to the ground, while the evidence from the name *Pompilius* remains unshaken.

The view hitherto held respecting the admittedly Sabine forms is that the non-Latin forms found in Latin are simply loan-words which have crept in without conquest from the Etruscans on the northern side of the Tiber or from the Sabines who lived not far away, and it is even assumed that the Sabines were simply other Latins. Thus Dr Giles² writes: "The common word *bos*, 'ox,' *βοῦς*, was not Latin, for the original initial velar *g*, represented by *c* in English *cow*, would have appeared in Latin as consonant *u*: cp. *uenio*, *βαίνο*, *come*. That it should be Sabine or Oscan is not more surprising than that the English *egg* should be Norse, or that *vixen*, a dialect form from the west, should be used as the feminine for *fox*." But the form *egg* is no more to be regarded as a chance loan-word than are the place-names in *-by*, e.g. *Whitby*, etc., which are admittedly due to Scandinavian settlements, in other words,

¹ ii. 2.

² See section on Latin Languages of Italy, in *A Companion to Latin Studies* (edited by J. E. Sandys, 1910), pp. 818-9.

conquests, of which we have the strongest evidence in the great Danish dynasty of Sven, Cnut and Hardicnut. There is no more reason to regard *bos* as a chance loan-word in Latin, especially in view of the traditions that all the invaders from the Alps and beyond, whether Umbro-Sabellians or Gauls, came either following a steer (*vitulus*) or driving their herds of cows before them, and that the second king of Rome was a Sabine. In *fox* and *vixen* we have a very different case, a mere local variation such as that in *fen* and *ven*, the latter of which may be due to the adoption of English by the captured aborigines. Other non-Latin influences are seen in the name *Subura*. Its abbreviation SVC (C being the old form for G, cf. C as the abbreviation for *Gaius*) proves that the native Latin name was *Sucura*, a view supported by the testimony of Festus and Varro. Again, such forms as *dacrima* = *lacrima*, *dingua* = *lingua* (English *tongue*), *cassidem* = *casilam*, *nouensides* for *nouensiles*, are certainly Sabine as we know from Varro, who says "*Feronia, Minerva, nouensides a Sabinis*," whilst words with initial *f* such as *fircus* = *hircus*, *faedus* = *haedus*, *fordeum* = *hordeum*, *fasena* = *harena*, *fostis* = *hostis*, *folus* = *holus* are explicitly declared to be Sabine by the ancients or admitted to be such by all moderns. There were also words stated explicitly to be Sabine, used as the cognomina of Roman families, e.g. *Casca* (= *uetus*), used by the Patrician gens *Seruilia*, and *Cato* (*Catus*, Sabine equivalent for *acutus*) found as a cognomen of the Patrician gens *Valeria*, for though it is also a cognomen of the Plebeian gentes *Porcia* and *Vettia*, as the former of these only appears in the middle of the third century B.C. and the latter is only mentioned towards the end of the Republic, the evidence points to both the Valerian and Servilian gentes as being Sabine in origin.

Now though such extraneous forms as *egg* and *vixen* are now embedded in common English, they must have been originally used by different members of a common Teutonic stock or in the case of *vixen* by a Teutonic stock perhaps influenced by the natives amongst whom it settled or with whom it came into contact. But such forms very often are the outcome of actual conquest or settlement, as seems undoubtedly the case with the form *egg*. French furnishes some excellent examples,

for instance it has *roi* from Latin *regem* side by side with *reine* from Latin *reginam*. But it is historically certain that the former was developed side by side with the form *roine* in the area occupied by the Burgundians, whilst *reine* was similarly developed alongside of *rei* in the part settled by the Northmen. The Franks too have given to the French language various Teutonic military words, such as *guerre* (*werra*) and *lance* (cf. German *lanz*). Thus conquest in each of these cases has certainly been a factor in the formation of the common French of to-day. In English we have various forms which can be traced to Norman-French, though without historical knowledge they might be explained as simple borrowings without conquest, as philologists account for the Sabine forms in Latin, had we not abundant testimony of a Norman conquest. Now our belief in the tradition of such a conquest of England is amply confirmed by the fact that Norman-French was the official and legal language of England for centuries and by the survival in our legal language of to-day of such phrases as *femme couverte*, and *coverture*, whilst the king's assent to Acts of Parliament is still given in the form *le roy le veult*. From these circumstances we are justified in holding that other Norman-French forms in English are due not to a mere borrowing but to a conquest which resulted in the Normans becoming the master race in England.

Now if we could point to a Roman state document of great importance, the genuineness of which is beyond suspicion, and it should turn out that not only was it attributed by the Romans of the classical period to Numa Pompilius, who according to Roman tradition was a Sabine, but that it contains forms not only explicitly declared to be Sabine by the best Roman authorities such as Varro and Festus, but acknowledged to be such by all modern philologists, we would then be just as certain that the Roman tradition of a Sabine conquest and Sabine kings is as authentic as that of a Norman conquest and Norman kings in England. The Roman Calendar is just the document of which we are in search.

The Roman Calendars. Now we may at once point out that just as there were two essentially distinct forms of

marriage at Rome, so there had been two distinct methods of dividing the year.

I. **The Romulian Calendar.** Censorinus¹ says: "Licinius Macer and after him Fenestella maintain that from the first there was at Rome a solar year (*annus uertens*) of twelve months; but we ought rather to follow Junius Gracchanus, Fulvius, Varro, and Suetonius, in the belief that the year consisted of ten months, as it was with the Albans, from whom the Romans were sprung. These ten months had 304 days," etc.

Now there can be no doubt that Alba had long been the capital of the Latini. The first of its line of kings was said to have been Ascanius the son of Aeneas, respecting whom there is a double story. According to some writers, he was the son of Creusa, the first wife of Aeneas, who perished when the latter escaped from Troy. But others held that the founder of Alba was a son of Aeneas by Lavinia, the daughter of Latinus, the king of the Aborigines or Latini, whom Aeneas succeeded in the kingship. Ascanius is said to have succeeded his father as chief, but according to others he was too young to undertake the office, and after he had reached man's estate he left Lavinium in the hands of his mother Lavinia and moved to Alba Longa. He there founded a city and a line of kings. One of the last of these chieftains left two sons, Numitor and Amulius. The latter, who was the younger, deprived Numitor of the kingdom.

In order to secure the succession for himself he put to death the son of Numitor and compelled his daughter Rhea Silvia to become a Vestal virgin. According to legend she became by Mars the mother of the twins Romulus and Remus (Fig. 15).

There can be no doubt that Alba had a calendar different from that in use at Rome in the classical period, and it is more than probable that this Alban calendar was of Latin, i.e. of Ligurian origin, and accordingly any similar calendar used at Rome must be also regarded as Latin and Ligurian. Now it is significant that the Romans ascribed to Romulus

¹ *de die natali*, c. 20.

this calendar which was the same as that used by the Latins of Alba Longa. But this Latin year was apparently neither a solar year, in which case it ought to have had $365\frac{1}{4}$ days, nor yet was it a true lunar year of ten months, for in that case it ought to have consisted of 295 days, 7 hours, 20 min. In this year four months—March, May, July, and October—had 31 days, the rest 30. Niebuhr and Theodor Mommsen both believed in the existence of such a calendar¹, and held that it was proved by legal evidence. Mommsen thought that it was merely a business year framed to avoid the inconvenience arising from the varying lengths of the ordinary years produced by intercalation. At what point in the year this calendar began, we cannot be sure. Dr Warde Fowler² held that the Roman year always began on March 1st. But, as we shall presently see, the



Fig. 15. Romano-Campanian silver didrachm (circa 835–312 B.C.). *Obv.* Head of Hercules with club. *Rev.* The She-wolf with the Twins³.

evidence of Ovid seems to indicate that in ancient times the calendar began on January 1st, as it did after the reforms of Julius Caesar.

II. The Numan Calendar. The year as employed in the full classical period had been in use at least from the time of the Decemviri (451–0 B.C.) and we know not how long before. This calendar was ascribed by the Romans to Numa Pompilius, the Sabine, and it certainly began on March 1st, the month of Mars, the chief Sabine deity, and it is significant

¹ Censorinus' view is confirmed by Ovid, *Fasti* i. 27, 43; iii. 99, 119, 151; Aulus Gellius, *Noct. Att.* iii. 16. 16; Macrobius, *Saturn.* i. 12. 3; Solinus, *Polyh.* i. 35 and Servius, *ad Virg. Georg.* i. 43.

² *Roman Festivals*, p. 5.

³ The earliest document for and the earliest representation of the legend. From my own specimen.

that the two great festivals of the Sabine god—the *Equiria*, “Horse Races,” on February 27th and March 14th—are in the *fasti antiquissimi*. Censorinus¹ tells us expressly that it consisted of 355 days, “although the moon appeared to make up only 354 days in its course of twelve months.” The additional day was due, he says, either to carelessness, or, as he thinks more likely, to the superstitious preference for an odd number.

III. The Julian Calendar. By the first century B.C. the defects of the calendar of Numa had led to a great discrepancy amounting probably to several weeks between it and the true solar year. In 47 B.C. Julius Caesar with the help of Sosigenes, the great mathematician, set to work to put an end to the existing confusion, by extending the year 46 B.C. to 445 days and starting his new calendar with January 1st, 45 B.C., which henceforward became New Year’s Day. His calendar had a cycle of four years of 365 days and in the last of these a single day was added after the Terminalia to the month of February. This continued without change to be the calendar of all Christendom until 1582 when Pope Gregory XIII by a slight revision set right the discrepancy which by that time had gradually accrued. As Pope Gregory had been the panegyrist of the Massacre of St Bartholomew, to commemorate which he struck a famous medal, his revised calendar naturally found but little favour in Protestant countries, and it was only in 1752 that his correction was adopted in England, whilst to this hour it is rejected by the Greek Church².

Now it is most important to realise that Julius and Sosigenes merely readjusted the calendar, and did not interfere with the festivals and other dates so long fixed in the old calendar. We are therefore justified in using the Julian calendar as authentic evidence for the ancient festivals. We have a full knowledge of it, since we have not only one almost complete copy but there are in existence some twenty other fragmentary ones. It is easy to distinguish between the ancient dates long fixed in the calendar and later additions. A glance at the *Fasti*

¹ *de die natali*, c. 20.

² As these pages are passing through the press, Russia, Greece, Serbia and Roumania have adopted the Western Calendar.

is sufficient, for in all these it will be seen that the numbers, names and signs of the days were cut or painted in *large* capitals, whilst *ludi*, sacrifices, and all additional notes and comments appear in *small* capital letters. There can be little doubt that these large letters represent the Republican calendar, since the circumstantial evidence seems overwhelming. Thus in such large letters are inscribed the *dies fasti*, *comitiales*, *nefasti*, the number of the days in the month, the position of the Nones and the Ides, and the names of those on which fixed festivals took place. All are in abbreviated forms, but these of course were clear to those who used the calendar in their daily life and business. The minor feasts and movable feasts were not there, whilst the *ludi* were also wanting in the old calendar since they had only grown up as adjuncts to certain festivals. Now as we have seen that this calendar known by the name of Numa began with March, the month of Mars the Sabine god, on the other hand there is some evidence that the Romulian or Latin calendar began on January 1st, since Ovid¹ says:

Sed tamen, antiqui ne nescius ordinis erres,
primus, ut est, Iani mensis et ante fuit.

Now this can only mean that as in his day by the change made by Julius the year began on January 1st, so had it once been the case in ancient days, in other words, before the introduction of the calendar of Numa.

Now if it could be shown that certain names of great importance in the calendar not only were Sabine but remained down to the last Sabine in form, and that such they were termed by the Romans themselves, we shall have succeeded in demonstrating not only that there was a Sabine element in the Roman people and in the Roman language, but that, like Norman-French in English law, it had been brought in by a dominant race. Loan-words such as *bos* might have made their way into Latin without conquest, as modern French words have got into English, but only through conquest can the language of a foreign race become the official language of a country, the inhabitants of which speak a different tongue. It is only by conquest that English is the official language of

¹ *Fasti*, II. 47 sqq.

Wales and Ireland. If the Sabines had not been a master race, they could not have ousted the calendar of Alba Longa and substituted their own.

If the first month of the Numan year was called after Mars, the Sabine god, the last month Februarius derived its name from a festival known as *Februa*. We are told by the ancient authorities that the Sabines applied the term *februum* to a "purgation," whilst Ovid¹ expressly says that the Roman Patres, i.e. Patricians, termed expiations *februa*.

Now on April 15th in the *fasti antiquissimi* fell a festival of great importance known as the *Fordicidia*, when there was a sacrifice of cows in calf. That the name of this festival was Sabine and nothing else is made clear by many proofs. Dr Warde Fowler² writes: "This is beyond doubt one of the oldest sacrificial rites in the Roman religion. It consisted in the slaughter of pregnant cows (*hordae* or *fordae*), one in the Capitol and one in each of the thirty *curiae*; i.e. one for the state and the rest for each of its ancient divisions.....This was the first ceremony of the year in which the Vestals took an active part, and it was the first of a series of acts all of which are connected with the fruits of the earth, their growth, ripening and harvesting."

It is to be borne in mind that the Itali, the tribes who conquered the Aborigines, are said to have got their name from the fact that they advanced down the peninsula driving their hordes of cattle before them, just as the Gauls did in later times when they crossed the Alps and descended into Italy. In view of this tradition we are not surprised to find not only that the ordinary name for the cow (*bos*) is Sabine, as we saw above (p. 237), but that the name for the cow in calf was also from that language. Let us now return to the form of the official name of the festival *Fordicidia* in the *fasti antiquissimi*. We saw above (p. 238) that when forms with initial *f* went side by side with Latin forms with initial *h*, they are stated to be Sabine by the ancients and admitted to be such by all modern philologists. As *forda* is the Sabine name for a cow in calf

¹ *Fasti*, II. 19.

² *The Roman Festivals*, p. 71.

corresponding to the Latin *horda*, the great festival of the Fordicidia, so termed from the slaughter of *fordae* (*a fordis bubus*), is Sabine. But as the festival thus bears a Sabine name, and as the word *bos* itself is Sabine or Umbro-Sabellian, and as it is most unlikely that the Sabine form of the name would have got into the *fasti antiquissimi* at a time when all such Sabine or archaic forms were disappearing from use, there can be little doubt that this most ancient festival was not only Sabine but part and parcel of the original calendar known as that of Numa. When such forms are thus found in a calendar which tradition ascribed to Numa the Sabine king, there can be little doubt that it was Sabine in origin. But, as we have seen above, in order that a state document of great importance should be written in a foreign tongue and not that of the natives, a conquest must have taken place. We are thus once more led to the conclusion that the Sabines had been a master race at Rome.

If it could be proved that the Patricians were in early days the sole keepers of this calendar, we should have one proof more that they were Sabines. Here authentic history comes to our aid at once. The knowledge of the calendar and its *dies fasti* and *nefasti* as well as certain legal *formulae* were jealously concealed by the Patricians until the close of the fourth century B.C. At that time one Cn. Flavius, the son of a freedman, acted as secretary to the great Patrician leader Appius Claudius Caecus. Flavius made himself master of the rules of the calendar which provided what might be done and what not done on particular days, and also of the rules of legal procedure. This he did either by stealing a book in which they had been laid down and reduced to order by Appius Claudius or by frequently putting questions to the jurisconsults, who were of course all Patricians, and by carefully noting down their answers to his queries. When he had thus mastered the calendar, according to Livy¹ he published its contents on a white tablet in the Forum, where it became thus public property. Flavius became aedile in 303 B.C. As the Patricians

¹ IX. 46.

had thus the sole ownership of the Numan calendar, which began with the month of Mars, and in which the ancient Sabine names such as Februa and Fordicidia are prominent, we are led by this line of argument once more to the conclusion that the Patricians were Sabines, and that Latin was the language of the aboriginal Ligurians.

Now, as we have seen that the Arcadians and Athenians, the autochthonous peoples of Greece, who certainly were melanochrous as well as the dark Thracians and Illyrians, had never spoken anything but a so-called 'Aryan' tongue, and, as we have argued that the aboriginal race of Italy belonged to the same stock, it is only natural that the Ligurians should also have never spoken anything else than an 'Aryan' language. This view is greatly strengthened by the similarity between the culture of the Terremare of Hungary and Bosnia, the land of the Illyrians, and that found in the lake-dwellings and Terremare of Italy.

We know little respecting the language of the Ligurians, but there is no reason to suppose that they spoke a non-Aryan tongue. The late M. d'Arbois de Jubainville¹ has argued in favour of the Aryan character of their language from the forms of geographical and ethnical names found in the lands which, according to tradition, were occupied by the Ligurians: for instance, (1) the suffix *-sco* (*-usco-*, *-usca-*, *-osco-*, *-osca-*, *-asco-*, *-asca-*); (2) names like *Isara* (*Isère*), formed with the suffix *-ra*, and those like *Druentia* (*Druance*), formed with the suffix of the Indo-European present participle active; (3) but the forms in *-ati* are especially interesting for our present argument, e.g. *Genuates* (on an inscription of 117 B.C. found at Genoa in the heart of the Ligurian area), *Langates*, etc. Now these forms are exactly parallel to *Arpinates*, *Ardeates*, from the names of the Latin towns *Arpinum* and *Ardea*, and to the familiar Latin pronominal forms *nostras*, *-atis*; *uestras*, *-atis*; *cuias*, *-atis*, and the like. These forms strongly corroborate the tradition of Philistus that the aborigines of Latium were Ligurians. Provence was never occupied by Gauls, and the important ruins of Entremont (*Inter montes*) mark the site of what remained

¹ *Les premiers Habitants de l'Europe*, vol. II. pp. 186 sqq.

up to the time of the Roman conquest the chief stronghold of the Salluvii, the powerful Ligurian confederation, which occupied almost the whole of Provence¹. Now, as Caesar notices what must have been no more than a dialectic difference between the speech of Gallia Belgica and that of Gallia Celtica, it would be indeed strange if neither he nor any other Roman writer had remarked that Ligurian differed essentially from its neighbours, had it been like Basque a non-Aryan language. Nor can it be shown that Provençal or any of the modern Italian dialects spoken in those parts of upper Italy where the Ligurians and their descendants have always dwelt exhibit any non-Aryan element either in vocabulary or in syntax.

These considerations lead us to accept the view of M. d'Arbois de Jubainville, that 'le ligure est une langue indo-européenne,' though he himself based it on purely etymological grounds, which, as already pointed out in this work, have so often led to the perversion of history.

The silence of the Roman writers respecting the Ligurian language, though they frequently speak of Gallic forms, such as names of vehicles and weapons, and the extraordinary rapidity with which Latin became the written language of all upper Italy and Provence, can only be explained on the hypothesis that the language of the Ligurians, who formed the great mass of the population of all upper Italy as well as south-eastern France, was practically the same as that of the natives of Latium. All that is now wanted is proof that Ligurian was a language like Latin. Prof. R. S. Conway² has pointed out that with the suffix *-sco* is closely connected that in *-co*, and that both are very common in central Italy, *e.g.* Falisci, Volsci, and the like on the one hand, and Aurunci, Marruci and Aricia on the other, whilst the forms in *-sco* are especially common in the region certainly occupied by the Ligurians and the Illyrian Veneti in historical times.

On the other hand, he has tried to show that amongst the Samnitic tribes the suffix *-no* is almost universally in use to

¹ W. H. Hall, *The Romans of the Riviera and the Rhone*, p. 53.

² See his *The Italic Dialects*, vol. I, 1897, p. ix, and his article *Sabini* in *Enc. Brit.* 11th ed., 1911, vol. xxiii. p. 965.

form ethnica, e.g. Hirpini, Vestini, Peligni, Lucani, in purely Samnitic districts this suffix almost excluding any other, whereas in the centre of Italy and in Umbria it is crossed by the names ending in *-co* and *-ati*, and he holds that the forms in *-co* (*-sco*) belong to an earlier, those in *-no* to a later stratum of population.

He supports this view by pointing out that in such names as Marrucini the old *-co* suffix has been supplemented by the *-no*.

If, however, his argument is pressed too closely we are involved in very serious linguistic and ethnological difficulties. For instance, though this distinction may be true in central Italy, it cannot be laid down as an absolute rule, for not only do we find the *-no* suffix in the name of the Ligurian tribe Stoeni, but the oldest people in Sicily, the Sicani, show also the same suffix in their name. Again, an inscription found at Velitrae in the Volscian hills has *pis* = Latin *quis* (cf. Umbro-Oscan *pod* = Latin *quod*). Thus whilst their ethnicon links the Volsci to the older population, they labialized like the Umbro-Sabellian group. Prof. Conway thinks that this difficulty is obviated by the fact that the people who had written the inscription of Velitrae called themselves *Velestrom* (genitive plural), while their ethnicon was later Veliternus, which of course shows the *-no* suffix. He therefore regards the Volsci as really a Samnitic settlement in what had been the territory of the older Volscians. We must certainly observe great caution in assuming that ethnica in *-co*, which we meet in Roman literature, were the actual names used by the people themselves to whom they are applied. For example, the Greek writers, such as Herodotus, speak of the Umbrians as *Ombrikoî*, whereas the Umbrians themselves probably never used any such form of their own name. We know that the Umbrian people of Iguvium called themselves *Iguvini*, and that the people who called themselves *Hellenes* were termed *Graeci* by Italians, who had added the *-co* suffix to the name *Grai*. There is however a great probability that forms in *-co* (*-sco*) were especially used by the oldest stratum of Italian population, as well as by those who are known as Ligurians in classical times, and in this we seem to have another link between the aborigines of Latium and the Ligurians.

There seems no doubt that both the *-co* suffix and the *-no* suffix are Indo-European. For not only had the Italian tribes no hesitation in combining both suffixes, as in the case of Marrucini, but the Gallic tribes seem to use them indifferently, which seems to indicate that both suffixes belonged to the same linguistic family. Thus amongst the Gauls who accompanied Bellovesus and his Bituriges into Italy in the beginning of the sixth century B.C.¹ were not only the Arverni, the Senones, the Aedui, the Ambarri, and the Carnutes, but also the Aulerci. The last were sub-divided in Gaul² into the Aulerci Ebuovices or Eburones, the Aulerci Cenomanni, and the Aulerci Brannovices, from which it would appear that both suffixes were used by the same tribes.

It now only remains to show that the Ligurians of classical times represented Indo-European *Q* by *k* or *qu*-. Since the view put forward in this work was first published, Prof. Conway has pointed out that the Ligurian place-name Quiamelius indicates that the Ligurians were a *Q* folk. Now this fact is quite in accord with what we know of the ethnology and languages of the ancient inhabitants of Gaul. We have seen that the Ligurians down to the Roman conquest formed the main population of Provence, and there can be little doubt that they have continued to be the main element there even down to our days. There is further a large body of evidence to show that they (often termed the short-headed Alpine race) formed and still form the chief element in the population of central France. We have seen at an earlier stage of this work that the *Keltai*, properly so-called, were a tall blond race, and that they all regularly represented Indo-European *Q* by *p*. In these two respects, as well as in others, they thus stand in sharp contrast to the dark-complexioned aborigines of the British Isles, who speak Gaelic. For example, Gaulish *arepennis*, "acre" (modern French *arpent*) = Irish *air-cenn*³ ("head-land"), both the Gaulish and the Gaelic forms being from *ara* ("ploughland,"

¹ Livy v. 34—5.

² Caesar, *B.G.* vii. 75.

³ This comparison of the Gaulish *arepennis* and Gaelic *aircenn* was first made by the present writer (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1888, p. 18 "The Origin of the Stadion").

cf. Latin *arare*, *aratrum*, Gk. *ἀρουρα*) and *penn* or *cenn*, "head." But it must not be rashly assumed that all those termed Gauls used this particular form of labialism, for at least one people, and that not the least amongst the tribes of Gaul, the Sequani, shows by its name that it was a *Q* folk. Though the older form of language has survived to this hour amongst the aborigines in some parts of Ireland and Scotland, nevertheless as modern Welsh is a *P* language, and as we know from history that there had been large settlements in Britain of Belgic tribes (according to Caesar, Cimbri who had made their way into northern Gaul from beyond the Rhine), and as these Cimbric tribes, wherever we meet them in Italy, are undoubtedly a *P* folk, we must regard the people to whom is due the particular *P* form in modern Welsh as later comers into these islands.

It is now fairly clear that there once extended from Italy across France and into the British Isles a stratum of population, which in Italy is certainly earlier than the *P* folk (such as the Umbro-Sabellian stock and the Gauls who followed them later on), which in Gaul itself must be regarded as earlier than the *P* folk (who came from beyond the Rhine), which in Britain was certainly prior in occupation to the *P* folk (who in the Early Iron Age under the name of Belgae passed into the island somewhere before 200 B.C., and some of whom probably crossed in the Bronze Age direct from Scandinavia into the northern parts of the island and even into Ireland), and which in Ireland was certainly the aboriginal folk from the Neolithic period, for in that country no modification of the original *Q* forms has taken place. It is here very important to observe that the researches of the late Prof. J. Strachan have gone far to prove that the oldest Welsh differed very little from old Irish, and accordingly it is probable that the peculiar *R* forms in modern Welsh are due to some conquest of the aboriginal dark-complexioned race who spoke what was practically Gaelic by a *P* folk such as that led by Cunedda. All these earlier peoples in the regions just enumerated differed not only in their phonetics but also in their physical characteristics from the peoples of central and upper Europe who from before the dawn of history had kept pressing down over the Alps into

Italy and the Balkan peninsula and across the Rhine into Gaul and even into Britain and remote Ierne. This older stratum was closely connected with the aboriginal population of the Balkan peninsula, which, as I have shown elsewhere, never spoke any other than an Indo-European language.

Again, although it has hitherto been universally held that the Iberians spoke a non-Aryan tongue, because the Basques who occupy a portion of northern Spain still continue to do so, yet when we come to examine the evidence it is more probable that the Iberians properly so called, who bordered on the Ligurians in north-eastern Spain, and who are said to have extended at one time as far north as the Loire, did not differ essentially from the Ligurians. For example, we have just seen that proper names in *-sco* and *-co* are beyond doubt essentially Indo-European suffixes in those parts of France and of upper and central Italy where there is solid historical evidence for the presence of the Ligurians from the Stone Age onwards. But when we turn to ancient Spain we are confronted with the same suffixes and the closely allied *-con* in many of the most famous place-names; *Osca* (modern *Huesca*), *Malaca* (modern *Malaga*), *Tarraco* (*Tarragona*), whilst the same form appears in the adjective *astur-con-es*, the ancient native name for the horses of Asturia¹. Moreover, according to Thucydides², the Sicani, who formed the oldest stratum of the population of Sicily in historical times, were Iberians from the river Sicanus (*Segro*) in north-east Spain, whence they had been driven by the Ligyes, i.e. Ligurians. Now, as in historical times the Sicani not only continued to hold the western parts of the island, but also formed the chief element in the population of those parts occupied by the Siculi and later on by Greeks, it would be strange if no ancient writer, either Greek or Roman, had referred to their language as especially barbarous, had it been a non-Aryan speech, as has been universally assumed. In eastern Sicily the Sicani had been driven out or enslaved first by the Siculi, who had crossed from Italy,

¹ Pliny, *N.H.* viii. 166; cf. Ridgeway, *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, pp. 258, 388.

² vi. 2.

and later on by the Greeks, with whom they had made common cause against their old oppressors, just as the aborigines of upper Italy and Latium are said to have helped the newcomers from Greece against the Umbrians and Siculi. The Siculi, who had crossed the straits of Messina, had enslaved many of the Sicani, and, as in the Greek period there was a serf population at Syracuse called Cyllurii, it is probable that these were the Sicanian bondsmen of the Siculi, who by helping the Greeks to overthrow the Siculi, only exchanged one set of masters for another (vol. I. pp. 261—2). It is almost certain that this servile class later on formed the chief factors in the democracy of Syracuse. For it is very significant that when the democracy gained the upper hand, there appears for the first time on the coins of that city the figure of a warrior with the legend *Leucaspis*. We are told by Diodorus¹, himself a Sicilian, that this Leucaspis was an ancient Sicanian hero, whose shrine was venerated at Syracuse. But as it was the democracy who placed on the coins a Sicanian hero instead of some Greek type, we may infer that those who thus worshipped and honoured the old Sicanian hero were themselves Sicanian in blood as well as feeling.

But if the larger part of the population of Syracuse had spoken a non-Aryan tongue, the dialect of that city would certainly have been deeply tinged with a non-Greek element. That this was so seems all the more unlikely, in view of the fact that the ungrammatical dialect of the mixed Greek and Asiatic population of the remote town of Soli in Cilicia² gave rise to the term solecism (*σολοικισμός*), and of the many allusions to the barbaric Greek pronunciation of Thracians, Scythians and Persians in the plays of Aristophanes, and the similar references to the strange tongue of the Carthaginians and to the local dialect of Praeneste which occur in those of Plautus³. Strabo⁴ tells us that down to his own time (A.D. 1) Sicani, Siculi, and Morgetes held the interior of Sicily. But it is

¹ iv. 23, 5.

² Strabo, xiv. 663; Suidas, s.v. Σόλοι.

³ *Poen.* 977 sqq. *Gugga est homo etc.*; *Truc.* 691 *ut Praenestinis conea est ciconia.*

⁴ Strabo iv. 270, who cites Ephorus.

very improbable that all those would have discarded their own tongues by his time and taken over completely either Greek or Latin, had their respective languages been non-Aryan. In the case of the Siculi it was certainly not so. The absence of all such references as those just mentioned is best explained, as in the case of Ligurians both in Italy and France, by the hypothesis that the language of the Sicanians was very closely allied to those of their Greek and Roman masters. This view gains direct confirmation from their ethnicon, for the name Sicani (*Σικανοί*) is practically identical with that of the Sequani of Gaul. It is therefore not unlikely that the Sicani who were driven out of north-eastern Spain by the Ligurians were but one branch of the great Gaulish tribe.

This occurrence of portions of a tribe in different regions can be amply paralleled from the history of other peoples. Thus not only have we both the Volcae Tectosages and Volcae Arecomici in southern Gaul, but Tectosages also formed a part of the famous Gaulish settlement in Asia Minor (Pessinus and Ancyra being their chief towns), Bituriges and Cenomanni were both in Gaul and north Italy, Boii in Gaul, Italy, Bohemia, and later still in the Balkans, the Senones are known in Germany, Gaul and Italy, the Menapii in what is now Belgium, Britain and the south-east of Ireland, whilst the Brigantes are met with not only in Yorkshire, but in the south of Ireland, Gaul, Switzerland and Thrace. The variation in the vowel of the first syllables of *Sequani* and *Sicani* is of no importance, since even in purely Greek proper names and words the older *ε* was later replaced by *ι*¹. Thus the name of Sicyon appears in the abbreviation ΣΕ on the older, as ΣΙ on the later coins of that town, whilst the same change certainly took place in the case of borrowed words, such as *ἱππος* (cf. vol. I. p. 673). The Romans not only had the same tendency in the case of *ε* in foreign names and words, but replaced also *a*, *o* and *u* by *i*.

The astonishing rapidity with which Latin got hold of all eastern Spain after the Roman conquest is best explained by the same hypothesis as that put forward in the case of the Ligurians in upper Italy and France, and the Sicanians in

¹ Ridgeway, *Proc. Cambridge Philological Soc.* 1908, p. 6.

Sicily. It has been shown above (p. 251) that Iberian shows remarkable coincidences between its suffixes and those of place-names in regions essentially always Ligurian. Moreover, there can be no doubt that the Iberians and the Ligurians overlapped and intermingled in all southern Gaul. We have just noticed the absence of any evidence for a barbarous Greek dialect at Syracuse, where the majority of the population must have been Sicanians. The same holds true for Emporiae (*Ampurias*), a famous colony of Massalia on the coast of north-east Spain. The Greeks there had first settled on an islet lying off the shore, in later times known as Old Town; but the new town was on the mainland and had the curious feature of being divided into two parts by a wall. The reason for this was that though some of the natives joined the Phocaean settlers in the construction of a common surrounding wall, the two communities at first remained quite separate, each with its own institutions. But in the course of time both races merged so completely that the wall of partition was no longer needed, and they lived under a constitution in which Iberian and Phocaean customs were blended.

Now, if this mixed body of citizens had spoken a barbarous jargon, partly Greek and partly non-Aryan, it is strange that Strabo¹, who is our authority for this interesting story, should not refer to their tongue, as he does in the case of the men of Soli. If, on the other hand, the natives spoke a language closely akin to Greek and Latin, the absence of any such reference is readily explained, as in the case of Syracuse.

Two main objections will be raised to the foregoing treatment of the indigenous melanochrous peoples of Greece, Italy, Sicily, and a large part of Spain as Indo-Europeans: on the ground (i) that they form part of the "Mediterranean race," and that as the Libyans, Egyptians and Semites all belong to that race, all of whom speak and spoke non-Aryan tongues, the dark-complexioned peoples on the north side of the Mediterranean must originally have spoken non-Aryan languages likewise; and (ii) that as in the Alpine regions there has been since Neolithic times a brachycephalic race also found in central

¹ III. 160.

France and in the British Isles (into the latter of which they are supposed to have crossed in the Bronze Age), it has been a fundamental matter of faith that this round-headed race came from Asia, the home of brachycephalism, and that they were accordingly Mongolian and spoke a non-Aryan language; and as this people dwell in the area inhabited by the Ligurians in historical times, it has been argued that the Ligurians were a non-Aryan folk.

Ever since Professor Sergi¹ comprehended, under what he terms the "Eurafrican species," all the dark-complexioned peoples of southern and western Europe, as well as the Hamitic and Semitic peoples of northern Africa and western Asia, the universal assumption that the dark-skinned peoples of Europe once spoke a non-Aryan tongue or tongues has been supposed to have been finally proved.

Yet under his Eurafrican species Sergi includes the blond race of northern Europe who speak Aryan languages, along with the dark races who speak non-Aryan tongues. It is argued that as all the dark-skinned peoples on the north side of the Mediterranean by their physical type belong to the same original stock as the Semites and the Hamites, they must likewise have spoken non-Aryan languages. Yet it might as well be maintained that the Finns, who speak a non-Aryan tongue, and the Scandinavians, who speak an Aryan, were at no remote time all of one stock because both races are blond.

Palaeolithic Men. It has indeed been generally held that Europe was first peopled by a non-Aryan race. But, it is impossible for us to say what was the complexion and what the language or languages of the Palaeolithic men who were the first human inhabitants of Europe. For no light on these important points is or will be ever available, countless as are the witnesses that these primaeval folk have left of themselves in fluvatile gravels, over a large part of the Continent and in the southern part of Great Britain, and although we have now important osteological remains of what is commonly termed the Neanderthal race (*homo neanderthalensis*) or less happily by others *homo primigenius*. "The finds of crania and skeletons,"

¹ *The Mediterranean Race*, p. 259.

writes Prof. Gustaf Retzius¹, "at Neanderthal, Spy, Gibraltar, Krapina, and more recently at Le Moustier, La Chapelle-aux-Saints and Heidelberg, constitute, even though they are relatively few in number, a striking proof of this prehistoric race having been formerly widely spread throughout our Continent, though probably never very numerous." Opinions have differed widely regarding the direct connection of this race with existing European peoples, but Prof. Schwalbe after long and minute investigations has come to the conclusion that this primitive race must have become extinct. The archaeological evidence distinctly favours the existence of a gap between Palaeolithic and Neolithic men at least in southern France, since such is shown by the cave deposits in that region.

The Neanderthal race seems to have been succeeded by the Cro-Magnon stock and its descendants, and other racial elements now found in Europe. Some leading anthropologists² are inclined to infer from the remains of the Cro-Magnon race discovered up to the present that from it is descended the present north-European dolichocephalic race.

Neolithic Men. When we come to Neolithic men our particular problems become less hopeless. It has been generally held that the first Neolithic men in Europe, whether they were descended or not from their Palaeolithic predecessors, had long skulls, but were not Aryans; that later on a migration of short-skulled people from Asia passed along central Europe and into France, becoming what is commonly termed the "Alpine," by some the "Ligurian," and by others again the "Celtic" race; that later these two primitive non-Aryan races were overrun by the Aryans, who, when these theories were first started, were universally considered to have come from the Hindu Kush, but are now generally believed, as held by R. G. Latham, to have originated in upper central Europe. Yet, though the view respecting the cradle of the Aryans has changed, anthropologists have not seen the important bearing of this change on the problem of Neolithic man.

¹ *Huxley Lecture for 1909* "The So-called North European Race of Mankind," p. 295 (*Jour. Royal Anthropol. Institute*, vol. xxxix, 1909).

² Prof. Gustaf Retzius, *loc. cit.*

Dr Sergi holds like all his predecessors that the short-skulled race came from Asia, but unlike them he (following Professor Pigorini) maintains that these newcomers spoke an Aryan language, and that it was taken over both by the long-skulled people of upper Europe and by the melanochrous long-skulled peoples of southern Italy and Greece.

Until the present writer put forward a different view in 1901 (vol. I. p. 680), and again later in 1908¹, all anthropologists held that all Aryans were blond. In the first volume of the present work the writer refused to regard the short-skulled race as differing materially on the one hand from the dark, long-headed race found in Italy, Greece and Spain, and on the other from the tall blond race of northern Europe. At the York meeting of the British Association in 1906 he maintained that the "Alpine race" was in no sense Mongoloid, and that its short skull was due to modification in the region lying along the axis of the Alps; in other words, that the brachycephalic race found in Europe is of European and not of Asiatic development.

This view was later on supported by the Dean of the London Hospital, Dr William Wright, in his Hunterian Lectures². He points out that "the cephalic index, or the proportion of greatest breadth to greatest length, has no intrinsic value; the information it supplies is almost minimal; it is moreover often grossly misleading. Even if the cephalic index conveyed an accurate idea of the form of the cranium, its value would be in some degree discounted as a criterion, since cranial form depends upon a large number of factors, many of which are subject to wide individual variation.... So much importance has been attached to the cephalic index, its immutability has been so insisted upon, that it is necessary to remind its adherents that unless we accept a dual origin of man, we must admit that all skulls are the result of variation from a single primitive type.... It seems on general principles highly probable, if indeed

¹ Ridgeway, "The Application of Zoological Laws to Man" (*Report of the British Association for the Advancement of Science*, 1908 (Dublin), pp. 832 *sqq.*).

² "The Prehistoric and Early Historic Inhabitants of England," III. (a), *Middlesex Hospital Journal*, 1907, pp. 4-6.

not certain, that if we divided a tribe exhibiting the usual amount of variation into two sections, the sections it may be from the first with a different average cephalic index; if we isolated each section, and at the same time exposed them to different conditions, one say on a mountain, the other in a plain, with a difference in climate and diet, in the course of time we would get people with relatively little in common, physically or cranially. If this be not so, it is impossible to explain the wide variation in the human species." Dr Wright might have admitted the possibility of a dual origin of man, a view recently put forward by Prof. Klaatsch, without materially weakening the force of his argument from the great variation in cranial form amongst the races of mankind.

Still later the same principle was strongly emphasized by the eminent Prof. Gustav Retzius, of Stockholm, in his Huxley Memorial Lecture¹ delivered in 1909. Prof. Retzius thus writes: "It is also to be taken for granted that the brachycephalic population, which by degrees usurped domiciliary rights in the country, belong to that dark-haired, brachycephalic race branch, the Middle European, which in our times is by far the preponderating in those countries. Where that brachycephalic people may have emanated from is, as above said, up to the present wholly wrapped in mystery. It has been customary to trace it to Asia, and to designate it as Mongoloid, but there are no real proofs of that supposition being correct. It is presumably more likely that its home was some tolerably limited region in central or south-eastern Europe, but that by rapid increase in numbers and owing to hardy qualities called forth in it, in accordance with the laws of the Darwinian theory, by the struggle for existence, it gradually spread, without having to carry on any real strife, further and further afield over the adjacent tracts of country, supplanting thereby the dolichocephalic (Teutonic) population already indigenous there."

Moreover, in a recent publication of the Danish Anthropological Committee, Dr Soren Hansen has drawn the conclusion from the very complete data obtained from the Anthropometric

¹ *op. cit.* p. 299.

Survey of Denmark that the doctrine with which the Danish investigators started,—that the population of Denmark consisted of two distinct elements: (1) a tall blond race with long skulls, and (2) a short dark race with short skulls,—must be rejected. The evidence points rather to a shading off of the short dark type into the tall blond, whilst no fundamental race difference can be proved from the different types of skulls.

In a separate monograph¹ in 1907, and a year later in an address to the Anthropological Section of the British Association², the present writer maintained that (1) the tall blond race of upper Europe is identical in origin with the small, dark, long-headed race of the three southern peninsulas of Europe, as held by Dr Sergi and others, but (2) with the very important difference that, whereas Sergi includes the Basques in that stock, the present writer carefully excludes them from it; (3) that the broad-skulled race of central Europe (commonly called the Alpine race) is identical in origin with the tall, blond race of northern Europe and the small, dark race of the three southern peninsulas, the Basques excepted; (4) on the other hand the writer urged that the northern and southern races of Europe just mentioned, as well as the broad-skulled Alpine race, are in no wise to be regarded (as laid down by Dr Sergi and the rest) as of the same stock as the Hamites of north Africa and the Semites of south-western Asia, whilst (5) he maintained that the Basques are the only members of the Hamitic race in Europe.

My argument was and is that as the Ice Sheet receded men passed upwards from the south-east into Europe and settled in the three southern peninsulas, gradually spreading northwards over the Alps and eventually extending up to the Baltic. As they slowly spread upwards, under the influence of their environment (and in environment I of course include food), they grew less dark, those of them who settled permanently along the axis of the Alps tending to have shorter

¹ Ridgeway, *Who were the Romans?* (British Academy, 1907).

² "The Application of Zoological Laws to Man" (*Proc. Brit. Assoc.* 1908, pp. 832 *sqq.*).

skulls, whilst those who had earliest passed to the north became the tallest and the most blond people in the world. On the other hand I revolted from Dr Sergi's theory of a "Mediterranean race," comprising Hamites and Semites as well as the dark-complexioned Aryan-speaking inhabitants of the three southern peninsulas of Europe, and the same dark-complexioned Aryan-speaking element in the populations of France, Holland and the British Isles. In the first volume of this work I had given weighty arguments to show that the dark-complexioned people of Greece, who had dwelt in the Aegean basin from the Neolithic period onwards, not only were the authors of the great culture of the Bronze Age in that area (a doctrine now generally accepted), but also had never spoken from their first settlement in that area any but an Aryan tongue (a view which has found favour with some distinguished philologists). In the preceding sections of the present work we have been led to the same conclusions respecting the dark-complexioned aboriginal inhabitants of Italy and Spain (the Basques excepted).

This doctrine of a Mediterranean race depends upon the tacit assumption made by the physical anthropologists that similarity of type means identity of race. Yet this assumption does not bear the test of scientific examination, for it assumes that only those who are sprung from a common stock can be similar in physical structure and coloration, and it leaves altogether out of sight the effects of environment in changing racial types, and that, too, in no long time. The change in the type of the American of New England from that of his English ancestor and his approximation to the hatchet face and thin scraggy beard of the Red Indian have long been remarked, whilst the Boërs of South Africa, in less than 150 years, have quite lost the old Dutch build, and become a tall weedy race. The effects of climatic conditions are very patent amongst the native peoples of the New World. The Iroquois of the temperate parts (lat. 40°—45°) of North America were a tall rather light-complexioned race, but as we keep moving south and approach the equator, their kindred tribes grow somewhat darker in complexion and more feeble in physique, except

where they live at a considerable altitude, for of course altitude acts in the same way as latitude. When once we pass below the equator the physique keeps steadily improving until we come to the Pampas Indians, a vigorous race who defied all the efforts of the Spaniards to subdue them; and finally we meet the Patagonians (lat. 40°—53°), a fine, tall, light-complexioned race, who form in the south the counterpart of the Iroquois and their closely allied tribes in the north.

The same law, as is well known, can be seen at work in Europe. Starting from the Mediterranean, we meet in the lower parts a melanochrous race; but gradually, as we advance upwards, the population as a whole is growing less dark, until finally, along the shores of the Baltic, we meet the tallest and most light-complexioned race in the world. Of course it has been explained that the change in pigmentation, as we advance from south to north, is due to the varying proportions in the admixture of the blond race of the north with the melanochrous of the south. But it is difficult to believe that the movements up or down of the people from the southern side of the Alps, or of those from the shores of the Baltic, have been so nicely proportioned as to give the general steady change from north to south in coloration without the aid of some other force. The case of America, which I have just cited, is in itself enough to raise a suspicion that climatic influences are at work all the time, and that environment is in reality the chief factor in the variation of both stature and pigmentation from the Mediterranean to the Baltic. The white race of the north is of the same proximate ancestry as the dark-complexioned peoples of the northern shores of the Mediterranean. I have already argued elsewhere that, as the Ice Sheet receded, mankind kept pressing further north, and gradually under changed climatic conditions the type changed from area to area, and they all still continued to speak the same Indo-European tongue, but with dialectic variations, these also being no doubt due to the physical changes in the vocal organs produced by environment.

If we turn from man to the other animals we find a complete demonstration of this doctrine. For instance, the

conditions which have produced a blond race on the Baltic have probably produced the white hare, white bears, and the tendency in the stoat and the ptarmigan to turn white in winter, whilst in the same regions of Europe and Asia the indigenous horses were of a dun colour, who not only turned white in winter but had a great tendency to turn white altogether. It may be objected that the Lapps and the Eskimo are not tall and blond, but on the contrary short and dark, but in any case they live within the arctic circle in regions where the sun does not shine at all for a great part of the year, and consequently they are quite outside the conditions of environment under which the tall blond race of north Germany has long dwelt. Moreover, the Lapps must not be assumed to be melanochrous, since there is a large body of evidence to show that they vary much in complexion, colour of the hair and colour of the eyes. The great Linnaeus himself was the first to observe and report on the physical characteristics of the Lapps, and he describes them as small in body, with straight, dark, short hair, and with the iris nigrescent. In modern times the labours of Anders Retzius, Blumenbach, Von Düben, Mantegazza and Sommier, Gustaf Retzius, Santesson, Virchow and others have collected much information respecting this interesting race. It is generally admitted that the Lapps are relatively speaking little intermixed. Von Düben studied the Lapps both historically and in Lapland, and the results of his observations were embodied in his work entitled *Lapland and the Lapps*¹, in which he dealt more especially with those of Sweden.

According to him, though the Lapps are generally of small stature, certain families, in which there is no trace of Swedish or Finnish admixture, have for generations been noted for their tallness. "With young people the complexion is rather fair, red cheeks are then seen, the skin being clear as a general rule. The women retain their complexion better than the men, who

¹ I cite here from the English translation of Chapter VII. (pp. 6—7) of this work *Om Lappland och Lapparne*, Stockholm, 1873, edited by Prof. C. G. Santesson with a preface by Prof. Gustaf Retzius (1910). To the kindness of these two gentlemen I am indebted for a copy of the work. I must also especially state my obligations to Prof. Retzius for his great kindness in giving me much information on the subject.

soon lose theirs, which, as is the case with the older women, becomes brownish yellow, caused not only by dirt, but probably by the extremes of the heat at the fireside and the cold without, and their manner of life which exposes them to all the various inclemencies of the weather. But the complexion is therefore neither light nor fair, but appears in most cases to be dark. There are however so many exceptions that for a person who has not seen all the various Lapmarks, it is utterly impossible to decide the usual state of things; even Högstöm hesitates to give a decided opinion, and since neither Linnaeus nor Leem make any definite statement in this respect, we may surely consider this proves that the colour of the complexion varies....The Lapps generally have dark hair. I have however seen heads of tow, and all variations of yellow, red, brown, right up to brownish, bluish, and greyish black." He adds that the iris, as observed by Linnaeus, is blackish in most cases, but as regards its colour the same differences are observed as in the complexion and hair, the irides being as various as in other races, least of all greyish-blue, which is most usual with Swedes. Among the small number of Lapps examined by Von Düben, "the irides varied from yellowish to blackish brown, as also greyish-yellow and greyish-yellowish-blue." Observations which I was able to make on a community of Lapps, who with their reindeer were at the Glasgow Exhibition in 1911, before I had become acquainted with Von Düben's work, coincide fairly with the statements made in it. All the children, up to a girl of fourteen, were light-complexioned and had blue or bluish eyes, and this blondness persisted even in some of the adults, whilst the eyes of all the adults seemed to be brownish-black. The white of the eye struck us as having a distinctly bluish tinge.

Accordingly, their pigmentation on the one hand and their small stature on the other, suggest that they have a trend to blondness like their relations the Finns, but unlike the latter are as a rule stunted, owing to their having been driven into cold and barren regions, where their means of subsistence are limited and precarious.

There is nothing unusual in the children being light-complexioned and growing darker as they approach maturity. This

is a very common occurrence in the peoples of our own islands, and Diodorus Siculus nearly twenty centuries ago remarked on the very light colour of the children of the Celts (*i.e.* Germans) which tended to grow much darker when they grew up (vol. i. p. 628).

Of course, in dealing with man we are always confronted with the difficulties arising from his migrations; but if we can find a family of lower animals, the branches of which have been domiciled for thousands of years in the areas which they at present occupy, and which show the effects of environment, we shall be able to argue powerfully from analogy.

The horse family supplies the example required. If we follow it from northern Asia to the Cape of Good Hope, we shall find that every belt has its own particular type, changes in osteology as well as in coloration taking place from region to region. First we meet the old dun horse, with its tendency to become white, the best European examples of which were probably the now extinct ponies of the Lofoden Isles (Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, Fig. 50). In Asia, Prijvalsky's horse (*ib.* Fig. 18) is the best living instance—a dun-coloured animal with little trace of stripes. Bordering on the Prijvalsky horse or true tarpan come the Asiatic asses: first the *dzegetai* of Mongolia, a fawn-coloured animal, the under-parts being *Isabella*-coloured; then comes the *kiang* (*ib.* Fig. 20) of the Upper Indus valley, seldom found at a lower altitude than 10,000 feet, rufous brown with white under-parts, whilst, as might be expected from its mountain habitat, the hind-quarters are much more developed in length and strength than in the asses of the plains. The *onager indicus*, *onager* and *hemippus* are found in all the great plains of the Punjab, Afghanistan, western India, Baluchistan, Persia, and Syria, whilst a few are said to survive in south Arabia. All these are lighter in colour than the *kiang*, the typical *onager* (*ib.* Fig. 22) being a white animal with yellow blotches on the side, neck, and head. All the Asiatic asses are distinguished by the absence of any shoulder stripe, though they occasionally show traces of stripes on the lower parts of the legs. The southern Asiatic asses just described in their greyer colour and smaller

hoofs approximate to the wild asses of Africa, especially to those of Somaliland, whilst it is maintained that in their cry, as well as in their colour, the kiang and dzegetai come closer to the horse, whose next neighbours they are.

Passing to Africa, we find the ass of Nubia and Abyssinia showing a shoulder stripe, and frequently very strongly defined narrow stripes on the legs, the ears being longer than those of the onager. But in closer proximity to south-western Asia comes the Somali ass (*ib.* Fig. 26), which differs from those of Nubia and Abyssinia by being greyer in colour, by the entire absence of shoulder stripes, and by smaller ears, in all which characteristics it comes closer to its neighbours on the Asiatic side than it does to its relations in Abyssinia and Nubia (*ib.* Fig. 25).

Next we meet the zebras. First comes the magnificent Grévy zebra (*ib.* Fig. 28) of Somaliland, Shoa, and British East Africa. It is completely striped down to its hoofs, but the coloration of the specimens from Shoa differs from that of those from Somaliland, and from that of those of British East Africa. The Grévy zebra has hoofs rounded in front like those of a horse, but ears more like those of its neighbours the asses than those of any other zebra.

In the region north of the river Tana the Burchelline group of zebras overlaps the Grévy, and though it differs essentially in form, habits, and shape of its hoofs from the Grévy some of those in the neighbourhood of Lake Baringo show "grid-iron" markings on the croup like those on the Grévy zebra, which are also so distinct a feature of the Mountain zebra (*ib.* Fig. 29), whilst, like the latter, they also possess functional premolars.

All the zebras of the equatorial regions are striped to the hoofs (*ib.* Fig. 34), but when we reach the Transvaal, the Burchelline zebra, known as Chapman's (*ib.* Fig. 36), is divesting itself of stripes on its legs, whilst the ground colour is getting less white and the stripes less black. Further south the true Burchell zebra (*ib.* Fig. 37) of the Orange River has completely lost the stripes on its legs and under-surface, its general colouring being a pale yellowish brown, the stripes being dark brown or nearly black. South of the Orange River the now extinct quagga

(*ib.* Figs. 38-40) of Cape Colony had not only begun to lose the stripes of its under-part and on the hind-quarters, but in Daniell's specimen (*ib.* Fig. 40) they only survived on the neck as far as the withers, the animal having its upper surface bay and a tail like that of a horse, whilst all specimens of quagga show a rounded hoof like that of a horse. In the quagga of 30°—32° S. we have practically a bay horse corresponding to the bay Libyan horse¹ of lat. 30°—32° N.

But the production of such variations in colour does not require great differences in latitude. On the contrary, from a study of a series of skins of zebras² shot for me in British East Africa, each of which is from a known locality and from a known altitude, there can be no doubt that such variations in colour are found from district to district within a comparatively small area.

In addition to the two species of zebra already mentioned, there is the Mountain zebra (*ib.* Fig. 29) formerly extremely common in the mountainous parts of Cape Colony and Natal, though now nearly extinct in that area. Its hind legs, as might naturally have been expected from its habitat, are more developed than those of the other zebras, just as these same limbs are also more developed in the kiang of the Himalayas than in any other ass.

With these facts before us, there can be no doubt that environment is a most potent factor not only in coloration, but also in osteology. No less certain is it that environment is capable of producing changes in animal types with great rapidity. Thus, although it is an historical fact that there were no horses in Java in 1346, and it is known that the ponies now there are descended from those brought in by the Arabs³, yet within five centuries there has arisen a race of ponies (often striped) some of which are not more than two feet high. Darwin⁴ himself has given other examples of the rapid change in structure of horses when transferred from one

¹ Ridgeway, *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, p. 248.

² Ridgeway, "Contributions to the Study of the Equidae," i. (*Proc. Zool. Soc.* 1909, pp. 547 sqq.).

³ Ridgeway, *Thoroughbred Horse*, p. 145.

⁴ *The Variation of Animals and Plants under Domestication*, vol. i, p. 52.

environment to another, as for instance when Pampas horses are brought up into the Andes.

Another good example is that of the now familiar Basuto ponies. Up to 1846 the Basutos did not possess a single horse, those of them who went down and worked for the Boers of the Orange River usually taking their pay in cattle. At the date mentioned some of them began to take horses instead. These horses were of the ordinary mixed colonial kinds, and we may be sure that the Boers did not let the Basutos have picked specimens. The Basutos turned these horses out on their mountains, where living under perfectly natural conditions their posterity within less than forty years had settled down into a well-defined type of mountain pony.

The rapidity with which such changes take place under new conditions can be amply exemplified from many countries. Azara in his famous book points out that the horses and cattle in Paraguay, into which of course both species were brought by the Spaniards, have a universal tendency to short curly hair somewhat analogous to that of the negro. So quickly does the environment of Argentina act upon horses and cattle that the ranch-owners cannot keep up the standard of British breeds without a constant importation of new blood from England, a fact which accounts for the large prices paid for stallions and bulls for export to that country. It is said by competent authorities that the only regions in the world where British domestic animals are not much affected by change of environment are Tasmania and New Zealand, in both of which the climate is very similar to that of the British Isles, and accordingly breeds long domiciled in the latter do not suffer deterioration in Tasmania and New Zealand. Hence it is that Tasmania practically supplies all the sheep necessary for keeping up the standard in Australia.

The action of environment upon domestic animals can be illustrated without going beyond our own islands. Thus in Orkney the farmers can only keep up a fair standard of Clydesdale horses and short-horned cattle by constant importation of new blood from Scotland¹. If there were any doubt

¹ I am indebted for this information to Mr Cowan, Tankerness House, Kirkwall.

that the Shetland ponies owe their diminutive size to their environment, the evidence drawn from Orkney would prove that such is the case. It is remarkable that the smallest, and what are called the purest, of these animals are reared in Unst, the most northerly of the whole group of islands.

The Shetland sheep are famous for the fineness of their wool, and it has been the fashion amongst zoologists and breeders to consider them as a *primaeval* breed, especially those of a dirty white colour called *shela*¹. The finest wool is that produced by the sheep which gain a miserable subsistence on the most barren and exposed hills, and which are therefore known as "Rockies." But I have been informed by my friend Prof. Herbert Grierson, himself a Shetlander, that at Quendel Bay (the scene of Scott's *Pirate*), when some of these "Rockies" were brought down to a more sheltered situation and better pasture, their wool became coarser in the following year. There can also be no doubt that the Shetland sheep, as also the supposed indigenous sheep of Orkney and of the islet of Soa off St Kilda, owe their diminutive size to the same cause as the Shetland ponies. We have just seen that the native horses and cattle in Orkney deteriorate unless the stock is reinforced by fresh blood from the mainland, and it would be singular if the sheep were not affected by the same causes. But the facts which I was able to ascertain on the spot leave no doubt on this point². The so-called primitive sheep of Orkney are found on the islands of North Ronaldshay and Flota. In the former island they are shut off by a stone wall from the comparatively fertile plateau which forms the top of the island. These poor animals are thereby confined to the cliffs and obtain their sole or chief subsistence by descending to the shore at low water and eating the sea-weed. No wonder then that they are stunted and dwarfed. The sheep on Flota owe their small size to a similar life of starvation, and there can be little doubt that the sheep on Soa have been modified by like causes.

¹ My friend Mr Eirikr Magnusson tells me that *shela* literally means "slops."

² I am indebted for this information to Mr John Mackay, Kirkwall, who himself had kept one of the Flota sheep (a ewe) for thirteen years.

Nor is it only in the case of domestic animals that change is produced by new environment. For example, the settlers in New Zealand imported brown trout from England and placed them in their beautiful streams, in which there was only one sort of fish useful for food and sport. The British trout thrived and multiplied with amazing rapidity, as the fry and young fish had no enemies such as the pike. But in the course of years the type of the trout changed completely until now it has become an ugly misshapen creature with an enormous head and a small body. The colonists are now trying to destroy them by dynamiting the rivers. It is also stated that the British hare since its importation into New Zealand has undergone considerable modification.

Facts such as these indicate that zoologists are too prone to class as new species, whether they be elephants, giraffes or zebras, animals which may be mere local varieties differentiated by environment. Thus the elephant of the Congo basin is smaller than that on the eastern side of the continental watershed; its tusks are different both in setting, shape, and quality of the ivory from those of the Nilotic animal. In the one they are set parallel to the trunk, in the other they project in front of it; in the former they are long and straight, and slender at the butt, whereas in the latter they swell out at the base, the ivory of the former being harder than that of the Nilotic elephant. The ears of the Congo elephant are likewise much smaller than those of his relative. Captain Grogan, the well-known traveller and author of *From the Cape to Cairo*, found both kinds overlapping on the top of the watershed and shot a number of the Congo kind. One of these had tusks 10 feet 4 inches long. But it might be rash to make these elephants into two different species. The tiger extends from the Indian Ocean, through China up to Corea, but the tiger of Corea is a very different animal from that of Bengal. Instead of the short hair of the Indian tiger the Corean has clothed himself with a robe of dense long fur to withstand the rigours of the north. Again the tiger of the plains of India is distinctly lighter in colour than those of Assam and Nepal. It is not unlikely that if we had a sufficient number of skins from known

localities we could trace the change in the tiger from latitude to latitude, just as I have done in the case of the Equidae.

Now whilst there is certainly a general physical type common to all the peoples round the Mediterranean, it by no means follows that all those peoples are from the same original stock. On the contrary, the analogy from man in other parts of the world, as well as that from the Equidae, suggests that the resemblance between the Berbers, who speak Hamitic, the Greeks, who speak Aryan, and the Jews and Arabs, who spoke or speak Semitic, is simply due to the fact that those peoples, from having long dwelt under practically similar conditions in the Mediterranean basin, have gradually acquired that general physical similarity which has led Sergi and his followers to the assumption that they have a proximate common ancestry, and that they accordingly form but a single race.

Nor is there any lack of instances of convergence of type under similar conditions in the case of the lower animals. We saw that the asses of south-western Asia approximate in colour to the asses of north-east Africa, and, in respect of the absence of shoulder-stripe, more especially to the nearest of these, the ass of Somaliland. Yet it does not follow that they are more closely related to the Somali ass than they are to their own next neighbours, the kiang. On the contrary, it is much more likely that the Somali ass is closely related to those of Abyssinia, and that the south-western Asiatic asses are closely related to the kiang. The approximation in colour, absence of shoulder-stripe, and size of the ears between the asses of Somaliland and those of south-western Asia must rather be explained by a convergence of types under the somewhat similar climatic conditions of Somaliland and the nearest parts of south-western Asia. Again, though there are very strong specific differences between the Grévy and Burchelline zebras met in the neighbourhood of Lake Barringo, there is a curious approximation not only in marking but also in the teeth between these two species, which is best accounted for by supposing that it is the outcome of similar environment. It may be said that this approximation may be due to the interbreeding of the two species of zebras in the region where they overlap. This, in

itself a most unlikely contingency from all that is known of the habits of wild species, certainly cannot be alleged in the case of the convergence in type between the asses of south-western Asia and the Somali ass, since they are separated by the Red Sea and the Persian Gulf.

Again, the representative of the crocodile family in the Ganges is distinguished by the extreme elongation of the head and jaws, whilst the same elongation of the head is equally characteristic of the representative of the dolphin family found in the same waters. Moreover, all through the Indian Ocean wherever any family of crabs has come to inhabit coralline sands its members have long legs. Furthermore, it has long been noticed that in Cutch all the larger animals have a tendency to become a sandy colour, whilst in certain areas of South America insects¹, no matter to what family they belong, have a similar trend towards one common aspect.

It may of course be said that the changes in colour of the horse family, tigers, and insects are for "protective" reasons. But the case of the horse family alone is sufficient to dispose of this objection. The kiang of the Himalaya had no dangerous enemy until man was armed with a rifle. In Africa the zebras have had only two formidable foes—man and the lion. It is asserted by the most experienced hunters that the gaudy livery of the zebra makes him conspicuous from afar, whether he is on the mountain, on the plain, or in the shade of a tree. His brilliant colour therefore really exposes him to man. But it will be said that it is well adapted to conceal him at night, at which time the lion seeks his prey. Yet as the best authorities hold that the lion hunts entirely by scent, the coloration of the zebra affords him no protection against his inveterate foe.

I have shown² that in horses the colours—such as bay, black, grey, dun and white—accompany certain well-defined inward qualities. But as black is most certainly not a primitive horse colour, it follows that coat colours may be intimately connected with certain other characteristics quite irrespective of protective colouring. Again, as the variation in the size and shape of the

¹ Dixey, *Proc. Brit. Ass.* 1907, pp. 786-7.

² *The Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred horse*, pp. 372, 423, 441-3.

ears and hoofs of the asses and zebras cannot be set down to protective colouring, but must be due to other causes, there is no reason why variations in colour should not be ascribed to similar causes.

Natives of Africa. The argument based on the analogy of the horse family and the tigers, and on that of the natives of the New World, may be applied to the races of Africa. Next to the Mediterranean lie the Berbers and their Hamitic congeners, who are regarded as part of the Eurafrian species by Sergi and his school. But the Berbers are not all of the typical Mediterranean physique. The blond Berbers of the highlands of Rif in North-west Morocco and of the Atlas have long been well known. In the region lower down and in western Tunis the occurrence of the xanthochrous type seems much less frequent, whilst further east it practically disappears. It is certain that there was a fair-haired element in Libya long before Rome conquered Carthage or the Vandals had passed into the ken of history, for Callimachus (cf. vol. I. p. 285) testifies to the existence of blond Berbers in the third century B.C. We may hold, then, with Sergi and others, that the blond element in the Berbers is not a survival from invasions of Vandals or Goths or from Roman colonists, but that they rather owe their fair complexions and light-coloured eyes to the circumstance that they were cradled in a cool mountainous region, and not along the low-lying border of the Mediterranean like their dark-coloured relations whose language and customs they share.

If, then, some of those who speak Hamitic are fair, and had been fair for centuries before Christ, as Sergi himself admits, whilst others are dark, there is no reason why some of the peoples who speak Aryan might not be dark whilst others are blond. The Berbers and their Hamitic congeners shade off on the south into other peoples, but this is not altogether due to intermarriage, as is commonly held, for it is more probably to be explained as due in a large part to climatic conditions. The Bantus, who are said to have originated in the Galla country and to have spread thence, are now regarded by the chief authorities as the result of an intermixture of Hamites and

Negroes¹. But, on the grounds just stated, it is more rational to regard them as having been evolved in the area lying between the Hamitic peoples on the north and the Negroes on the south, just as we have corresponding types of the horse family in Nubia and Abyssinia and in the equatorial regions. The same hypothesis also explains the existence of those cattle-keeping tribes which lie west of the Nile stretching across northern Nigeria, who border on the Berbers, but yet differ from them, and border also on the Negroes, but differ from them likewise. South of these tribes come the Negroes, the true children of the equator. The Bantu is able to live in elevated equatorial areas, and he has burst his way down to the sub-tropical and temperate parts of South Africa, where he especially flourishes in the highlands, thus showing that his race was originally evolved under similar conditions. In the south the Bantu found the Hottentots, who are especially distinguished by steatopygy, a feature which has led some to identify them with the primitive steatopygous race supposed to have once lived in southern Europe, Malta, and north Africa, and to have left evidence of their characteristic in their representations of themselves. But, granting that such a race once lived in north Africa and southern Europe, there is really no more reason for supposing that they and the Hottentots formed one and the same race than there is for assuming that Daniell's quagga, which was practically a bay horse, was proximately akin to the bay horse of north Africa. The occurrence of steatopygy in two areas so wide apart is not due to an ethnical migration, but rather to similar climatic conditions producing similar characteristics.

Mixed Races. As some anthropologists commonly explain the origin of races such as the Bantus by intermarriage, it may be well to see whether intermarriage between two races, one of which is an invader, is likely to produce a permanent effect upon the general physique of a whole community. It has been shown in the first volume of this work (p. 397) that the many invasions of fair-haired races into the three southern peninsulas of Europe and into the Aegean islands have left no permanent trace on the population. It is a matter of common

¹ A. C. Haddon, Address to Section H, *Proc. Brit. Ass.* 1905, p. 516.

knowledge that the offspring of British and native parents in India have a constant tendency to die out. The same undoubtedly holds true for the offspring of British soldiers serving in Egypt, the Soudan, and West Africa. The native race always reasserts itself. In America the Spanish blood has died out, or is dying out, everywhere except in the temperate regions of Chile, Quito, and Argentina, where the descendants of the Spanish settlers thrive in a climate very analogous to that of Spain. In the southern states of North America the whites cannot flourish, and only just manage to survive. On the other hand the descendants of the Negro slaves imported into Brazil, the West Indies, and the southern states of North America thrive and multiply with extraordinary vigour; a fact doubtless due to their race having been evolved under similar conditions in equatorial Africa. Even from the evidence already to hand there is high probability that intermarriage can do little to form a new race unless the parents on both sides are of races evolved in similar environments.

We have already pointed out (vol. I. p. 400) that although the fair-haired race of upper Europe has age after age kept pouring over the Alps into Italy and the other southern peninsulas, and has constantly intermixed with the indigenous populations, it is only in the upper part of Italy that the blond race is able to hold its own. In Italy the xanthochrous race in ancient times, as to-day, was at its maximum along the Alps, and gradually dwindled towards the south until the melanochrous race stood practically alone in the lower part of the peninsula. So too in the Balkan, whilst the fair-haired element was at its maximum along the Alps and the Danube, southwards the melanochrous became more and more completely dominant, as it practically is to-day in the lower part of that peninsula.

In reference to this question the researches of Dr C. S. Myers on Egyptian skulls¹ have a great interest, for he was led by the results of his investigations to the conclusion that "in spite of the various infiltrations of foreign blood in the past, modern Egypt contains a homogeneous population which gradually shifts its average character as we proceed south-

¹ *Journ. Roy. Anthropol. Inst.* vol. xxxviii. p. 100.

wards from the shores of the Mediterranean to Nubia beyond the First Cataract." The *prima facie* case in favour of the action of environment in the Nile valley on the human race is corroborated by the circumstance, well known to zoologists, that European domestic cattle when introduced into Egypt have an invariable tendency to develop a hump. In face of the evidence at hand up to the present it would seem more likely that each successive belt of country as we move southwards in Africa has a tendency to produce types peculiar to itself in man, as well as in the lower animals such as the zebras and giraffes, and that this is a far more important factor in forming race types than mere intermarriage. But to this point we shall soon have occasion to revert.

As our discussion from its nature concerns itself with questions of race, let us now examine the criteria by which anthropologists distinguish one race from another. If one asks an anthropologist how he discriminates an Aryan from a non-Aryan race, he will say that he relies on three main tests: (a) the colour of the skin, hair, and eyes; (b) the shape of the skull and certain other osteological characteristics; and (c) the system of descent through males. Formerly language was included in the tests of race, but when it was pointed out that the negroes of Jamaica speak English, those of Louisiana French, henceforward it was assumed that one race can adopt the language of another with the greatest ease, no attention being paid to the very important fact that in such adoptions by negroes the tense-systems of English and French were completely disintegrated¹.

Yet, in view of the arguments put forward in the first volume of the present work (vol. I. pp. 647 *sqq.*), it is clear that language was too hastily expelled from the criteria of race. On the other hand, we may find that too implicit faith has been placed on the three criteria of cranial characteristics, pigmentation, and law of male succession, whilst we have already seen in the present chapter that succession through males is worthless as a test. As it was assumed that all Aryans were

¹ No better example of this can be cited than the familiar words of Topsy in *Uncle Tom's Cabin* "When me thinks of what me is and what me used to was."

blond and traced descent through males, so it is held that all Europeans who are dark-complexioned and whose forefathers traced descent through women are non-Aryan in race; and that, although they now in almost every case speak an Aryan tongue, this is not their primitive speech, but simply one learned from their Aryan conquerors. According to this orthodox view, the melanochrous inhabitants of Italy, Spain, and Greece are all non-Aryan, and have all borrowed the language of their masters, whilst of course the same is held respecting the melanochrous population of France, Holland, and the British Isles.

Supporters of the old doctrine have raised the objection that in countries lying so far north as Great Britain and Ireland the dark Mediterranean race is found. Certainly a dark race is there found, but very different from the dark race as seen in the southern peninsulas. The hair is indeed very dark, yet it is not the blue-black hair of the south, whilst the skin is beautifully fair, and the eyes are often blue. The latter is especially the case in the west of Ireland, where there has been the least intermixture of the native population with people of Teutonic race. In this type I maintain that we have probably the transition stage between the full melanochrous met in Spain, Italy, and Greece, with its olive skin, blue-black hair, and black eyes, and the tall blond Scandinavian, where we see the change in pigmentation now fully accomplished, the hair as well as the eyes being of a light hue. This retardation of change in Ireland can be fully accounted for by its mild climate, owing to which the flora of the west and south-west of that island approximates to that of the Spanish peninsula (for example the Mediterranean heath, *erica mediterraniensis*, flourishes there), whilst there are also coincidences between the fauna of the two regions. As the dark type in Ireland so frequently shows blue eyes, the writer was led to conclude that the pigmentation of the eye is less stable than that of the hair. Let us turn again to the recent Danish evidence¹. The data show all kinds of pigmentation both in the hair and in the eyes, but with some very important limitations: (1) a very

¹ See p. 258 *supra*.

large proportion have blond hair and blue eyes; (2) a very large number have dark hair and dark eyes; (3) a considerable number have dark hair but blue eyes (just as in Ireland), whilst (4) a few, but very few, have blond hair and dark eyes—a phenomenon also known in Ireland, but there likewise very rare.

My doctrine of the instability of eye colour has recently received remarkable confirmation. Dr William Wright¹, in his Hunterian Lectures, writes: "The effect of sunlight in darkening the skin is well known. As to eye colour, my friend Mr J. V. Hodgson, biologist to the Scott Antarctic Expedition, informed me that as a result of living under such unusual conditions, the eyes of the members of the expedition became so blue as to occasion remark on their return to New Zealand, and also on their arrival home in this country. Colour therefore, like the cephalic index and stature, is also prone to change, and in itself is not deserving of implicit trust." But though the pigmentation of the eye can be quickly modified in the individual in a new environment, the race would probably have to live under these conditions for a very long period before such blueness would become a fixed racial trait.

It will be seen (1) that my view that the short-skulled "Alpine race" was developed in Europe and is not a Mongoloid or Armenoid intrusion from Asia has been endorsed by eminent craniologists and by the conclusions drawn by the Danish anthropologists from their own Anthropometric Survey, and (2) that my theory of pigmentation has likewise been confirmed by the same Survey and by the evidence derived from the Antarctic Expedition. Thus within a short period since they were first propounded my theories of the origin of the short-skulled "Alpine race" have been corroborated by various kinds of evidence as well as endorsed by leading anatomists.

On the other hand they have by no means passed unchallenged, though only one systematic attempt has been made to refute them,—that of Mr Bernard Houghton, I.C.S.²,

¹ "The Prehistoric and Early Historic Inhabitants of England," Lecture III (a), p. 7 (reprinted from the *Middlesex Hospital Journal*, April 1908).

² *Science Progress*, Oct. 1909, pp. 267 sqq. My reply (parts of which dealing with the physical side of Man are practically reprinted in the present work) appeared in *Science Progress*, July, 1910, pp. 126 sqq.

who declares that "the arguments used rest on foundations of quicksand and that the inferences do not really arise from the facts adduced." He states that "the fundamental error in his (Ridgeway's) position consists in an assertion of the essential fluidity of head-form and such-like physical characteristics and in their derivation from climatic and other surroundings, in contrast with an alleged permanence over a given area of the language originally spoken there....He predicates also a similar local permanence of idiosyncrasy, polity, and social and religious ideas....The central and dominant feature of the first portion of his address consists in an ascription to local influences of those physical traits of mankind which have hitherto by all competent investigators been referred to racial causes—that is, to heredity."

Let me at once point out that, while I do ascribe great importance to the influence of environment, I hold also very strongly the doctrine of heredity, in fact, too strongly for Mr Houghton's fancy when he has to deal with my doctrines of the value of heredity as a most important, if not the most important factor, in our own chief social problems. But the grand problem of the true relation between Heredity and Environment has yet to be solved. Mr Houghton's case depends wholly on the assumption that Man is absolutely free from the natural laws which condition the osteology and pigmentation of other animals. This, he thinks, was settled once for all by Sir E. Ray Lankester. Thus he writes: "As Sir Ray Lankester demonstrated so brilliantly three years ago, man is an insurgent against Nature. Once proto-man utilised skins as a protection against the inclemency of the weather, once he kindled fire to serve as a shield against cold and wild beasts and fabricated for himself cunning weapons of offence, he withdrew himself definitely and for ever from the operation of the old zoological environment." These are bold words, but they are certainly a not inaccurate statement of the view put forward by Sir E. Ray Lankester in his Romanes Lecture at Oxford in 1905, since republished in his book entitled *The Kingdom of Man*.

In the latter work¹ that eminent man writes: "The mental

¹ p. 25.

qualities which have developed in Man, though traceable in a vague and rudimentary condition in some of his animal associates, are of such an unprecedented power, and so far dominate everything else in his activities as a living organism, that they have to a very large extent, if not entirely, cut him off from the general operation of that process of Natural Selection and survival of the fittest which up to their appearance had been the law of the living world....If we may for the purpose of analysis, as it were, extract man from the rest of Nature of which he is truly a product and part, then we may say that Man is Nature's rebel. Where Nature says 'Die!' Man says 'I will live.' According to the law previously in universal operation, Man should have been limited in geographical area, killed by extremes of cold or of heat, subject to starvation if one kind of diet were unattainable, and should have been unable to increase and multiply, just as are his animal relatives, without losing his specific structure and acquiring new physical characters according to the requirements of the new conditions into which he strayed—should have perished except on the condition of becoming a new morphological 'species.' But man's wits and his will have enabled him to cross rivers and oceans by rafts and boats, to clothe himself against cold, to shelter himself from heat and rain, to prepare an endless variety of food by fire, and to 'increase and multiply' as no other animal without change of form, without submitting to the terrible axe of selection wielded by ruthless Nature over all other living things on this globe." Again we read¹: "In spite of the frequent assertions to the contrary, it seems that neither the more ancient wars of mankind for conquest and migration nor the present and future wars for commercial privilege have any real equivalence to the simple removal by death of the unfit and the survival and reproduction of the fit, which we know as Natural Selection." Yet after all these bold statements of the rebellion of Man and his freedom from the action of Natural Selection, Sir E. Ray Lankester says (in a footnote)²: "It would be an error to maintain that the process of Natural Selection is entirely in abeyance in regard to Man. In an interesting book, *The Present Evolution*

¹ p. 27² p. 28.

of *Man*, Dr Archdall Reid has shown that in regard to zymotic diseases, and also in regard to the use of dangerous drugs such as alcohol and opium, there is first of all the acquirement of immunity by powerful races of men, through the survival among them of those strains tolerant of the disease or of the drug, and secondly the introduction of those diseases and drugs by the powerful immune race, in its migrations, to races not previously exposed either to the diseases or the drug, and a consequent destruction of the invaded race. The survival of the fittest is, in these cases, a survival of the tolerant and eventually of the immune."

This is not the place to point out the series of assumptions made by Sir E. Ray Lankester in the brilliant description (chiefly imaginative) which he drew for his Oxford audience of the emergence of *Man* from the stage when, like all other animals, he was under the law of Natural Selection. His own admission contained in the footnote just cited, that Natural Selection is still at work, and that too in most potent forms, is sufficient to demonstrate the untenable nature of the position which he took up in his lecture, and which has been adopted by Mr Houghton as the basis of all his strictures on my doctrines. But it must not be supposed, as might appear from Sir E. Ray Lankester's footnote, that it is only among savage races, such as the North American Indians, the Polynesians or the Melanesians, that Nature still wields her ruthless selective axe in many a ghastly shape of measles, smallpox, syphilis and brandy.

Thus in the latter part of the fifth century before Christ, when Athens had risen to the zenith of her political power and intellectual predominance under Pericles, she was ravaged by that famous plague of which Thucydides, himself one of the few "tolerant" who had escaped from the grip of the fiend, has left us an unfading description. Hippocrates, the greatest physician of the ancient world and the true founder of therapeutics, was summoned to Athens, and though his advice to light great fires to purify the atmosphere was probably the best then available, the plague held steadily on its course not only in Attica, but in other parts of Greece, until it had devoured all

those who were pathologically predestined to be its food. But who will assert that the Athenians of the age of Sophocles, Euripides, Pheidias, Ictinus, Aristophanes, and Socrates, were either savages or barbarians?

In A.D. 527 Justinian became emperor of the East. His reign was marked not only by that great legal code which still bears his name and which has moulded the jurisprudence of the civilized nations of to-day, but by great works of art, such as the Church of St Sophia at Constantinople. Medical science had also in the hands of Celsus, Galen and others made no inconsiderable progress. It is even likely that the magnifying lens of crystal—that weapon by which the modern bacteriologists have won their great victories—was already known and used by the physicians of Byzantium, as it was most certainly employed by them at a date not long subsequent. Yet in the reign of the great emperor a fierce outbreak of bubonic plague in 543 not only desolated the capital of the East, but marched unhindered across Europe, even reaching remote Ierne by 548. Thus in *The Annals of the Four Masters*¹ under A.D. 543 occurs the statement that “there was an extraordinary universal plague through the world, which swept away the noblest third part of the human race.” Again under A.D. 548² we read, following a list of names, that “of the mortality which was called the Cron-Chonail (*flava ictericia*)—and that was the first Buidhe Chonail—these saints died.” Thus then in the greatest days of the Lower Empire, when Byzantium was at the height of her political, intellectual and artistic dominion, she was as powerless to deal with bubonic plague as the natives of some Pacific isle are to cope with smallpox or measles.

It is no matter for surprise that in the barbaric regions of northern and north-western Europe that pestilence should have stalked unhindered where it pleased. In A.D. 664, according to the Four Masters, there was another outbreak of “yellow fever.” This corresponds to that recorded by Bede³ from the descriptions of eyewitnesses. It first ravaged the southern parts of Britain,

¹ Edited by John O'Donovan (1856), Vol. i. p. 183.

² *op. cit.* p. 187.

³ *Hist. Eccl.* iii. 27. 240.

then fell with special fury upon Northumbria, and crossed over into Ireland. The East Saxons also suffered terribly, and to this cause Bede ascribes their lapse into paganism. So deep was the impression made on the popular mind by this visitation that it was long known in story as the "plague of Cadwallader's time."

It can hardly be urged that Britain and Ireland in the seventh century were little removed from savagery, since the remains of Celtic literature and art of that period are still the wonder and admiration of the scholar and the artist. In the seven centuries which followed there were various outbreaks of pestilence apparently chiefly due to famine, and there can be no reasonable doubt that Nature with this her great "two-handed engine" as a rule removed the weakling and spared only the fittest to continue the race.

But when the next great visitation of bubonic plague befell England, she could not be described as in a low state of culture much less of barbarism. This onset, known in history as the Black Death, made its first appearance in England in Dorsetshire, probably at Weymouth, in August 1348. It spread with incredible swiftness over that county, Devon and Somerset, leaving them almost bare of inhabitants, and reached Bristol by the 14th of the month. Gloucester in vain tried to keep the invader outside her walls by establishing a cordon; from that city it passed to Oxford and reached London by Michaelmas or All Saints, and once established in the capital it held there its infernal revelry for some seven or eight months. It was not till March in the following spring that it reached Norwich and the east coast. There seems little doubt that half the population of East Anglia perished, amongst whom were no less than five hundred beneficed clergy in the diocese of Norwich alone, and amongst them Edmund Gonville, founder of Gonville and Caius College. All through that awful year William Bateman, Bishop of Norwich, Gonville's executor and himself founder of Trinity Hall, sat in his palace in plague-stricken Norwich, day by day instituting fresh clergy to the vacant cures. This was an age of great magnificence and splendour, as grand cathedrals, stately castles and portals, sumptuous metal work and the rich enamels

of Limoges, still witness. It was also a period of great mental and moral activity; it saw the foundation of not a few colleges in the English Universities. Geoffrey Chaucer was a little lad of some eight summers when this scourge fell upon Dorset, and John Wiclif was soon to sound the first trumpet-blast of liberty of thought and conscience.

The Black Death passed into Ireland making its descents at Howth and Dalkey on the Bay of Dublin and at Drogheda, the port at the mouth of the Boyne. The date of its coming can be fixed with accuracy not only from an entry in *The Annals of the Four Masters* under 1349, which records the raging of a great plague, but also from a pathetic note written in the oldest manuscript¹ of the great Irish law-book, the *Senchus Mor*: "One thousand three hundred ten and forty years from the birth of Christ till this night; and this is the second year since the coming of the plague into Ireland. I have written this in the twentieth year of my age. I am Hugh, son of Conor MacEgan, and whoever reads it let him offer a prayer of mercy for my soul. This is Christmas night, and on this night I place myself under the protection of the King of Heaven and Earth, beseeching that he will bring me and my friends safe through this plague²."

The social revolution produced in England by the Black Death, and its influence in abolishing villenage, are familiar to all students of mediaeval history. But though the Black Death apparently passed away, this is not to be regarded as by any means a true view of the case. There were indeed "few years between 1348 and 1666 in which the infection did not declare its presence in London³." That it was endemic, as in Bagdad in our own times, and one of the most formidable of the emissaries of Death with which the physician had to battle, is demonstrated by the fact that the first regular monograph

¹ This is MS. H. 2. 15. in the library of Trinity College, Dublin.

² The note adds that Hugh wrote this note "in his own father's book in the year of the great plague." This clever youth, though spared by the plague, died at the age of 29, since in the *Annals* is recorded in 1359 the death of Hugh, son of Conor MacEgan, who is described as the choicest of the Brehons of Ireland. The MacEgans were a family of Brehons.

³ C. Creighton, *Hist. of Epidemics*, vol. i. p. 652.

on any disease was the famous treatise of Dr John Caius on *The Sweatyng Sicknesse* (1552). There were great seasons of plague in 1603 and 1625, and one of less severity in 1636, and seasons of moderate plague in 1606-10 and 1640-7, whilst Oxford in 1643 had a visitation of fever which in some cases was bubonic¹. The malady which prevailed in that city and at Wallingford in 1645 was undoubtedly the true bubonic form.

The conditions which led to the great outbreak of that disease in 1665, commonly known as the Plague of London, were of various kinds. In the first place, since 1625 there had been no severe onset of that malady to sweep away all those who were not tolerant or immune, and it was even a generation since the milder outburst of 1636. The court of the Restoration and its concomitant luxury and consequent large employment of labour had drawn great numbers of the working-classes to the city from their homes in the country, and these people may have been less immune than the town-born citizens; the relaxation of morals may have predisposed many constitutions to admit the bacillus, while according to contemporary writers another important factor was the weather. It is noteworthy that the pest broke out not in the low-lying and unhealthy parts of the city but on the highest ground and in what should have been the healthiest suburbs.

According to Boghurst, a physician who practised in St Giles'-in-the-Fields, "it was only after a considerable time that it made its way into Holborn and the Strand, and then into the city, and at last to the east end of the suburbs, so that it was half a year at the west end of the city before the east end and Stepney was infected, which was about the middle of July." With the Fire of London the bubonic plague took its departure not only from that city but practically from the whole kingdom, the last place to suffer from it being Nottingham, where it was still at work in 1667². The curious feature of this visitation was that just as in London it "made a cruel desolation in the higher part of Nottingham, for very few died in the lower; especially in a street called Narrow Marsh

¹ *op. cit.* vol. I. pp. 549 *sqq.*

² *op. cit.* vol. I. p. 691.

it was observed that the infection had no power, and that during the whole time the plague raged, not one who lived in that street died of it, which induced many of the richer sort of people to crowd thither and hire lodgings at any price; the preservation of the people was attributed to the effluvia of the tanners' ouze (for there were then 47 tanners' yards in that place), besides which they caused a smoak to be made by burning moist tanners' knobs."

What has been said above respecting the high civilization of England in 1348-9 applies *mutatis mutandis* to the England of 1665-6. The Restoration had given an impetus to the arts and it was a period of great activity in many forms of literature, ranging from *Paradise Lost* to witty and immoral comedies. The court indeed was licentious and corrupt, but it was also the age of some of the best and purest of our great divines, such as Jeremy Taylor, Tillotson, and Stillingfleet. Science too had cast off her swaddling clothes and had begun to walk freely. In 1628 William Harvey, of Gonville and Caius College, by the discovery of the circulation of the blood and by his great principle *ex ovo omne vivum*, had laid broad and deep the foundation of all modern physiology and of scientific medicine; twenty-two years later Francis Glisson, of the same college, had written a famous treatise *De Rachitide* (1650), still reckoned a classic; whilst in 1660 was founded the Royal Society, of which Glisson was one of the first fellows. Thus the Englishmen of that period, though impotent to stay the progress of pestilence, cannot be regarded as either savages or barbarians.

Bubonic plague disappeared completely of its own accord from English soil, yet fevers, such as spotted typhus, wrought havoc from time to time in the subsequent centuries. It has only been with the improvement of sanitation in the last half of the nineteenth century that physicians have been able to grapple successfully with either indigenous fevers or epidemics from abroad. A brief survey of the invasions of Asiatic cholera in the forepart of that century will show how helpless in the face of that scourge were the contemporaries of Watt, Stephenson, Arkwright, Nasmyth, and the other master inventors who brought about the material revolution of Great Britain and

the world. The first death in England from Asiatic cholera took place on October 26th, 1831, and in the following year the epidemic spread to many parts of England, Scotland and Ireland¹. Its movements were eccentric, for the destroyer spared not only some counties with the exception of a few towns and villages, but some larger towns such as Birmingham, Cheltenham, Hertford and Cambridge, the last of which, as Dr Creighton points out, (unlike Oxford) has been generally fortunate in escaping the assaults of epidemics. The cholera went where it listed, and after running its course died out. The second attack of Asiatic cholera befell England, Scotland and Ireland in 1848—9; a third followed in 1853—4, whilst the fourth and last came in 1866, and hardly affected Scotland and did not make its way into Ireland. Since that date improved methods of sanitation have been able to deal promptly and effectually with the sporadic cases which from time to time occur in London and other great ports.

But although our own islands are at last thus able to keep out these deadly visitants, it is far otherwise with wide regions of our Empire. At this moment amongst comparatively civilized people who enjoy what are termed all the blessings of British government hundreds of thousands are slowly fading to death from sleeping sickness in the region of the Great Lakes of Equatorial Africa. Science indeed amidst a chorus of plaudits has discovered the deadly creature which works this havoc, but nevertheless the trypanosoma stalks onward in his career of destruction contemptuous of Man and his boast that where Nature says die, Man says he will live. And though it might be urged that the Baganda of East Africa are mere barbarians, this cannot be alleged of the great races of Hindustan. Many are the arts that Europe has learned from them. The very numerals which we daily and hourly use under the name of Arabic were the invention of the ancient Indian mathematicians. Yet within the limits of the great Asiatic peninsula no less than twelve millions of human beings have within little more than a decade fallen a prey to that same bubonic plague which desolated Byzantium and the empires of the east and west in the reign of the

¹ *op. cit.* vol. II. pp. 793 *seqq.*

imperial jurist. All the resources of the latest discoveries of bacteriology have been at the command of those who have bravely and unceasingly striven to stay the path of the destroyer, but all in vain. The plague fiend moves where he listeth, mocking at the puny efforts of rebellious man, and bowing to no law save that of Nature he marks for destruction those whom she has declared to be neither tolerant nor immune.

From this brief summary of some of the chief visitations of pestilence in ancient, mediaeval and modern times, it is clear that no line can be drawn between outbreaks of smallpox and measles amongst savages and those forms of pestilence which at the present hour are working havoc not only amongst the more advanced tribes of East Africa, but amongst the highly civilized nations of Hindustan, and which, as far back as history and legend go, have been from time to time the scourges of the most cultured races of antiquity, of the middle ages and of modern times. Great Britain indeed by improved sanitation, as we have seen, since 1866 has been able to keep cholera from her soil. But can we be sure that Nature, though temporarily baffled, may not be silently forging some more subtle deadly weapons whereby she will in her own time exact terrible retribution from the race which in one or two respects has checked the progress of her selective axe? From the standpoint of what is best for the race it may be that Plato¹ was not far wrong in holding that physicians keep alive people who would be better dead.

Science can do something to control tuberculosis, but against cancer she is still as impotent as an Indian medicine-man or a Sinhalese devil-dancer. When Nature says "Die," it is just as futile for man to cry "I will live," as was the fiery outburst of Uncle Toby in *Tristram Shandy*, when told by Corporal Trim that Le Fevre's condition was hopeless: "A well-a-day!—do what we can for him, said Trim, maintaining his point,—the poor soul will die. He shall not die, by G—, cried my Uncle Toby. The accusing spirit, which flew up to Heaven's chancery with the oath, blushed as he gave it in; and the

¹ Rep. 405 a—407.

recording angel, as he wrote it down, dropped a tear upon the word, and blotted it out for ever." Meet is such mercy for the rebellious outbursts of a warm heart, but not for the cold-blooded man of science who deliberately asserts that Man has freed himself from Nature's laws. The assumption that any race of men or of the lower animals can immigrate to a climate very different from that in which it has dwelt for long ages, and there survive permanently without undergoing any morphological change, is contrary to well established facts.

As already pointed out (p. 260), the American of New England differs essentially in his type from his English ancestors, and the Boer of South Africa shows no less departure from the type of his Dutch progenitors, whilst good observers in Australia are already calling attention to indications that the descendants of the British immigrants in the older colonies of that continent are settling down to a uniform type differing from any known in the mother country. The instance just cited of the influence of Antarctic environment on the colour of the eyes is itself sufficient to demonstrate the falseness of the assumptions of Sir E. Ray Lankester and Mr Houghton.

Still more striking is an example for which I am indebted to Mr E. Torday and Mr T. A. Joyce¹. In the forests of the Congo region live certain pigmies known as the Batwa. The Bushongo, who when they entered the country found the Batwa in possession, hold them in superstitious awe, regarding them as spirits born from trees. In some cases bands of these pigmies have been induced to leave the forest, settle in villages, and practise agriculture. In such cases they are regarded by the Bushongo as becoming more human; but no intermarriage ever seems to take place between Bushongo and Batwa. Mr Torday visited two of these villages of settled Batwa. The Bushongo told him that it is only three generations since these Batwa left the forest. He noted that the stature of the inhabitants of these communities was considerably above that of the nomad Batwa, though it did not equal that of their Bushongo neighbours. "As the possibility of intermarriage

¹ *Les Bushongo* (Bruxelles, 1910), p. 50.

seems quite out of the question, it seems necessary to conclude that the short stature of the pigmies is to some extent due to the depressing effect of forest life or to Natural Selection influenced by environment."

Mr Claude White in a recent work on *Sikkim and Bhutan*¹, writes: "The people of the West (of Bhutan) are for the most part of Tibetan origin who came into the country centuries ago. They are of the same original stock as the Bhuteas in Sikkim, but have developed in Bhutan into a magnificent race of men physically. Why there should be this marked contrast, I cannot say, it may be due to the difference in the climate, but there is no comparison between the two, although the Sikkim Bhutea is a strong, sturdy fellow in his own way." My friend Mr J. D. Anderson, I.C.S., Reader in Bengali in the University of Cambridge, has pointed out to me that the greater stature of the Khasias of Assam, who dwell in the midst of Tibeto-Burman tribes, compared with that of their Burmese cousins the Monds, is to be attributed to their environment in Assam, where they continue to speak their own language, though assimilated in physical type to the Assamese tribes around.

In view of the facts here set forth we need not be astonished at the remarkable statements contained in the recent report of the Immigration Commission of the United States on *Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants*². In the introduction to this report presented by Mr Dillingham to Congress we are told: "The question of the assimilation of immigrants under American conditions has long been looked upon as vital, and it has been much discussed, but heretofore with little accurate information. Speaking from general personal observation, people have thought that under the influence of the existing educational, social, and political conditions, the immigrants

¹ p. 9.

² 61st Congress, 2nd Session, Senate, Document No. 208. *The Immigration Commission. Changes in Bodily Form of Descendants of Immigrants presented by Mr Dillingham, December 16, 1909—Referred to the Committee on Immigration and ordered to be printed with illustrations.* (Washington, Government Printing Office, 1910.)

gradually change their habits of life and their ways of thinking, and thus become Americans. Little or no thought has been given to the possible effect of these conditions on the physical type of descendants of immigrants.

Shortly after the beginning of the Immigration Commission's work, the possibility of getting a more accurate and more scientific test of the influence of the American environment upon our immigrants and their descendants was considered. It was thought that if measurements of the bodies of European immigrants and of their descendants at different ages and under differing circumstances could be made in the careful way followed by scientific anthropometrists, valuable results might be reached. One of the best experts on this question, Prof. Franz Boas, of Columbia University, was invited to direct the investigation and was put in general charge. A small appropriation was made to test the question, and see if the promise of results was sufficient to warrant the continuance of the investigation. Almost immediately it became evident that there might be much value in such a study, and the work has therefore been continued, although as yet only on a small scale. The investigation has been carried on only in New York City and its immediate vicinity, much of the material being furnished by the public schools. The results so far are based entirely upon the measurements of Sicilians and east European Hebrews. There is much material in hand, but not yet worked out, regarding the Bohemians, Hungarians, and Scotch.

The results, in the opinion of Professor Boas, are much more far-reaching than was anticipated. It is probably not too much to say that they indicate a discovery in anthropological science that is fundamental in importance. The report seems to indicate that the descendant of the European immigrant 'changes his type even in the first generation almost entirely. Children born not more than a few years after the arrival of the immigrant parents in America develop in such a way that they differ in type essentially from their foreign-born parents. These differences seem to develop during the earliest childhood and persist throughout life. It seems that every part of the body is influenced in this way, and even the form of the head,

which has always been considered as one of the most permanent hereditary features, undergoes considerable changes.

The importance of this entirely unexpected result lies in the fact that even those characteristics which modern science has led us to consider as most stable are subject to thorough changes under the new environment.' This would indicate the conclusion 'that racial physical characteristics do not survive under the new social and climatic environment of America.' The adaptability of the various races coming together on our shores seems, if these indications shall be fully borne out in later study, to be much greater than had been anticipated. If the American environment can bring about a modification of the head forms in the first generation, may it not be that other characteristics may be as easily modified, and that there may be a rapid assimilation of widely varying nationalities and races to something that may well be called an American type?

The commission feels that it is too early to pronounce absolutely upon this question. The investigation is by no means complete, and moreover, considering the importance of the subject, it should clearly be carried on on a larger scale and in different surroundings in various parts of the country, and perhaps also be checked up by certain investigations made upon the same races elsewhere. Without venturing, therefore, to pronounce as yet a definite judgment, the commission expresses its confidence in the training and ability of Professor Boas, in charge of the work, and urges strongly the desirability of continuing this most important investigation on an extended scale."

Then follows the statement of Dr Franz Boas¹ himself:

"The anthropological investigation had for its object an enquiry into the assimilation of the immigrants by the American people, so far as the form of the body is concerned.

On account of the short time available for the investigation and the limited means at our disposal, it seemed necessary to select a very few among the important problems with a view to clearing up a few fundamental points rather than to attack the

¹ *op. cit.* p. 7.

whole problem with the prospect of not being able to give a definite answer to any of the questions involved.

An attempt was made to solve the following questions:

1. Is there a change in the type of development of the immigrant and his descendants, due to his transfer from his home surroundings to the congested parts of New York?

2. Is there a change in the type of the adult descendant of the immigrant born in this country as compared to the adult immigrant arriving on the shores of our continent?

The investigation has shown much more than was anticipated; and the results, so far as worked out, may be summarized as follows:

1. The head form, which has always been considered as one of the most stable and permanent characteristics of human races, undergoes far-reaching changes due to the transfer of the races of Europe to American soil. The east European Hebrew, who has a very round head, becomes more long-headed; the south Italian, who in Italy has an exceedingly long head, becomes more short-headed; so that both approach a uniform type in this country, so far as the roundness of the head is concerned.

The head form may conveniently be expressed by a number indicating the transversal diameter (or width of the head) in per cents of the diameter measured from forehead to the back of the head (or the length of the head). When the head is elongated (that is, narrow when seen from the front, and long when seen in profile), this number will be low; when it is rounded (that is, wide when seen from the front, and short when seen in profile), this number will be high. The width of head expressed in per cents of the length of the head is about 78 per cent among Sicilians born in Sicily; it is about 84 per cent among Hebrews born in eastern Europe; among Sicilians born in America this number rises to more than 80 per cent, while among east European Hebrews born in America it sinks to 81 per cent.

This fact is one of the most suggestive ones discovered in our investigation, because it shows that not even those characteristics of race which have proved to be most permanent in

their old home remain the same under our new surroundings; and we are compelled to conclude that when these features of the body change, the whole bodily and mental make-up of the immigrants may change."

Then follows his table and diagram showing the changes that take place in the head-form of American-born Sicilians and east European Hebrews in comparison to that of European-born Sicilians and east European Hebrews.

Dr Boas continues¹: "The diagram shows very clearly that the two races in Europe are quite distinct, but that their descendants born in America are very much alike.

2. The influence of American environment upon the descendants of immigrants increases with the time that the immigrants have lived in this country before the birth of their children.

We have proved this statement by comparing the features of individuals of a certain race born abroad, born in America within ten years after the arrival of the mother, and born ten years or more after the arrival of the mother. At present this investigation has been carried through only for east European Hebrews. It appears that the longer the parents have been here, the greater is the divergence of the descendants from the European type. The approach of the Hebrew and Sicilian types becomes very clear when we divide the American-born descendants into those born less than ten years after the arrival of the mothers and those born ten years and more after the arrival of the mothers. Since adult American-born Italians are few in number, it seems best to compare individuals of an average age of about nine years. Table II and figure 2 show the results of this comparison."

He then gives figures showing head forms, etc., but they do not pretend to give accurate representations of the real shape of heads.

He next points out²:

3. "The changes in head form which the European races undergo here consist in the increase of some measurements, in the decrease of others. The length of the head of the Hebrews

¹ p. 9.

² p. 12.

is increased; the width of the head and the width of the face measured in front of the ears (on the zygomatic arches) are decreased.

Among the Sicilians the changes are, on the whole, of an inverse order. The length of the head is decreased, the width of the head is increased, while the width of the face among the American-born is decreased as compared to the foreign-born. These changes are shown in Table III, and figures 4—11."

He continues¹:

4. "The differences in type between the American-born descendant of the immigrant and the European-born immigrant develop in early childhood and persist throughout life. This is indicated by the constant occurrence of the typical differences in the measurements of children of all ages (see Table III)."

He further states²:

5. "Among the east European Hebrews the American environment, even in the congested parts of the city, has brought about a general more favorable development of the race, which is expressed in the increased height of body (stature) and weight of the children. The Italian children, on the other hand, show no such favorable influence of American environment, but rather a small loss in vigor as compared to the average condition of the immigrant children; so that it appears that the south Italian race suffers under the influence of American city life, while the east European Hebrew develops under these conditions better than he does in his native country. These facts are shown in Tables V and VI and figures 13—15."

He adds³:

"It has been observed that, while immigrants have large families, the size of the family is very materially reduced in the second generation. An inquiry into our material has shown that the reduction of the size of the family goes hand in hand with the improvement of the physical development of the individual. This is demonstrated by the fact that children belonging to small families are considerably taller than children belonging to large families. This is shown by Table IX and figure 18."

¹ p. 17.

² p. 22.

³ p. 28.

He thus concludes the first section of his report¹:

"The material collected in the present investigation includes east European Hebrews, Italians of Sicily and Calabria, Italians of southern Italy north of Calabria, Bohemians, and Scotch. The present report is based only on a partial discussion of the Hebrew material and the generalised averages of the Sicilians and Calabrians. The present investigation has been confined strictly to an inquiry into the physical development of members of the races mentioned in the congested districts of New York City, only immigrants and their direct descendants being included in our study. The important problem of the selection which takes place during the period of immigration, and which is indicated by the change of type of immigrants after the panics of 1893 and 1907; the effect of rural environment and that of the climatic conditions of different parts of our country; the questions relating to the mixture of European races and of the mixture of immigrants with Americans of various types,—these have not been studied."

Startling as the statements contained in this report must be for the orthodox biologist, yet the generally admitted fact that the American of New England with his hatchet face and thin scraggy beard has diverged considerably from the type of his English ancestors and approximated to that of the Red Indian who was his forerunner in the same land, should of itself have prepared him for some such results as those obtained by Professor Boas in his preliminary researches. But when we recall all the instances cited above (p. 266) of the rapid changes in the morphology of the lower animals when removed from their primæval environment to one which differs distinctly from it, we have no alternative save to admit the inevitable conclusion that whilst Heredity is a mighty factor, Environment must be regarded as hardly less potent.

As Mr Houghton's strictures on my principles are based entirely on the dogmatic assertion of Sir E. Ray Lankester that Man had once for all cut himself free from the action of natural laws, it is a pity that he did not make himself acquainted even with the footnote which I have cited (p. 279) in which his

¹ p. 30.

master admits the activity of Natural Selection at the present moment in the human family. But Mr Houghton himself makes admissions which cut away the ground from under his feet: "When the latter (Ridgeway) goes on to say that the skins of mankind tend to get lighter in gradations from the equator to the poles, he stands on firmer ground. Undoubtedly the skin of races long inhabiting the tropics evinces a deeper pigmentation than in those residing in more temperate regions. The reason for this is obvious. Although histologists are not agreed as to the cytological facts of pigmentation, it undoubtedly tends, just as do freckles, to protect the outer layers from the actinic rays of the sun." Yet when he comes to deal with my theory that the white skin of the blond race of northern Europe is due also to climatic causes, analogous to those which have produced the white hares and the white bears, and make the ptarmigan turn white in winter, he declares that such a view "implies a singular inability to grasp the relevant facts of the case or to frame inductions upon them. The whiteness of animals inhabiting the northern regions, whether perennial or seasonal, is a very simple case of adaptive colouring, first demonstrated by Dr A. Russell Wallace, and now obvious to the merest tyro in biology. Who will assert that blondness of hair in any way favours a race in a northern habitat? Does Prof. Ridgeway mean to assert that in winter our ancestors pursued game or eluded their foes in a state of nudity?"

"Words," says Hobbes, "are the counters of wise men, but the money of fools." Mr Houghton like many others catches up terms, such as Protective Colouring, Mimicry, or Mutation, and believes that by merely repeating them he is enunciating unshakable scientific truths.

What is "adaptive colouring"? Adaptive is a relative term. To what is the colour adapted? To the environment in which the animal lives. But it by no means follows that white is only to protect the animal from its animal foes or to render it easier for it to stalk its prey. I have made no such assumption regarding the blondness of the northern race. I only argue from the analogy of the dark colour of the Negro in the tropics, which Mr Houghton himself admits to be protective

"against the actinic rays of the sun"; in other words, it is a case of "adaptive colouring," as he might have seen, had he understood the use of that term. But there are more things in heaven and earth than are dreamed of in Mr Houghton's philosophy. He is evidently not aware that the leading biologists now explain the white colour of Arctic animals, not as a protection against living foes, but against the cold, white being the best colour for keeping in the heat of the body. The bloneness of the Northern race may have therefore a real protective value, as has the blackness of the Negro, by Mr Houghton's own admission.

But this is not mere theory. When the Nares and Markham Arctic Expedition was being organized, it was stated in the Press that in selecting men for the crews, preference was given to blonds, because the experience of whalers had shown that fair-complexioned men stood the rigours of the Arctic winter better than those of melanochrous hue. Conversely there is a large body of evidence to show that in West Africa and other tropical regions men of blond complexion suffer far more from the climate than those of a dark hue.

The change in the colour of the eyes under Antarctic conditions, as already cited (p. 277), seems to point to a connection between blue pigmentation in the eye and Antarctic conditions which is not for the purpose of protection against living foes, but against some more subtle powers. Even Mr Houghton would hardly assert that this "adaptive colouring" is to protect men from the penguins and seals, or yet to enable the human hunter to capture these creatures more easily. As already stated, the writer has had recently an opportunity of observing the Lapps at the Glasgow exhibition (1911), and the blue tinge of the white of the eye in all cases seems to indicate that in the Arctic region as well as in the Antarctic blueness may have a definite protective value for the eyes.

Now, as Mr Houghton admits that the action of environment affects the pigmentation of the skin in tropical and sub-tropical countries, but on the other hand denies it for northern regions, he is bound to show at what point, let us say, between the Sudan and northern Europe this natural law ceases to be

operative. Does it suddenly fail to act amongst the Nilotic tribes, or is it in Egypt that he draws his line, or is it the Mediterranean which says, "So far and no farther shall environment act upon the human skin"? No scientific man who admits that the skin of certain races is affected by their environment would dream of excluding the rest of mankind from similar action; even though Sir E. Ray Lankester may state dogmatically that man can advance from the equator to the Arctic circle without undergoing any morphological change, no man of science when once the facts are presented would believe this for a moment.

It is admitted by Mr Houghton, as well as by everyone else, that the pigmentation of the Negro acts as a protection against tropical light. At what point on the globe do the inventions of Man, by which, according to Sir E. Ray Lankester, he has freed himself from the laws which condition the rest of nature, cease to act? At what point as we go north will Sir E. Ray Lankester assert, "Here Man's clothes and houses and fire emancipated him from nature's laws"? So too when we come to Europe. Even in these climates where we northerners dwell, arrayed in warm vesture against the assaults of Boreas, our faces and hands are exposed to the direct action of the atmosphere, and the air must circulate round us, unless we be clad in plaster. Yet our remote ancestors in their slow struggle against nature had but scanty raiment. The action of the atmosphere suffered but little check from a skin thrown over the shoulders to keep off the pelting rain.

But even granting for the sake of argument that clothes could check climatic action on the skin, there are other and more subtle ways in which environment is constantly acting on Man as it does on the rest of the mammals. Man has to breathe, and therefore, unless he were able to rid himself of his respiratory organs as he advanced northwards, the chemical and physical processes of his body must have been influenced by the nature of the air inhaled by his lungs. No sane person will doubt that the atmosphere of one region differs from that of another. If it does not, why do we send those who are suffering from pulmonary phthisis to high altitudes, or to dry

climates, such as Australia or the Cape of Good Hope? Again, Man, especially primitive Man, depends for subsistence on the food produced by the locality in which he lives, or in that from which he draws his supplies. But foods differ according to the nature of the soil and climate. Accordingly the men in each locality must be modified by the character of the food produced in that area when it is assimilated by the chemical processes of the body, unless they are provided with tin or copper linings along the whole length of the alimentary canal.

I have pointed out in the present work (vol. I. p. 400) that altitude operates like latitude. This Mr Houghton disputes on the ground that the Pigmentation Survey of Scotland shows blondness to be predominant in the valleys and dark hair in the mountains, and because in the Himalaya and elsewhere melanochrous peoples are to be found at the present time. But the Scottish example is at once explained by the settlement of fair-haired folk from northern Europe well within historical times, who drove into the hills the weaker aboriginal dark race. Moreover, Mr Houghton is careful not to deny that the dark-skinned tribes found occasionally in mountain areas in India and South America have only taken refuge there at a recent period.

The arguments which I have here and elsewhere set forth are based upon recognized facts in the whole realm of nature and no criticisms unless they be based upon the same foundations can upset them, for all *a priori* reasonings in such cases are mere futilities and can avail nothing against the inductive method.

Gaul.

Let us now return to Gaul. As the Iberians in Roman times occupied all south-western France as far as the Garumna (*Garonne*) even after the great invasion of Celts before the seventh century B.C., when the Bituriges became the dominant power, there seems no doubt that they formed the entire population of the region known to Caesar as Aquitania with the exception of the one district held by the Celtic Bituriges (*Berri*).

Aquitania was bounded on the south by the Pyrenees, on

the west by the Ocean, on the north by the Garonne, whilst on the east it was divided from Gallia Celtica by the Cevennes. It contained more than twenty tribes, all of whom with the exception of the Bituriges were probably Iberian.

Now the spelling *Aquitania* is no mere Romanized form of a native name, such as Quirinus (p. 237), for Strabo and other Greek writers give 'Ακουιτανολ and 'Ακυιτανολ which show that the name had a *q* sound when met by Greek travellers such as Posidonius (circa 90 B.C.), from whom Strabo and others drew much of their information about Britain, Gaul and central Europe. And, as the Celts, such as the Bituriges, were not a *Q* folk, the name *Aquitani* must be that of the Iberians themselves. Thus the Iberians of this region at least are shown to be a *Q* people, like the Sequani of central France and probably the Ligurians of northern Italy.

It may then be said, Who were the Basques if not Iberians? The present writer has argued that the Basques are a remnant of an invasion from north Africa, the relics of which were able to maintain themselves in the fastnesses of the western Pyrenees. Nor is this without close historical parallel. In A.D. 710 a Saracen host consisting largely of north Africans invaded Spain and occupied for full seven centuries a large portion of that country. Though finally expelled after many fierce struggles by Gothic chivalry, they have left behind indelible traces of their Semitic tongue in many place-names and other Spanish words. There is therefore not the slightest reason why there should not have been a far older invasion and settlement by a non-Aryan people from north Africa.

Nor must it be forgotten that in Galatia in Asia Minor, where Tectosages, Tolistobogii and Trocmi had settled in the third century before our era, St Jerome seven centuries later heard spoken almost the same tongue that he knew amongst the Treviri (*Trèves*) far away in Gaul in the West¹. It would

¹ *Epist. ad Gal. lib. II. praef.* [Migne xxvi, p. 357]: "Galatas, excepto sermone Graeco quo omnis Oriens loquitur, propriam linguam eandem pene habere quam Treuiros, nec referre si aliqua exinde corruerint, cum et Afri Phoenicum linguam nonnulla ex parte mutauerint, et ipsa Latinitas et regionibus quotidie mutetur et tempore."

be just as absurd to argue that the Gauls once formed the aboriginal population of Asia Minor as it is to maintain that because a small mountainous area in the north-west of Spain is still peopled by Basques, all the aborigines of the peninsula had once been of that race. Moreover, it is just as absurd to argue that because in the western Pyrenees a non-Aryan language is still spoken, the people who speak that language must have been the aborigines of all Spain, as it would be to assert that because there are very many such forms in Spanish as *Guadalquivir*, *Guadiana*, *alcalde*, *albarcoquero*, which show Arabic forms, such as *wadi* (river) and *al*, there had once been an aboriginal Semitic population throughout all Spain.

The Aborigines of the British Isles.

It is commonly held, as we saw above (pp. 276 *sqq.*), that the dark-complexioned people who are chiefly found in the western parts of Great Britain and Ireland, and who in Scotland and Ireland still speak Gaelic, are of the same stock as the Iberians of Spain. But as the latter have been universally assumed to have been non-Aryan, and as it has also been assumed that all Aryans were light-complexioned, there is a consensus of opinion that the indigenous melanochrous Gaelic-speaking people of these islands are non-Aryan and have learned Gaelic from some conquering Aryan race.

It has been shown (vol. I, pp. 647 *sqq.*) by numerous historical examples how difficult it is for a conquering race to impress its language on the conquered, unless it comes in large numbers and above all brings women of its own. Otherwise, the invaders marry the daughters of the land and their children speak their mothers' tongue. Familiar illustrations of this principle were afforded on the one hand by the story of the Franks not only in southern Europe, but in France itself, to which they gave their name, though making but scant additions to its language, and by the Normans in France, southern Europe, England and Ireland, and on the other hand by the Angles and the Saxons in Britain. But though these tribes came in great numbers and brought their own women, the persistence of Welsh in southern Britain and of Gaelic in Scotland and in the west

of Ireland shows how slow is the conquest of the invading language even under the most favourable conditions.

In addition to the instances there given, drawn both from ancient and modern history, a remarkable example may be here added from the Old Testament. Nehemiah, the rebuilder of the wall of Jerusalem, thus wrote in the latter half of the fifth century B.C.: "In those days saw I the Jews that had married women of Ashdod, of Ammon, and of Moab; and their children spake half in the speech of Ashdod, and could not speak in the Jews' language, but according to the language of each people¹." In other words the offspring of these mixed marriages spoke a mixed tongue, Philistian, Ammonite or Moabite according as their mothers belonged to these races respectively. This is exactly what was shown to have been the case with the descendants of the Ionic settlers in Asia Minor who married Carians and other native women, the four main dialects of Ionic corresponding to the different nationalities amongst which the Greek colonists founded their new homes (vol. I. pp. 649—50).

As has already been stated (*ib.* pp. 678 *sqq.*) the writer holds that the aboriginal dark populations of Greece, Italy and Spain (the Basques excepted, supposing that they were originally all dark, though this is by no means certain) are Aryans, that they spoke always Aryan languages and that accordingly Greek and Latin are the languages of the dark aboriginal Aryan races, and not tongues taken over from small bodies of blond northern Aryan invaders. These views find support in the facts that such northern invaders of the three southern peninsulas within the historical period—Goths, Visigoths, Vandals, Franks and Normans—have passed away without leaving any substantial mark on the languages of the countries of which they made themselves masters.

I had pointed out that in Egypt there is an apparent exception to the general law, since the Egyptians took over Arabic after the Muhammadan conquest. I explained this peculiarity by the fact that Arabic was and is the religious language of Islam; for whilst the Egyptians who embraced the Faith of the Prophet learned Arabic, those who remained

¹ *Nehem.* xiii. 23, 24.

Christians retained Coptic, the ancient language of their race. On the other hand the Berbers of Rif who insisted on having a version of the Koran in their own language have retained the Berber tongue, though they have adopted Islam. It is significant that under both Greeks and Romans the Egyptians continued to use their own tongue, though Greek was chiefly used for literary and official purposes. This doubtless was due to the fact that neither of these races were proselytizers, but always tolerated and frequently adopted the gods of their subjects. But let not the reader imagine that when the Egyptians took over Arabic they discarded completely their own speech and adopted the pure tongue of the Arabian Peninsula as their own. Egyptian Arabic, as is familiar to many, has retained a vast number of old Egyptian words and idioms, so much so that a grammar of Classical Arabic is useless for those who wish to study Arabic as spoken by the Fellahin. Moreover, it has to be remembered that the Egyptians, who spoke a tongue not at all remote from Semitic, naturally found it easier to adopt Arabic than an Aryan tongue such as Greek or Latin.

But the latter process—the wholesale adoption of an Aryan tongue by non-Aryans—is that assumed for Greece and Italy by those who, like Mr Houghton, cling to the old theory that the non-Aryan aborigines of Greece and Italy took over in its entirety an Aryan tongue from a handful of blond Aryan invaders. Mr Houghton thinks that he has disposed of my induction by pointing out certain cases in India where non-Aryan peoples are known to have adopted an Aryan language. But he overlooks two vital facts. In the first place I am assured on excellent authority that it is when non-Aryan tribes adopt Hinduism as their religion that they learn Hindustani or Bengali. Such cases are thus exactly parallel to that of the Egyptians. Secondly, he ignores the fact that, were it not for the retention of their own speech by the Khasis of Assam, the origin of that tribe would have been lost for ever. Yet Mr Houghton admits that in Gaelic, Welsh and such languages, survivals in mountainous regions, we have good evidence that these languages were once spoken by peoples who now use other tongues. But this is simply to admit my contention that

language, when properly understood and used, must be included as a valuable criterion of race along with osteology, pigmentation and sociology, although, like these, it cannot by itself be regarded as an infallible test.

As the law of the adoption by the conqueror of the language of the conquered has been specially exemplified in the history of England, where the Normans adopted the speech of their subjects, imprinting on it some few characteristics of their own tongue, and in Ireland where the same conquerors became *Hiberniores ipsis Hibernis*, and as the same fate befell Cromwell's Ironsides when planted in Tipperary without English women, it is incredible that the aboriginal melanochrous people of Ireland should have so completely changed their language that no vestige of a non-Aryan tongue is discoverable either in vocabulary or syntax even in the most remote western isles. Moreover the material remains of the Stone and Bronze Ages show no sudden break as if any large body of invaders, sufficient to cause such a revolution, had entered either island.

The defenders of the non-Aryan theory rely on two points, (1) sociology, and (2) supposed linguistic survivals.

When the study of sociology first sprang up in the last century, it at once became a fundamental doctrine that the Aryans had always in all their tribes and in all places been strictly patriarchal, and that Polyandry and Descent through Women were unknown amongst them. Though this view has received many rude shocks in later days, that eminent Celtic scholar the late Prof. Zimmer¹ based on it an argument that the indigenous people of Britain were non-Aryan. It is well known from the ancient writers, as we have seen above (pp. 46 *sqq.*), that the Picts were polyandrous and that succession with them was consequently reckoned through females. Again it is certain, as we saw (p. 51) from the old Irish literature and also from statements of external writers, such as Strabo, that the Irish were polyandrous and also that they almost certainly traced descent through women. From these facts Prof. Zimmer

¹ "Das Mutterrecht der Pikten" (*Zeitschrift der Savigny-Stiftung für Rechtsgeschichte* xv. Röm. Abth.); English trans. by Dr George Henderson in his *Leabhar nan Gleann* (Norman MacLeod, Edinburgh, 1898), pp. 13 *sqq.*

drew the conclusion that the indigenous race was non-Aryan. But, as we have seen above (pp. 60 ff.), descent through women was the ancient law at Athens, and the present writer has shown (vol. I. pp. 646 *sqq.*) that the Athenians and Arcadians, the autochthonous people of Greece, never spoke any save an Aryan tongue. Moreover, it has been shown above that the Ligurians, who are now generally admitted to have spoken an Aryan language, had descent through women, whilst I have also pointed out that there is good evidence that the ancient Latins, who have generally been taken as typical Aryans, had the same system.

In view of these facts it is useless to urge that because the non-Belgic tribes of "the interior" of Britain in Caesar's day, the Picts of Scotland in the centuries after Christ, and the ancient Irish were polyandrous, and because both the Picts of Scotland and the ancient Irish had the system of matrilinear succession, these peoples must have been non-Aryan.

The linguistic argument still remains. Sir John Rhys believes that in the Pictish inscriptions of Scotland and in certain Ogam inscriptions found in Cornwall, Wales and Ireland there is evidence that the aborigines of these islands spoke an agglutinative language like Basque, and "that while that people learned the vocabulary of an Aryan language, it continued the syntax of its previous speech¹."

Prof. Zimmer² makes the same assumption as all the rest, that "the Picts formed the Pre-Aryan (pre-Celtic) primitive population of Britain and of Ireland," but he does not know where "to look for the kinsmen of this pre-Celtic population of the British Isles." "The attempts (says he) to show that they are allied to the primitive Finnish-Esthonian population of north-east Europe scarcely deserve consideration," nor can he on the other hand "approve Rhys' attempt...to connect them, through the help of present day Basque, to the Iberian population of South-West Europe³." He holds that "many of the Pictish names handed down from the sixth century are either Iro-Celtic (Gaelic) or Brito-Celtic (Cymric) just as in each case

¹ *The Welsh People* (1900), p. 19.

² *op. cit.* p. 9.

³ *ibid.* pp. 10—11.

they come from the northern or the southern Picts, and where the names are certainly non-Celtic they bear the impress, each according to origin, of Irish or of Brythonic phonology." Yet he does not cite a single name or word in support of this assumption, but contents himself with a vague statement that "the linguistic material suffices to let us see that the language of the pre-Celtic inhabitants of the British Isles was not Aryan (Indo-Germanic), but more it does not reveal¹." He relies solely on the Pictish inscriptions on which (he says) "Rhys...rightly lays stress. In them the non-Celtic (non-Aryan) substratum under a light Irish veneer comes clear to view." How unsubstantial is this evidence we shall soon see.

Mr J. Morris Jones supports the general doctrine of an aboriginal non-Aryan language, but he holds that this supposed tongue was not connected with Basque, which he thinks to be Ugro-Finnish, but rather with Berber and ancient Egyptian, supporting his view by a comparison of certain grammatical phenomena found in Middle and Modern Irish and in Welsh with certain constructions in ancient Egyptian.

Prof. R. M. Burrows² not only accepts without reserve the arguments of Sir John Rhys and Mr Morris Jones for the existence of a non-Aryan element in the British Isles, but finds one of his chief arguments for the non-Aryan character of the indigenous people of Greece and the Aegean in Mr Morris Jones' "acute study of the pre-Aryan elements in the Welsh and Irish languages, and the remarkable resemblances he has traced between their syntax and that of Berber and Egyptian." It may at once be pointed out that Mr Jones admits that the aborigines must have borrowed the full Aryan tense-system, a fact in itself sufficient to raise grave doubts as to the validity of any arguments based on supposed fundamental grammatical differences. For we know that in all cases where an Aryan language has without doubt been taken over by non-Aryans the tense system is invariably broken up. No better example is needed than ordinary "pidgin English." But the supposed taking over of the full Aryan tense system by the non-Aryan aborigines of this island is rendered all the more miraculous

¹ *ibid.* p. 11.

² *Discoveries in Crete*, p. 194 (text and note).

from the circumstance that according to Sir John Rhys¹ his Celticans, who, he supposes, spoke Goidelic, came over not later than the great movement which took place in the Celtic world of the Continent in the fifth and sixth centuries before our era, that the Brythons "came over to Britain between the time of Pytheas and that of Julius Caesar," and that the Brythons were not likely to come in contact on any large scale with the aborigines "before they had been to a considerable extent Celticised." He therefore assumes that it was possible for the aborigines to have been so completely Celticised as to have adopted the Aryan tense-system as well as the Aryan vocabulary in its fullness in the interval between the sixth or fifth century B.C. and the second century B.C.

Prof. Zimmer differs widely from Sir John Rhys on this very important point. For though he speaks constantly of the "lingual Gaelicisation" and the "lingual Celticisation" of the Picts both in Britain and in Ireland, he does not assume that this "Celticisation" was accomplished at so early a date as that laid down by Principal Rhys. According to him the Picts "on British soil had been subdued and Celticised in the last quarter of the first century of our era with the exception of the independent tribes of Caledonia," whilst in Ireland "in the seventh century one was still aware that the Gaelic-speaking population of the then Down and Antrim was of Pictish lineage, of the same blood as the inhabitants of Caledonia," and accordingly "the complete Gaelicisation of this now Celtic mass in the two counties cannot have been of really very long standing²." As he leaves still less time than does Sir John Rhys for the "Celticisation" of the supposed non-Aryan aborigines, their complete adoption of an Aryan language with its full tense-system becomes still more incredible on Zimmer's hypothesis than on that of the Oxford Professor of Celtic. He thinks that the settlement of the Scots who passed from the now Gaelicised Antrim and Down and settled in the West of Scotland in what is now Argyll in the second half of the fifth century exercised great linguistic influence, for they "more

¹ *The Welsh People* (1900), pp. 10 sqq.

² *Leabhar nan Gleann*, pp. 8—9.

and more subdued the Picts." From this time onwards there was on the west the Scotie kingdom, on the east the Pictish, until in 844 Kenneth MacAlpine the Scotie king brought the Pictish area under his sway and became lord of all Scotland north of the Forth and the Clyde. Shortly after the Scotie settlement in Argyll (Dr Zimmer thinks) came the Britons of Strathclyde, the Cymry, who occupied the region known as Cumbria, which included Dumfries, Ayr, Lanark, Cumberland, and Westmoreland, and these he thinks Celticised the Picts of that area, as the Scoti of Argyll had Celticised the northern Picts. But whence these Britons of Strathclyde had come he does not pretend to tell us. On an earlier page of the present volume some reasons were given for believing that a true Celtic (Teutonic) population had been settled as far back as the Bronze Age in that very area.

When we recall that already in the days of Agricola there was in northern Britain an important element of large-limbed, red-haired men, whom Tacitus rightly regarded as of "Germanic" (or what earlier writers called "Celtic") origin, we may in obedience to the double testimony of written history and archaeology believe that the Britons of Strathclyde had been in that region from before the time of Christ, and that they were one of the various branches of the Cimbrî of Denmark to whom also belonged the Belgic tribes of northern Gaul and of south-eastern Britain, and some of whom, such as the Menapii and Brigantes, had passed into Ireland.

According to Principal Rhys the Picts had been Gaelicised before the second century of our era, whilst according to Prof. Zimmer this process had not begun in Britain till after the time of Christ, and was not completed in Scotland until later than the time of St Columba. He bases this last belief on the fact that when the great apostle of Scotland in the second half of the sixth century brought from his island home in Iona Christianity to the Picts he needed an interpreter in intercourse with the common people though not in conversing with the king and his court. "The introduction of Christianity (says Zimmer) through the Irish hastened the lingual Gaelicisation of these Picts." But the necessity of employing an interpreter

to converse with those of the common sort is not the slightest evidence that the latter spoke a non-Aryan tongue. By parity of reasoning it could be just as well or badly proved that either Irish or Welsh is non-Aryan because a Gaelic-speaking Irishman and a Welshman cannot converse without the medium of an interpreter or some common language such as English¹. Again, on the same method, it might as well be said that because a man from Somerset, or any other English county, cannot converse with an Aberdeenshire peasant speaking his own dialect without an interpreter, either the English dialect or that of Aberdeenshire is a non-Aryan tongue.

Now English has been the master speech in this island for very many centuries, and that too, when reading and writing have been commonly practised, and therefore there was an additional reason why the language of the aborigines should have more quickly given way to that speech in which there was a copious living literature and which more and more became the medium of public business and of commerce. Yet in spite of all this, Gaelic still survives, whilst Welsh not only survives but flourishes. It is therefore simply incredible that any such complete transformation as is postulated by Sir John Rhys or Prof. Zimmer could have taken place in three or four centuries in an age when writing and literature can hardly be said to have existed in these islands and when those who are supposed to have brought in this all-conquering tongue were themselves but a handful of invaders.

Let us now briefly analyse the evidence. Sir John Rhys (followed by Prof. Zimmer) firmly believes that the Pictish inscriptions are in a non-Aryan tongue, and he relies on these documents as giving the key to the Ogam inscriptions to which we have just referred, "in all of which he sees traces of an agglutinative language like Basque." He himself admits that "the Pictish question is rendered philologically difficult by

¹ I have been present when a Gaelic-speaking Connaught man and a Welshman endeavoured to converse, each using his own tongue, but it was a complete failure. I have also been present at the attempts of an Irish English-speaking peasant to converse with Cambridgeshire people of the lower class, and the effort was as futile as that made by myself to understand the Aberdeenshire dialect.

the scantiness of the remains of the Pictish language," and that "it would seem to have been rapidly becoming overloaded with loan-words from Goidelic and Brythonic when we first hear anything about it." Thus "some have been led to regard Pictish as a kind of Gaelic, and some as a dialect akin to Welsh¹." This is but natural, considering the character of the only Pictish words about which we have any sure knowledge, as for example *Peanfahel*², which in the Pictish dialect of Fortrenn was the name of a place called by the English *Penneltun*; for it is unnecessary to point out that *Pean*- the first part of the Pictish name is one of the most common elements in Gaelic place names. Though Sir John Rhys thinks that the residuum of words in these inscriptions which cannot be explained as Aryan is sufficient to justify a firm belief that the language was non-Aryan, he admits that "the whole group of inscriptions is a very small one, and it shows the manifold influence of Gaelic and Norse, especially in Shetland, for Pictish cannot have become extinct for some time after the earlier visits of the Norsemen to our coasts."

Let us now test the value of these inscriptions and fragments of inscriptions as a basis for linguistic speculation and for historical theories. Sir John Rhys tells us that "amongst those inscriptions...there are two or three which may be said to be fairly legible; and one of them is punctuated word by word. Nevertheless the adherents to the view that Pictish is Celtic and Aryan have in vain been challenged to produce a convincing translation....This being so, it is not too much to say that the theory of the non-Aryan origin of the Pictish language holds the field at present³." As there is but one inscription in which the words are divided by interpuncts, in it alone are we sure even of the actual words. Now Sir John Rhys rests his case on the ground that no champion of the Aryan theory has yet made "a convincing" translation of this inscription. By a parity of reasoning he must believe that many inscriptions in Oscan and other ancient Italic dialects, as well as the now famous archaic inscription recently found in the Roman Forum, are all in a non-Aryan tongue, not to speak of the well-known inscription

¹ *The Welsh People*, p. 15. ² Bede, *Eccl. Hist.* i. 12. 29. ³ *op. cit.* p. 16.

on the "Duenos" vase. The fact is that the comparative philologists in the naughtiness of their hearts have presumed to interpret any inscription by mere etymological analysis. Yet the truth remains that where the scholar has no lexicon or tradition to aid him he is helpless in unravelling texts or inscriptions with any certainty, even in languages closely cognate to his own or to those with which he is familiar. Probably we know more of Attic Greek than of any other ancient language, yet much of Aristophanes would be unintelligible to us, were it not for the oft-abused scholiasts, whilst without the tradition of the Hindu grammarians, Sayana's Commentary and Classical Sanskrit, the interpretation of the *Rig-Veda* would be a very difficult, if not a hopeless undertaking.

Again, though Umbrian is closely related to Latin, and though in the Iguvine Tables we have documents of considerable length, in a clear script and exceedingly well preserved, yet a large part of the translation is conjectural, and the same may be said of the translation of the "Duenos" inscription found at Rome, while the Forum inscription already mentioned has hitherto baffled all attempts to explain it, though the script is clear and distinct.

Now as in only one Pictish inscription are the words divided, it seems rash to frame any theory respecting the grammatical character of the language, more especially as Sir John Rhys admits that at the period when the Pictish inscriptions were written the language was completely broken up by external influences, and this being so, it seems still more rash to use them as "a key" for the interpretation of Cornish, Welsh, and Irish Ogams. Now, though Prof. Burrows accepts Sir John Rhys's argument, based on the fact that no "convincing" translation has yet been made of the Pictish inscription just mentioned, he himself admits¹ that Prof. Conway's analysis of the Eteocretan inscriptions found at Praesus makes "it not improbable that their language is an Indo-European one," and yet no one up to the present has made anything like a convincing translation of them. He therefore cannot regard Sir John Rhys's reasoning as valid.

¹ *Discoveries in Crete*, p. 151.

Sir John Rhys cites¹ an Ogam inscription from Carnarvon, read as

FILI LOVERNII
ANATEMORI

and another from Cornwall,

Cnegumi fili Genaius

which he admits are meant to be Latin, whilst in another from Pembrokeshire we read in Latin

ETTERNI FILI VICTOR.

Yet another occurs in Carmarthenshire reading in Latin

AVITORIA
FILIA CVNIGNI

and in Goidelic

Inigena Cunigni Avittoriges.

From Dunloe near Killarney in Ireland he cites an Ogam

Maqui Ttal maqui Vorgos maqui mucoi Toicac,

and another from Omagh, Co. Tyrone,

Dotoatt maqui Nan....

In the inscriptions from Wales and Cornwall he thinks that the Latin word *fili* (son) "is treated as the crude stem of the word," and he urges that "the syntax is not that of an Aryan language." But it will be observed that he does not cite a single instance where Latin is not in use.

It is therefore clear that we have in these inscriptions not evidence of non-Aryan speech, but simply instances of the dog Latin then in use amongst the Romanized Britons. Nor is the evidence from Ireland a whit stronger. In the absence of a fully expressed genitive termination in both places in each inscription he again sees traces of agglutination. But as the final syllables had practically disappeared from Irish when the Irish glosses were written, the inscriptions cited were cut when the old final syllables were beginning to disappear.

¹ *The Welsh People*, pp. 17—8.

Nor can it be said that Mr Morris Jones¹ has been more felicitous in his comparisons of Irish and Welsh with ancient Egyptian. He admits that the two former languages had the full Aryan tense-system, a fact in itself strange, if there were a great indigenous non-Aryan population, which had been mastered (as Sir John Rhys² supposes) by small numbers of "Celtican" invaders. Mr Jones has to rely upon the following:

(1) *The order of words in the sentence.* He says that in any Aryan language the verb usually comes last, but in Welsh and Irish it usually comes first. Yet there is the well-known Greek construction, the *schema Pindaricum*, in which the verb always comes first.

(2) *The use of the verb always in the third person singular,* or, in other words, the impersonal verb. But ancient Latin shows a great tendency to impersonal verbs, whilst they are likewise a familiar feature in Greek. Prof. Burrows at least might have remembered "*sic itur ad astra.*"

(3) *Periphrastic conjugation.* Yet this tendency is already seen at work in Sanskrit as well as in ancient Greek and Latin, and because modern Irish and modern Welsh have developed the same tendency, they are no more to be considered non-Aryan than Sanskrit, which even Prof. Burrows will hardly regard as having some such substrate as ancient Egyptian.

(4) *The rule in Celtic that a qualifying adjective or a qualifying noun in the genitive case comes after the noun.* But Mr Jones and Prof. Burrows forget that the Romans said *Populus Romanus* and *lingua Latina*, and not *Romanus Populus* and *Latina lingua*. The truth is that Sir John Rhys, Mr Morris Jones, and Prof. Burrows have set up hard and fast rules for the Aryan languages which are at variance with facts familiar to every schoolboy, and then they proceed to show that Welsh and Irish do not conform to these imaginary laws, but agree rather with ancient Egyptian and modern Berber.

Finally, the comparison between the Welsh preposition *yn* and the ancient Egyptian *em* recalls the famous analogy instituted by the renowned Welsh captain Fluellen between

¹ *op. cit.* Appendix B, pp. 617 *seqq.*

² *op. cit.* p. 13.

Macedon and Monmouth¹. Prof. Burrows and Mr Jones have reverted to the methods of the old philologists who, on the strength of similar comparisons, derived Welsh and Irish from Hebrew, the language spoken, as they believed, in the Garden of Eden. We may therefore dismiss as futile the arguments urged in favour of a non-Aryan population in these islands, for the descent through females is proved for admittedly Aryan peoples, and the linguistic evidence derived from a single Pictish inscription, from Welsh and Cornish inscriptions in dog Latin, from Irish Ogams in which case-flexion is disappearing, and from the supposed variations from Aryan syntax in Welsh and Irish fail not simply as proofs, but even as indications of non-Aryan syntax.

Prof. Burrows², one of the latest defenders of the non-Aryan character of the indigenous race of the Aegean, writes as follows: "Grant, with most ethnologists, that practically the whole basin of the Mediterranean was inhabited in Neolithic times by a dark-skinned, long-headed race; that this race possesses extraordinary persistence, and, in spite of constant invasions and conquests, remains the basis of the present population in Spain, Italy, Greece, and Egypt; that it is the most gifted race in the world, and that the artistic impulse, wherever we find it in the area which it inhabits, has always been due to it. Grant all this, and we are little nearer solving what is the really interesting part of the question, at what times and under what influences its various branches developed their special characteristics and their widely different languages. One hypothesis only can we reject with confidence, that part, namely, of Prof. Ridgeway's theory which combines the two propositions, that the creators of the Aegean civilisation were indigenous and unmixed from the earliest times to the end of the Bronze Age, and that they spoke, or rather, we should say, evolved the Greek language³. It could only be justified by

¹ Shakspeare, *Hen. V.* Act IV. sc. 7.

² *Discoveries in Crete*, pp. 145—6.

³ Though Prof. Burrows adopts, with the exception of language, all the leading conclusions in the first volume of this work (1901), that the creators of the Aegean culture were the indigenous dark-skinned race of that area, that at the close of the Bronze Age invaders came down from the north, that they

the assumption that the original centre of diffusion of the Indo-European group of languages was the shores of the Mediterranean, and that the dialect which was afterwards to grow into Greek was left stranded there at a remote period. The linguistic and historical improbabilities of such a theory would on general grounds put it out of court, even if we do not see in isolated languages such as Basque and Finnish, and certain place names and other primitive features in the Greek language itself, traces of a pre-Aryan element in Europe." Elsewhere¹ he says: "It is difficult not to admit, with the anthropologists, that, racially, the Aegean as a whole, mainland as well as islands, originally belonged, and to a large extent still belongs, to the dark Mediterranean race," and he adds, "the similarity of pre-Hellenic place names in the islands and on both sides of the Aegean confirms the evidence of racial type. If we once admit that it is improbable that Minoan Crete was Indo-European, the termination in -nth, which occurs there as much as on the mainland, can scarcely be Indo-European either."

Prof. G. G. Murray, though he believes that the Pelasgians (as I argued) spoke an Aryan language, clings to the old

brought with them the use of iron, the round shield, the practice of cremation, the geometric style of ornament, and the brooch, this is the only place where he refers to any one of them as mine; whilst he attributes to Dr Hoernes (writing in 1905) my doctrine that spiral ornament could originate anywhere without direct contact with the Aegean, and to Mr D. G. Hogarth (also 1905) my doctrine that the renaissance of art in Classical Greece was due to the aboriginal artistic element in the population. He goes still further. In Vol. I. pp. 304-5 I wrote: "What we have already remarked on the overlapping of the Bronze and Iron Ages applies to the facts connected with the history of the early Greek sword"; and "that iron and bronze swords of the same form were in use at the same time is shown thus by the actual remains found; and this harmonizes completely with the evidence of Homer where we learn that Euryalus the Phaeacian presented to Odysseus a bronze sword," and "the man who could not afford iron had to be satisfied with bronze." In the face of those explicit statements of which he was well aware, as he refers to this page of my book, and had a correspondence with me about it (see p. 174, footnote), he charges me with holding that "the Homeric swords and spears...were all of iron" (p. 214), and proceeds triumphantly to confute me by citing the evidence for the overlapping of iron and bronze swords furnished by the graves of East Crete (since my book appeared), thus completely confirming my views.

¹ *op. cit.* p. 197.

belief in a primitive non-Aryan population of Greece of whom no material relics can be shown, and relies entirely on the arguments of Fick and Kretschmer drawn from proper names. He writes¹: "The little that we can make out about the race affinities of the real aborigines is based chiefly on the names of the places which they inhabited. All over Greece we find the towns, mountains, rivers, and curiously enough, the flowers, called by non-Greek names. Names like Larisa, Corinthos, Zakynthos, Hyakinthos, Olympos, Arisbe, Narkissos, are no more Greek than Connecticut and Poughkeepsie or Alabama are English, or Morbihan and Landes are French. And an examination of these non-Greek place names, as carried out with great ability by Kretschmer and Fick, leads to a result which is on general grounds satisfactory. There is a great system of place names in a language still unknown to us, which reaches across the mainland of Greece, the islands of the Aegean, and practically the whole immense peninsula of Asia Minor: a language which is clearly not Semitic, and in the opinion of most scholars not Aryan either, and which must therefore have belonged to that pre-Semitic population of Asia Minor of which the most distinguished group is the Hittite. Anthropologists and measurers of skulls tell us that there were in the Aegean lands before any northerners arrived on the scene two distinct races—a dark long-headed Aegean race with littoral habits, never going far from the sea; and another dark short-skulled Armenoid race, inhabiting the highlands on both sides."

With Prof. Murray's description of the early condition of the inhabitants of the Aegean basin, their subdivision into numerous small clans and communities constantly at enmity with each other, and the homogeneity of the culture of that area, as well as with his general statement regarding the Achæans, I am of course in hearty agreement, as they are those put forward in the first volume of this work. But there are several other points with reference to which I must strongly dissent. In the first place the sharp division of the primitive people of the Aegean into a small, dark, short-headed, the

¹ *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (2nd ed.), p. 64.

so-called Armenoid, race, and a small, dark, long-headed race, each supposed to have had an entirely different language from the other, and each non-Aryan, a view urged by Prof. J. L. Myres and others, cannot be maintained in view of the evidence put forward in the preceding pages, where facts have been adduced to show that there is no fundamental difference in race between the long-headed, tall, fair race of Europe, and the small, dark, short-headed or long-headed races found in the same area. This theory of a distinctive, non-Aryan, short-headed race, which is only the old supposed Mongoloid element under a new name, is no better founded than Prof. Murray's belief that the Dorians were a tall, fair-haired race who had come from beyond the Alps and were closely cognate to the Achæans, or his other assumption that the Pelasgians were likewise a tall, fair-haired race from the same stock and the same region. On an earlier page arguments were given to show that the Dorians were a dark-complexioned Illyrio-Thracian tribe, and these arguments apparently impressed Prof. Murray himself (p. 134 n. 1). The assumption that the Pelasgians were a tall, fair-haired race has no evidence in its support, since the only basis for it was an error made by myself, in which I was blindly followed by Prof. J. L. Myres—that Minos was a Pelasgian. But as my assumption was made in 1901, before Sir Arthur Evans had carried out his great excavations at Cnossus, there was no material evidence to aid me in forming a judgment on the question. As the name of Minos was so closely bound up with Cnossus, and as the ruins of a pre-historic palace were already known on its site, and "Mycenean" pottery and engraved gems had likewise been discovered there, I treated Minos as one of the pre-Achæan people. But a re-examination of the question with the aid of the vast body of evidence garnered up not only at Cnossus, but in almost every part of Crete, combined with a closer study of the literary traditions, as well as the Egyptian evidence, led me to the conclusion¹ that so far from Minos being a chieftain of that pre-Achæan folk who had built up the

¹ W. Ridgeway, "Minos the Destroyer rather than the Creator of the so-called Minoan Culture of Cnossus"; *Proc. of British Academy*, vol. iv. pp. 97 sqq. (Frowde, 1909).

wonderful culture revealed at Cnossus and elsewhere in Crete, he must rather be regarded as a leader of one of the first of the various bands of tall, fair-haired northern invaders who had burst into the Aegean area in the fifteenth century before our era, and about 1400 B.C. had dealt a deadly blow to the old Aegean culture, from which it never recovered. It is therefore not only wrong but grotesque to apply the term *Minoan* to all the culture of the Aegean from the end of the Stone Age to the beginning of the early Iron Age not only of Crete but of the whole Aegean, as has been done by Sir Arthur Evans, who has been generally followed by British and American archaeologists. It is as unscientific to apply the name *Minoan*, even if Minos had been one of the aboriginal folk, to a culture which extends many centuries before his earliest traditional date, as it would be to term Victorian all the material remains found in this island from the beginning of the Bronze Age down to our own times, and then proceed to subdivide it into Early Victorian from the Stone Age to the Norman Conquest, Middle Victorian from the Norman Conquest to the time of Elizabeth, and Late Victorian to the period from Elizabeth down to the present. But misleading as it is to apply the term *Minoan* to all the Copper and Bronze Age culture of the Aegean, it is far worse to turn it into an ethnic and to term Minoans all the inhabitants of that whole area from the Neolithic period down to the beginnings of the Early Iron Age, as has been done by Professors Murray, Myres, Burrows, and a host of others.

Prof. Murray has adopted my main doctrines save in the case of the Dorians, the Pelasgians, and the language of the aborigines of Greece. But as he relies wholly on the place-name arguments of Kretschmer and Fick, which are also used by Prof. Burrows, I propose to refute both him and Prof. Burrows, and the distinguished Germans whom they follow, at the same time. Yet first I must deal with Prof. Murray on an important point which is all his own.

Though he clings to the old doctrine of a primitive non-Aryan race in Greece and the Aegean, he nevertheless adopted my view that the Pelasgians spoke an Aryan language and that

the Greek of historical times is its descendant, but on the other hand he represents them as of the same northern stock as the Achæans and Dorians. "These empires," he writes¹, "if we may call them by so large a name, were broken up by migrations or invasions from the north. In early times, so Thucydides tells us, all Hellas was in a state of migration. We hear of all sorts of migrant tribes; of Hellenes, Achæioi, and Pelasgoi; of Carians and Leleges; of Minyæ; of the sons of Deucalion, Ion, Pelops, Danaus, and the rest. Most of all we hear of the great migration of the Dorians, somewhere about 1000 B.C. It is the habit of Greek tradition to remember chiefly the last of a series of events....Modern research shows us that there were many successive waves of migration from the north and north-west. We can hazard a few general statements about these immigrants. They were of Aryan speech; and the Greek that we know is really their language. They seem to have been, to a preponderant extent, tall and fair, warlike, uncivilised." Again he writes²: "The Pelasgi seem to have been a definite set of tribes, with northern affinities, whom we find first in places like Dodona, the Hellespont, and Pelasgiotis, then, as they move under pressure from above, in various parts of Greece; in Crete, in Argos, in Attica, especially and permanently in the islands of Lemnos and Imbros, where two inscriptions in a non-Greek language have been discovered, and still await interpretation. They called their citadels 'Larisa.'"

These two statements can only mean that the Pelasgi were a tribe of the tall fair-haired invaders from the north, since Prof. Murray describes them as "with northern affinities," whilst in the second passage he includes them amongst "the migrant tribes," and amongst the "many successive waves of migration from the north and north-west," whom he describes as of Aryan speech, whose language "was really the Greek that we know," and "who seem to have been to a preponderant extent tall and fair, warlike, uncivilised." He has thus adopted my view that the Pelasgi spoke an Aryan language, and that the Greek of historical times was really their tongue, but by

¹ *The Rise of the Greek Epic* (ed. 2), pp. 61-2.

² *op. cit.* pp. 62-3.

his rejection of the second part of that doctrine—that the Pelasgi were the primitive dark race who had been in the Aegean basin from the Stone Age—he has involved himself in inextricable entanglements. For in the second extract he treats the Pelasgians as non-Aryans, and furthermore, whilst accepting the ancient tradition that “Larisa” was the Pelasgian name for a fortress, in another passage cited above (p. 316) he confidently alleges that Larisa is “no more Greek than Connecticut and Poughkeepsie or Alabama are English.” But he has just before assured his reader that these very Pelasgians were “tall, fair, migrants from the north, whose Aryan speech became the language of Greece.” As Prof. Murray’s attempt to bolster up the old theory of a primitive non-Aryan race in Greece and the Aegean has involved him in such hopeless self-contradiction, we may now proceed with some confidence to deal with the other exponents of that belief.

Prof. Burrows, like Prof. Murray and practically all other archaeologists, has adopted my theory that the great culture of the Aegean was the product of the dark-skinned race domiciled in that area from the Neolithic period, and that at the end of the Bronze Age came invaders from the north who brought with them the use of iron, the round shield, the practice of cremation, the geometric style of ornament, and the use of brooches. It is only my linguistic theory—that this indigenous race spoke Indo-European—that he “rejects with confidence” on the grounds cited above (p. 314). I may at once point out that whilst at pp. 145—8 he gives the foremost place to “the linguistic improbabilities” of my theory, and assumes that certain pre-Hellenic place names are non-Aryan, some fifty pages later his only proof of the non-Aryan character of these place names is the assumption that the people who used them were non-Aryan. No wonder then that his confidence began to flag, for he writes (but in a footnote) “on the linguistic evidence alone there is much to be said for the other [Ridgeway’s] view¹.”

Prof. Burrows adopts the propositions in which I showed for the first time that the Aegean culture was not due to any extraneous influence—that the whole basin of the Mediterranean

¹ *op. cit.* p. 198.

was inhabited in Neolithic times by a dark-skinned race, that this race has persisted there down to the present time, and that it is the most artistic race in the world—but he bases on them two wholly unsupported assumptions, (1) that no brunette people can be Indo-European, and (2) that no Indo-European people can be artistic. The first of these assumptions I have shown to be completely unwarranted in the preceding part of this chapter, for it was shown that human races, when placed in new environments, within a comparatively short time change their physical characteristics. It was also shown that the aboriginal people of Italy whom Prof. Burrows assumes to be non-Aryan were Indo-European, whilst I have made it probable that the Iberians, whom he likewise assumes to have been non-Aryan, were also Indo-European.

With Prof. Burrows' further assumption that the artistic gifts of the Greeks preclude them from being Indo-European I will now deal. All members of a family are not equally endowed, and I have already pointed out that the people of the Aegean were much more gifted than their kinsfolk in Italy and Spain. When treating of the Neolithic remains found in South Russia, which he holds to belong to a branch of the Mediterranean race, Prof. Burrows remarks that¹ "it was natural that, the farther the race spread from its original home, the weaker it grew, and the less it profited by the advances in material civilisation that were being made by those of its members who had kept in touch with the empires of the East." But if the "Mediterranean race," as Prof. Burrows thinks, gradually lost its artistic powers the further it advanced up into South Russia and South Central Europe, it follows, from his own admission, that when once it had crossed the great mountain chain and had plunged into the dark forests of Upper Central Europe, having now to battle with rigours of climate and conditions unknown to its kindred left behind in the Aegean basin, it would not so much lose but rather not develop the great artistic capacity evolved by its kinsfolk in the kindlier environment of the Aegean. So much then for Prof. Burrows' two main assumptions.

¹ *op. cit.* p. 194.

I shall now deal with his linguistic arguments, an examination of which will show how well founded were his own belated misgivings respecting them. Like Prof. Murray, he relies (1) on the occurrence of the suffix *-nth* in certain proper names¹ which occur on both sides of the Aegean, *e.g.* Corinthus, Zacynthus, Cerinthus in Euboea, Caryanda in Caria, Aspendus in Pamphylia, Laranda in Lycaonia, and like forms; (2) on "Professor Morris Jones' acute study of the pre-Aryan elements in the Welsh and Irish languages, and the remarkable resemblances which he has traced between their syntax and that of Berber and Egyptian." Here is his proof that *-nth* is a non-Aryan suffix. "Corinth and Zacynthus, Cerinthus in Euboea, Caryanda in Caria, Aspendus in Pamphylia, Laranda in Lycaonia, show that the people who named them first must at one time or another have occupied both the Greek and the Asiatic coast. If we believe that these people were Indo-Europeans, we must suppose that, before the coming of the Greeks, an Indo-European race with Italic affinities dominated the whole Aegean area. The associations of some of the names in question, Tirynthian for instance, and Rhadamanthus, make it improbable that they are late intruders. Such Indo-Europeans must have played a leading part, if not the only part, in developing Minoan and Mycenaean civilisation. If, on the other hand, we accept as more probable the view that regards Indo-Europeans of any kind as appearing comparatively late in the history of the Aegean, we must conclude that Minoan and its continental neighbour Lycian, were akin to the Central Asia Minor languages, Vannic, Mitannian, and Hittite or Arzawa, which stretch in a chain, north to south, from Armenia to North Syria. In both cases the givers of the *-nth* names cover the whole area, and there is no reason to imagine that they spoke a different language from the Minoans." In this he, like Prof. Murray and Mr H. R. Hall², is but following Professors Fick and Kretschmer, who hold that a non-Indo-European tongue once prevailed over Asia Minor, Crete, and the other islands and the mainland of Greece. But this belief has lately

¹ *op. cit.* p. 154.

² *The Oldest Civilisation of Greece*, pp. 94—7.

been dealt a fatal blow. In 1898 Prof. Jensen¹ argued that the Hittites were Indo-Europeans, and that their script had been invented by the forefathers of the modern Armenians. In 1906—7 Dr H. Winckler carried out most important and successful excavations at Boghaz-Koi (the ancient Pteria) in Cappadocia, some thirty miles east of Ancyra, and these have left but little doubt that Pteria had once been the capital of a Hittite kingdom. This was clearly indicated by the discovery of the state archives, consisting of many clay tablets, many of which were complete, and over two thousand fragmentary, embodying correspondence from vassals and from Egypt. The earliest of them are contemporary with the Tel-el-Amarna tablets (circa 1400 B.C.) and they contain notes for the Assyrian-Babylonian version of the treaty between Rameses II and the Hittite king Chetaser. They are all in cuneiform script, though not all in the same language. But as Babylonian ideograms and determinatives frequently occur, Prof. Eduard Meyer has succeeded in deciphering some of the tablets, and according to him the names of the gods of the Mitanni are distinctly Indo-European and closely allied to Sanskrit.

Thus there is no foundation in fact for the assumption of Fick and Kretschmer, in which they have been followed by Professors Murray, Myres, and Burrows and Mr H. R. Hall, that there was once a non-Indo-European language stretching across Asia Minor, from the supposed existence of which they made the further assumption that the same non-Indo-European language was spoken by the aborigines of Greece who were the creators of her great Bronze Age civilization. But let us hear Prof. Burrows' further argument that the language of the ancient Cretans was non-Aryan²: "If we once admit that it is improbable that Minoan Crete was Indo-European, the termination in -nth, which occurs there as much as on the mainland, can scarcely be Indo-European either," and he assumes that wherever this termination occurs the people spoke a non-Aryan language. But this argument assumes that the aborigines of Crete were non-Aryan, the very proposition for the proof of which Prof. Burrows has relied chiefly on the -nth suffix. Yet

¹ *Hittiter und Armenier*.

² *op. cit.* pp. 197, 198.

he was perfectly aware¹ that Dr Kretschmer, the author of the -nth suffix argument, himself holds that the -nth, -n- suffix may be Indo-European. So far then from there being any proof that -nth is a non-Aryan suffix, the evidence is all the other way.

Since I wrote in 1901, Praesus and Palaikastro, in East Crete, the chief towns of the Eteocretans, have been excavated by Prof. Bosanquet, and the analysis of the language of the Praesus inscriptions made by Prof. R. S. Conway, as Prof. Burrows admits², has made it "not improbable" that the language of the Eteocretans was Indo-European. Though Prof. Burrows seems to admit that the -nth- suffix is found all over Crete, and accordingly the land of the Eteocretans cannot be detached from the rest of that island, or from the whole area in which it occurs, though he admits that the culture of Praesus and Palaikastro cannot be detached from that of Knossos, and though he knows that linear script similar to that found at Knossos was discovered at Palaikastro³, he would fain persuade his readers that the Eteocretan language was different from that of the "Minoans." For this he cannot find any argument except the assumption that all ancient writers from Homer⁴ downwards were wrong in believing that the Eteocretans were the oldest stratum of population in the island, and that the Eteocretans were really late settlers in Crete. This assumption, contrary both to the historical tradition and to the archaeological evidence, had to be made, if Prof. Burrows was to maintain his impossible position that the aborigines of the island spoke a non-Aryan language.

Nothing now is left of Prof. Burrows's linguistic arguments except "the remarkable resemblances" that Mr Morris Jones "has traced between Welsh and Irish and Berber and Egyptian."

¹ *op. cit.* p. 157, note. Prof. Burrows likes to bury disagreeable facts in wordy footnotes.

² *ibid.* 151.

³ Bosanquet and Dawkins found there one and a half tablets with linear script and two instances of it on steatite vessels.

⁴ Prof. Burrows holds that Eteocretes does not mean "original Cretans," but only "true" Cretans. Would he maintain that the Eteobutadae were not the "original Butadae"? In the cases of families and tribes "true" always means "old."

We have seen above (p. 313) the worthlessness of this comparison, but if it had any value Prof. Burrows would be compelled to hold that the -nth- suffix is Hamitic. Yet if this were so, how is it that he has not pointed to its occurrence in North African place names? Now if, as Prof. Burrows and Mr Morris Jones believe, there are remains of Hamitic syntax in Irish and Welsh, which are so widely separated from their supposed non-Aryan congeners in Africa, there ought to be many more traces of such Hamitic syntax in Greek and Latin, since the supposed non-Aryan aboriginal people in each peninsula were much closer to their supposed Hamitic relations. Yet in Greek we have the most complete and delicate development of the Indo-European tenses and moods. Prof. Burrows therefore holds with Mr Morris Jones that it is possible for a non-Aryan people to take over the tense-system of an Aryan language in its entirety, and this also must be Prof. Murray's position. Yet it is an established fact that when non-Aryan peoples such as Negroes or Chinese take over English or French, the tenses invariably disappear, as is familiar in the case of "pidgin" English. We may therefore rest assured that when we find the Indo-European tense system in all its fullness in such languages as Greek, Latin, Irish, and Welsh, it has not been borrowed, but is one of the original elements of the speech of these various peoples. No wonder Prof. Burrows thought it prudent to state in his footnote¹ that "on the linguistic evidence alone there is much to be said for the other [Ridgeway's] view." In that note he says that his own "conclusion is reached on historical and archaeological grounds." Yet we have just found that in order to defend his position he has had to deny all the statements of antiquity respecting the Eteocretans; again, though he admits that the culture of Praesus cannot be detached from that of Cnossus, he maintains that the Eteocretans and their language are late comers into Crete. He has also started with two assumptions unsupported by history or archaeology, that no dark-skinned people and no artistic people can be Indo-Europeans.

Let us now see what are the historical and archaeological

¹ *op. cit.* p. 198.

facts bearing on the language of the aboriginal population of Greece. It is an admitted fact that the Arcadians spoke a dialect of Greek differing essentially from that of the Dorians on the one hand, and from that of the peoples of Achaea, Elis, Aetolia, Phocis, and Epirus on the other, but closely resembling those of Cyprus and the eastern part of Thessaly, known to the ancients as Pelasgiotis; it is also admitted that in Arcadia we have the remains of exactly the same early culture as that found in the rest of Greece; it is also admitted that all writers, both ancient and modern, agree that Arcadia was never conquered either by Achean or by Dorian.

Now I have shown¹ that in cases of conquest small bands of invaders coming without women of their own leave little impression on the native language, their children using the tongue of their native mothers: that it is very difficult, even when the invaders come in force and bring women of their own, as did the Angles, for the invading language to efface completely the native tongue; thus Welsh still defies the English advance: there is no case known where a people who were not conquered, or who themselves were not conquerors, have adopted the language of another people. Prof. Burrows has carefully refrained from combating this argument, and until it is overthrown by a still stronger array of facts than those on which I rely, we must hold that the primitive people of Greece, of whom the Arcadians certainly formed a part, spoke an Indo-European language. The same continuity of population has been proved for Attica both by history and by archaeology. Prof. Burrows himself admits the truth of the tradition respecting the early ethnology of Attica given us by Thucydides and Herodotus, whose statements are confirmed by the long series of pottery extending from Mycenaean down to black and red figured vases found in the *dromos* of the great beehive tomb at Menidi. As there was no conquest of Attica, and no break in the continuity of its population, we must conclude that from first to last the indigenous people spoke an Indo-European language, unless we suppose that they deliberately abandoned their own speech in favour of an alien tongue.

¹ *Early Age of Greece*, vol. I. pp. 647 sqq.

Prof. Burrows has stated that my view "could only be justified by the assumption that the original centre of the diffusion of the Indo-European group of languages was the shores of the Mediterranean, and that the dialect which was afterwards to grow into Greek was left stranded there at a remote period." He is careful not to say where the Indo-Europeans came from, and he has not attempted to meet the argument given at length in the first volume of this work¹. I have simply to repeat what I wrote in 1901:

"Nobody will maintain that the fair-haired peoples of Northern Europe have always had their present physical characteristics, any more than the Patagonian Indians. Nor again would it be asserted that the human race developed in Northern Europe, for it is certain that Europe must have been only gradually peopled from the south according as the great ice-sheet melted and receded northwards. These emigrants must have belonged to some of the races of Africa or Southern Asia, but as these are all melanochrous, the settlers who followed the ice-sheet as it receded up Europe must have once been melanochrous. Under climatic influences and during a long lapse of time these settlers would become brunette in the southern peninsulas of Europe, whilst those who dwelt north of the great mountain chain would have a tendency to become still lighter, whilst those who dwelt on the margin of the Northern Ocean became completely xanthochrous. But as they had all originally spoken the same tongue before they had spread upwards they would continue to do so even after their physique had undergone material alterations. It is quite possible that this stock made its way in a north-westerly direction from the shores of the Indian Ocean through Asia Minor into the Mediterranean basin, and thence up Europe and into the British Isles. But though the inhabitants of the latter and those who dwelt on the contiguous coast of the continent became fairer in skin, yet they have retained to this day dark hair and dark eyes."

Prof. Burrows has nowhere attempted to criticise this clearly expressed statement of the origin of the Indo-European race,

¹ vol. I. p. 680.

and no wonder, for he certainly could not object to my hypothesis that the Indo-Europeans as they slowly spread up Europe retained their own speech, for *mutatis mutandis* that is what he himself holds respecting the supposed non-Aryan dark-skinned Mediterranean race. He holds that this race is found in Wales and Ireland, and that in both these regions it spoke a non-Aryan language¹. As he holds that the primitive Aegean language was related to Welsh and Irish, that primitive language was just as much stranded in the Aegean, whether it was Aryan or non-Aryan.

We may therefore conclude (1) that the aboriginal people of Greece, who were the creators of the Aegean culture of the Stone, Copper, and Bronze Ages, and who have always continued to be the artistic element in that region, never spoke any but an Indo-European language; (2) that the Ligurians who formed the aboriginal element over a large part of Italy also never spoke any but Indo-European; (3) that they have formed the chief element in the population of most parts of upper and central Italy at all times since the Neolithic period; (4) that the Latins were Ligurians; (5) that the Plebeians of Rome were of this Ligurian stock; (6) that it was their language which became the Latin of classical times; (7) that they were conquered by the Sabines, an Umbro-Sabellian tribe (closely related to the Kelti) who used P where the Latins employed C or Q; (8) that the Ligurians were closely related on the one hand to the Illyrians, who bordered on them in north-east Italy, and on the other to the Iberians, who were their neighbours in North-East Spain; (9) that as the aboriginal Illyrians and Thracians, the melanochrous aborigines of Greece, and the Ligurians were Indo-Europeans, so too were the Iberians (the Basques excepted), their place names and other words showing distinctly Indo-European suffixes; (10) that they were closely related to the aboriginal melanochrous people of France, such as the Aquitani and the Sequani, who had been conquered in many cases by Kelti from beyond the Rhine; and (11) also to the aboriginal melanochrous race of the British Isles, who also from time to time were invaded and partly conquered by Kelti

¹ *op. cit.* p. 194.

(the so-called Brythons); (12) that the theory of a non-Aryan population in the British Isles rests on no other foundation, historical, social, or linguistic, than a few rash assumptions; whilst (13) we may conclude that, although there is a melanochrous *type* all round the Mediterranean basin, there is no evidence of a distinct Mediterranean *race*, the resemblance between Semites, Hamites, and southern Indo-Europeans being simply due to the fact that they have been domiciled for long ages under similar climatic conditions.

Let us now return to Rome. As the Sabines were a mere conquering aristocracy, they could not impress their language on the aboriginal Ligurian population of Latium, and accordingly it was the *lingua Latina* and not the *lingua Sabina* which was destined to be the speech of the Empire of the West. In this again we have a close parallelism to Greece, for, though the Achæans introduced a far nobler ideal of society, and, as we shall see¹, an infinitely higher system of religion, their tongue was doomed to perish. As the deeds of Achilles were sung in the speech of the aborigines, so the wisdom of the Sabine Numa and Ancus and the arrogance of the Sabine Claudii have reached us in the tongue of Latium.

If Ligurian was really the chief element in the Latin of classical times, we can now readily understand why the Ligurian-speaking districts of north-west Italy and France adopted the Latin tongue so quickly after the Roman conquest.

As even those modern writers who, like Mommsen and his English followers, deny that there was ever a Sabine conquest in Rome², nevertheless admit that there was a Sabine element in her, it will not be rash to conclude from the evidence here cited that Sabina, and not Latium, was the true home of the sacred marriage.

But, as the Sabines were one of the Umbro-Celtic tribes which ever kept pressing down from the Alpine regions and overmastering the aboriginal race, it follows that they had brought with them from central Europe that splendid *morale* which was unknown to any other peoples of Europe, north

¹ [The subject is not fully treated in this volume.]

² H. F. Pelham, *Outlines of Roman History*, p. 18.

Africa, or western Asia, save the Homeric Achæans and the tribes of Germany. But as the Umbro-Sabellian stock had descended from the Alps into the Italian peninsula, so probably also had the Achæans come down from the same region into Greece, since their social institutions are not to be found anywhere save in central Europe and among the peoples who had from that region descended into Italy.

Of course, some will say that the difference in the customs of marriage and kinship is a mere accident and does not warrant us in drawing any ethnological conclusions, on the grounds that sister-tribes might differ in these points, and that it would be easy for a tribe to change from one system to another, and that accordingly the Homeric system of kinship and marriage had been evolved within one or two generations on Greek soil. We must then consider what space of time would suffice for the transition from a very lax state of social relations and a consequent rule of female kinship, to a rigid ideal of married life and the rule of male succession.

It may be at once pointed out that although male succession has become the law among Muhammadan peoples, as it did also among the Hebrews, the marriage bond has never had any sanctity in the East, which knows not of the troth-plight that endures till death shall part, and where the eunuch-watched harem is the only safeguard of the marriage-bed. As the Muhammadan law permits a man to put away his wife at any moment, and as the repudiated wife must then depend upon her brother if her father is dead, the Muhammadan wife, instead of regarding her husband's interests as her own, thinks only of how she can filch and surreptitiously convey to her brother everything that she can plunder, in order that, if the day of divorce shall come, she may have laid up with her brother as much property as possible. As it is to-day, so was it five centuries before Christ. When Darius asked the wife of Intaphernes whether he should spare the life of her brother or husband, she did not hesitate for a moment, but chose her brother for reasons similar to those placed by Sophocles in the mouth of Antigone, when she set duty to her brother above love for her betrothed. Again, although the Jew has so long

dwelt amid European and Christian influences, nevertheless he has retained to this hour the Oriental contempt for women, and he is taught from childhood to thank Jehovah daily that he has been born a man and not a woman. So hard is it even for time itself to obliterate from the institutions of a people "the marks of that which once hath been."

Let us turn from Islam and Hebraism to Christendom. It can be readily shown that in those parts of Europe where the lower form of marriage existed within historical times, even where the Church has been successful in raising the moral standard, she has only attained that end after many centuries. Thus, though in modern Ireland sexual morality comes nearer the Christian ideal than in any other part of the world, nevertheless ten centuries had rolled away before the strenuous exertions of the Church, aided by peculiar political conditions, had succeeded in lifting the Irish out of a state of polyandry similar to that of the Australian aboriginals of to-day.

From this it is clear that the lofty morality of the fair-haired peoples of central Europe and the high position accorded to the wife which excited the surprise of Caesar and Tacitus could not have been of recent evolution, a conclusion supported by the fact that three centuries earlier Aristotle had noted that the Celts stood apart from other peoples in the position which they assigned to their women in social life, a characteristic which they had in common with the Romans of the early centuries of the Republic.

Similar considerations must apply to the Homeric Achæans. For, if the transition from polyandry to monandry was so slow in the case of Ireland, even under the constant pressure of Christianity, *a fortiori* it must have taken a still longer time for the Achæans to have reached unaided the high plane of social life exhibited in the poems, supposing that they had started originally from the same low level as the Athenians, Arcadians, and Dorians.

Since then the transition from female to male succession cannot be accomplished in one or two generations, it follows that if we find two distinct systems of kinship existing side by side in the same area, as is the case in early Greece, and

when at the same time there is distinct evidence of a recent invasion, we are justified in holding that one system is indigenous, the other extraneous. But as that of the Achæans, like that of the Roman patricians, corresponds to the social structure of the fair-haired peoples of upper Europe, we are led to the conclusion that the fair-haired Achæans brought their patrilinear system into Greece, and it was not native there, and that similarly the Sabine patricians brought their strict paternal descent into Latium with them.

Primitive Marriage. Most modern writers on Sociology, such as Bachofen, McLennan, L. H. Morgan, Lubbock, Bastian, and Wilken, hold that the human race has passed through a stage of complete promiscuity, and later through a more restricted form of polyandry, such as that termed Communal Marriage by some, Group Marriage by others. Westermarck, on the contrary, in his remarkable book¹ maintains that at no time has the human race been without the institution of marriage. With the claims of these rival theories we are here not directly concerned. It is however absolutely certain that not only does polyandry as an institution exist amongst many living races, but that it was practised by not a few leading peoples of antiquity. On the other hand it cannot be maintained that the sanctity of the marriage bond is a social development only to be found in communities far advanced in civilization, for such a proposition is in direct defiance of ascertained facts. Thus the Veddas² of Ceylon are a truly monogamous people and have a saying that "death alone separates husband and wife." Infidelity seems never to occur among them, and divorce is unknown³.

Yet the forest Veddas build huts in trees, live in pairs, only occasionally assembling in greater numbers, and exhibit no traces whatever of civilization, nor any knowledge of social rites. The Nelgala Veddas are distributed in small septs or families, occupying generally caves in the rocks, though some have little bark huts. They depend almost entirely on hunting

¹ *The History of Human Marriage* (ed. 2, 1894).

² Westermarck, *History of Human Marriage*, pp. 60, 436, 507, 517.

³ *Trans. Ethn. Soc.*, N. S., vol. II. p. 291, 293.

for their support, and hold little communication even with each other¹. These statements of earlier writers have been amply confirmed by Dr and Mrs Seligmann, the latest observers of this interesting folk². They write: "The Veddas are strictly monogamous, and we were able to confirm Bailey's observation as regards their marital fidelity. Their constancy to their wives is a very remarkable trait in their character in a country where conjugal fidelity is certainly not classed as the highest of domestic virtues. Infidelity, whether in the husband or the wife, appears to be unknown, and I was very careful in my enquiries on this subject. Had it existed, the neighbouring Sinhalese would have had no hesitation in accusing them of it, but I could not obtain a trace of it³.'...In every respect the women seem to be treated as the equals of the men, they eat the same food; indeed, when we gave them presents of food, the men seemed usually to give the women and children their share first; the same applies to areca nut and other chewing stuffs. The women are jealously guarded by the men, who do not allow traders or other strangers to see them, and those at Sitala Wanniya were too shy to visit our camp, though they welcomed us to their cave, and the dances performed for our benefit took place in the dense jungle so that the women might be present and partake of the food offered to the *yaku*....The day after hearing the phonograph at our camp, the men came to us to request that we should take it to the cave as they had told their wives about it, and they all wanted to hear it too."

Again, among the very primitive natives of the Andaman Islands⁴ "bigamy, polygamy, polyandry, and divorce are unknown." The natives of Car Nicobar "have but one wife, and look upon unchastity as a very deadly sin⁵."

Such instances go far to establish Westermarck's contention that "it would be a mistake to infer that promiscuity is a stage which mankind, as a whole, has gone through," because this

¹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* pp. 43—4 (citing Pridham and Bailey).

² C. G. Seligmann and Brenda Z. Seligmann, *The Veddas* (Cambridge, 1911), pp. 87—9.

³ J. Bailey, *Trans. Ethn. Soc.* II. p. 291.

⁴ E. H. Man, *Journ. Anthropol. Inst.*, vol. XII. p. 185.

⁵ Distant, *ibid.*, vol. III. p. 4 (cited by Westermarck, p. 436).

practice prevails in certain communities. For, although Westermarck seems to have overstated his case in maintaining that the instances of promiscuity are utterly exceptional, his argument based on the most primitive races of mankind, such as the Veddas and Andamanese, remains unshaken. It cannot then be urged that pairing for life is the outcome of a highly artificial state of society. On the contrary, laxity in sexual relations is rather to be found in communities which have already made some advance in culture¹.

As the Veddas are tree-dwellers, they are thus of all mankind in the stage which comes closest to the life of the anthropoid apes. The study of the social habits of the Primates is of course very difficult, but some leading facts about them seem tolerably certain. Herr von Koppenfels once saw a male and female gorilla with their two young quietly feeding, and from his account and that of the natives it seems certain that gorillas habitually live in small families, having young ones of various ages with them. According to the same writer "gorillas are in the habit of making a kind of nest in the trees by bending the boughs together, and covering them with twigs and moss at a height of several yards from the ground. In this nest the female and young pass the night, while the male takes his station at the bottom of the tree, where he remains in a sitting posture during the night, ready to protect his family against the attacks of prowling leopards²."

The chimpanzee, though usually living in dense forests, is found in the mountains on the coast of Loango. According to Schweinfurth it lives either in separate families or in small groups of families. "There seems to be no doubt but that chimpanzees build a kind of nest high up in the trees for their families; and it is stated that the male of the family takes up his position for the night beneath the shelter afforded by the nest³."

The orang-utans like gorillas and chimpanzees go in small parties, consisting of the parents, accompanied frequently by

¹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 506.

² *The Royal Natural History* (ed. R. Lyddeker), vol. 1. pp. 43 *sqq.*

³ *op. cit.* p. 28.

from two to four young ones. Like the other two great apes the orang-utan also sleeps in a nest built in a tree¹.

As the Primates seem to follow the patriarchal system, Sir Henry Maine², in spite of all that has been said, may have been not far wrong in citing as a type of the most primitive stage of mankind the Cyclopes of the *Odyssey*, that froward and lawless folk, who plant not aught with their hands, nor plough, for the fruits of the earth spring for them unsown and untilled; "these have neither gatherings for counsel, nor oracles of law, but they dwell in hollow caves on the crests of the high hills, and each utters the law to his children and his wives, and they reckon not one of another³."

Now it is a law of the lower animals that every male desires to have one or more females, which shall be his exclusively, and for the sole possession of a female the males even of the most timid species will often fight to the death, while the female passively awaits the issue and becomes the mate of the victor. There is no reason for supposing that our primæval human ancestors differed in this respect from other animals, for to this very hour among many of the lower races of mankind the winning of a wife is decided by a combat between the rival suitors. Thus Hearne⁴, speaking of the northern Indians, states that "it has ever been the custom among those people for the men to wrestle for any woman to whom they are attached; and, of course, the strongest party always carries off the prize. A weak man, unless he be a good hunter and well beloved, is seldom permitted to keep a wife that a stronger man thinks worth his notice." In reference to the same peoples Richardson⁵ says that "any one may challenge another to wrestle, and if he overcomes carry off his wife as the prize....The bereaved husband

¹ *op. cit.* pp. 52, 53. The Cambridge Zoological Museum possesses a specimen of the nest of the orang-utan, presented by my friend Charles Hose, D. Sc., Baram, Sarawak.

² *Ancient Law*, p. 133 [1906].

³ *Od.* ix. 107 sqq.

⁴ *A Journey from Prince of Wales' Fort to the Northern Ocean* (Dublin, 1796), p. 104 (cited by Westermarck).

⁵ *Arctic Searching Expedition*, vol. II. p. 24. See also the other authorities cited by Westermarck, p. 160.

meets his loss with the resignation which custom prescribes in such a case, and seeks his revenge by taking the wife of another man weaker than himself."

Numerous examples of similar practices have been collected from all parts of the modern world by Dr Westermarck¹.

As modern savages win their brides by wrestling and other forms of combat, so in Greek legend Heracles and Achelous wrestled for Deianeira, who sat by waiting the issue of the struggle of which she was the prize².

The foregoing considerations must make us hesitate to accept the doctrine of McLennan, followed by many other anthropologists, that the whole human race has emerged "from a state of savageness, in which the association of the sexes has been subject to no regulation," through successive stages of polyandry, and that the "first approaches to permanent cohabitation—the first regulated association of the sexes among them—must take the shape of a system of polyandry," and that, before reaching monandry, all races have had to pass through three stages of polyandry, the first corresponding to that of the Nairs of India, the second to that of the Britons described by Caesar, and the third to that of the Tibetans of to-day, where the eldest brother marries, the two brothers next to him in age becoming likewise husbands of the eldest brother's wife. For, even though Westermarck's efforts to disprove group-marriage have been overthrown by Prof. Baldwin Spencer's most careful and detailed investigation of the institution of the tribes of central Australia, nevertheless the evidence adduced from this quarter does not prove that the whole human race has passed through such a stage, and much less through a still earlier stage of unrestricted promiscuity.

In the Urabunna tribe of central Australia "each woman has one special individual who has the first right of access to her, but she has also a number of individuals of the same group who have a right to her either, if the first man be present, with his consent, or in his absence, without

¹ *op. cit.* pp. 159 *sqq.*

² *Soph. Trach.* 24.

any restriction whatever. In this tribe, just as in all others, connection with women of the wrong group is a most serious offence, punishable by death or very severe treatment¹."

In the Arunta tribe "we have a group of women who are what is called *Unawa*, to a group of men, and *vice versa*, that is, all of these men and women are reciprocally marriageable." Though each man "has no actual right of access to any woman, except his own especial *Unawa* woman or women, there are times, as, for example, during special ceremonies, or when he is visiting a distant group, when a woman is lent to him, but that woman must be one who is *Unawa* to him. In other words, we have individual marriage in which a man is limited in his choice to women of a particular group, each one of whom stands to him in the relationship of a possible wife, and with whom it is lawful for him, with the consent of her special *Unawa* man, to have marital relations. However hospitably inclined a man may feel, he will never lend his wife to a man who does not belong to a group of men to each of whom she stands in the relationship of *Unawa* or possible wife. A Panunga man may lend his wife to another Panunga, but for a man of any other class to have marital relations with her would be a gross offence²."

These facts certainly indicate the existence of "group-marriage," but yet they do not in the slightest degree prove that such a group-marriage is a phase through which all peoples who now practise monandry must have passed. Another and far more probable explanation can be found.

We saw that it is a law of the animal kingdom for each male to desire to have at least one female exclusively for himself, and that from this desire arise desperate combats, not only between the lower animals, but also among many of the lowest races of mankind. This, which is of all human instincts probably the most deeply rooted, has not only led more advanced communities to fix the severest penalties for adultery, but is even found asserting itself strongly in communities where the morals are extremely lax according to our

¹ Spencer and Gillen, *The Native Tribes of Central Australia*, p. 110.

² *ib.* pp. 106, 107.

standard, and where no restraint is laid on the women up to the time of marriage.

Thus among the Nagas¹ the girls are permitted to mix freely with the other sex and to go unrestrained into the common hut of the men, but once a woman is married, she is liable to the death penalty if she enters the common room. Similar customs exist among the Dyaks of Borneo and the Maoris of New Zealand. Indeed, it is highly probable that the general practice of exogamy among peoples in the same conditions as those just mentioned is due to the innate and ineradicable desire of savages, whose social system is far inferior to that of the anthropoid apes, to possess at least one female who shall be his and his only, and in whom no other man can claim a share.

This instinct leads to Wife-capture, and later on to Wife-purchase. For, in a community where promiscuity is the rule, no one man can set up a claim to any one woman which cannot be equally well maintained by any other man of the group. On the other hand, if a man either sallies forth and carries off a woman from another community, or purchases a woman from her father, or mother, or brothers, she becomes as much his individual chattel as the deer or kangaroo or bear or fish, which he obtains likewise by means of his spear.

It is remarkable that, even among so degraded a race as the Australian aboriginals, according to Fison, Howitt, Roth², Spencer and Gillen, every man evinces a strong desire to obtain the exclusive right to a female to whom he alone shall have right of access, or, if this cannot be, to share her with as few as possible, and these only men of his own immediate blood. From this we may naturally infer that no man willingly practises polyandry, for all men seem desirous to revert to monandry.

We have seen that, among races still living, it is impossible for a weak man to keep a wife if a stronger man desires to

¹ S. E. Peal, *Journ. Anthropolog. Inst.* vol. xxii, 1893, p. 248.

² *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, pp. 180, 181.

take her. In a tribe where the women are less in number than the men, it must follow that the weakest members of the tribe cannot each have a wife of his own, and this of itself might lead to a certain amount of polyandry, for two or three weaklings may prefer to share a woman rather than engage in a doubtful struggle for her sole possession. In more advanced communities it is an admitted fact that polyandry is the outcome of poverty. Thus, as the Chinese from sheer poverty frequently kill their female infants, there is a consequent dearth of women of the marriageable age; and as the more well-to-do naturally obtain the available women, the poorest are reduced to practising polyandry.

Among the Buddhists of Ladak (Western Tibet) polyandry seems to be caused by the sterility of the land, which renders it imperative that the population should not increase, and Knight¹ contrasts the general standard of comfort of the polyandrous Ladakis with the abject poverty of the neighbouring Baltis, who are Mohammedans and polygamous, and have numbers of children.

The Spartans, who practised polyandry of a type somewhat similar to the Tibetan (p. 135), were probably led to its adoption from similar causes, for poverty entailed loss of position to the Spartiate, as by inability to pay his contribution to his *Syssition* he ceased to be one of the *Homoioi* (*Peers*), and fell into the class called *Hypomeiones* (*Inferiors*). It is significant that, when the younger brothers shared their elder brother's wife, they gave up their claim to a part in the family property, which thus remained undivided.

We have also distinct evidence that, at least in some parts of the ancient world, where polyandry was practised it had not long been the rule, but was solely due to the adverse circumstances of the race.

Thus, though the Babylonians had a custom of making the handsome girls of each village provide dowries and thereby husbands for their less favoured sisters, a survival probably from a time when 'group-marriage' had been in vogue, yet Herodotus tells us² that "this best of all their

¹ *Where Three Empires Meet*, ed. 3, 1893, p. 137.

² I. 196.

customs" had by his own time fallen into disuse: "they have lately hit upon a very different plan. For since they have been conquered and maltreated and have had ruin brought upon their families, all the poorer class, being hard pressed for the means of livelihood, prostitute their daughters."

It is probable that the Lydians, who had the same customs as the Hellenes in all respects save that they prostituted their daughters, had, like the Babylonians, been driven by misery into this degraded custom. It is certainly remarkable that Herodotus records its existence in the very chapter in which he recounts the history of the sore famine which had long oppressed the Lydians, and forced them to adopt various expedients, and finally to send forth a portion of the population to settle in Italy¹. Elsewhere Herodotus² notices that "the daughters of the common people in Lydia, one and all, followed this practice, wishing to collect money for their dowries (*φερνή*). They continue this practice till they marry, and the girls are wont to give themselves away in marriage."

The causes which produced polyandry in Babylonia and Lydia, and which have led to it in China and other parts of the modern world, must necessarily have been at work in savage communities from a very remote past. Want of food may have in some degree led to female infanticide (on which McLennan laid too much stress), but history both ancient and modern teaches us that as within the tribe the stronger man takes the mate of the weaker, so the stronger tribes carry off the women of their weaker neighbours. So the lubras of the aborigines of Australia are too frequently appropriated by the white settlers. It thus frequently happens that the men of a weak tribe far outnumber the women.

In such conditions the males of an irrational species of animals would fight to the death for the separate possession of the females until the number of males was reduced to the same number as the females. But with *Homo sapiens erectus*, even though he has made but a short step in rationality, the case assumes a very different aspect. The men of a beaten tribe well know that their inferiority in number to their foes

¹ Herod. i, 94.

² i. 93.

has been a chief element in their defeat, and they are fully aware that if they fight among themselves and reduce their numbers still further, their chance of holding out against their foes will be still less than before. Desire for life will then overcome temporarily the law of sex. It may also be that from their having been a vanquished tribe they have less of the fighting animal instinct than their more masterful neighbours, and being thus broken-spirited, are less ready to fall into internecine strife for women. The only expedient then left for them is to share the women. In the case of men who are brothers, or are united by some other blood connection, there will be less disposition to quarrel, and a greater readiness to have a wife in common. Whilst such circumstances as those suggested do not necessarily establish complete promiscuity, they will naturally lead to 'group-marriage,' such as that known among the Australians and Polynesians¹.

In small hordes practically all the women would be shared by all the men, whilst in larger clans or tribes there would from the outset be a tendency for certain groups of men to share a woman or women, especially in the case of brothers. Such too would naturally be the case if the small horde just referred to in process of time grew more numerous. Now if from the commencement in the smaller bodies all the men shared all the women, when children were born and grew up they would be regarded as belonging to the whole community. The offspring of these women would have thus several fathers, and where the group of men shared two or more women, the children of these women might actually be begotten by the same man, and thus be half-brothers and half-sisters. The children would call all the men 'father' and they would all call each other brothers and sisters, and by a natural extension of the term children would call the woman 'mother' who was not their actual mother but the mother of one whom they termed 'brother' or 'sister.'

This hypothesis, which is not a mere conjecture, but based on the actual facts of human communities who through force

¹ L. H. Morgan, *Ancient Society*, pp. 424 sqq. In Hawaia this system is termed *punalua*.

of circumstances have been unable to secure separate wives for all the males, completely explains the phenomena of the Australian 'group-marriage' and even the occasional access to women of forbidden groups at corroborees. For the latter does not imply that there was a stage of general promiscuity, but only that at one time the ancestors of the tribe were a small group of men with still fewer women, who were shared by all the men; later on as it grew larger it divided into groups, and then the general access of all the men of the tribe to all the women fell into disuse, and was only kept up as an ancient survival at certain solemn seasons.

We have seen how difficult it is for a people which has once lapsed into polyandry to regain the higher moral plane, even when urged to it by the thunders of the mediaeval Church. It is therefore no wonder that, in spite of the natural instinct of the men of the community to have each a wife in severalty, it is hard for them to free themselves from the fetters of custom. Nor must it be forgotten that when a community falls into polyandry, the natural instincts of the women must undergo no less a change for the worse than do those of the men. The woman who is the joint spouse of a group of men is much more highly esteemed than if she was but the squaw of one, since there is among them a sort of rivalry to see which of them shall stand first in her eyes, for it is contrary to nature that a woman should feel equally towards every one of her group of husbands. The Hindus knew this well, and accordingly in the *Mahabharata* Draupadi, the wife of the five Pandava princes, is represented as being especially fond of Arjuna, and as being very jealous when he married Subhadrā to be his own separate wife.

The polyandrous woman has thus much more power than her monandrous sister or the wife of a polygamous husband, and hence polyandrous communities, such as Sparta (p. 135), were and are especially under feminine influence.

But the animal instinct is too strong in man to allow him to rest content with a share only in a wife, if sole ownership be possible. Accordingly men devise various expedients for obtaining mates who shall be exclusively their own. The most

obvious and primitive of these is to capture a woman from another tribe. The 'spear-won' bride is the private property of her captor, who can club her to death if she has dealings with any other man. The advantage of acquiring wives by this method is one which appeals to every man with ordinary animal instincts, for it enables him to have a mate all his own, which is the law of the lower animals. Wife-capture therefore is merely an atavistic return to the primeval habits of man when it is found existing among peoples who have fallen into the practice of polyandry, either from the tribe at one time having lost a considerable portion of its women, or from the scarcity of women consequent on female infanticide. Accordingly its existence along with group-marriage in Australia does not afford us the slightest grounds for believing that either 'group-marriage' or general promiscuity was a stage through which all races who now practise monandry have had to pass.

From Wife-capture probably arose the rule of exogamy, as has been well suggested by Mr S. E. Peal and Col. Ellis¹ independently. The latter also cleverly suggests that Wife-purchase is an emanation of Wife-capture. "A man who captured a woman belonging to another tribe, would have the right to monopolise her to himself; and it would be such an obvious advantage in a society in which communal marriage prevailed, for a man to have a woman to himself, that this alone seems sufficient to account for exogamy. No doubt many men would thus capture wives; but I do not imagine that for several generations entire tribes sought their wives outside their own tribe....In primitive communities, children are regarded as belonging to the mother, and not to the father. The children, then, of a woman who had been captured from another tribe would be regarded as belonging to her. But she would be the property of her captor, his slave, consequently her children would also be his slaves, and he would be at liberty to sell them to the men of his tribe, who could marry and monopolise the females without infringing the rights of the rest of the tribe. Thus in one or two generations there would be no necessity for capturing the women of other tribes."

¹ *The Tshi-speaking Peoples of the Gold Coast*, p. 293.

The children of such marriages are therefore the mere chattel-property of their parents. When therefore a young man desires to obtain a maiden in marriage, her parents desire some compensation for the loss of her services, and the compensation thus becomes the purchase-money.

The practice of parents selling their children into slavery, such as was common among the indigenous Thracian tribes, is probably another outcome of Wife-capture.

It is worthy of remark that the most primitive tribes of mankind, such as the Veddas, the aboriginal inhabitants of Kola and Koproor, of the Aru Archipelago, who live in trees or caves, and apparently also the Andamanese, are in the habit of marrying without making any payment for the bride¹. Such too was the custom of the ancient Germans, for as we have seen above (pp. 21 *sqq.*) the husband's gifts were not for her parents but were to form a dowry for the wife, whilst she in her turn brought her husband a gift of arms. The Norsemen had substantially the same practice. Thus when Glum wooed Hallgerda and her father approved, and she herself had declared that she thought she might love Glum well if they could but hit it off as to temper, "after that Hallgerda's goods were valued and Glum was to lay down as much against them, and they were to go shares, half and half, in the whole. Then Glum bound himself to Hallgerda as his betrothed, and they rode away home south²."

When we turn to the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we are met with a similar practice, for the bridegroom has to make presents, which are given to the bride's father, but returned by the latter with additional presents from his own store. Thus Agamemnon offers one of his daughters to Achilles: "Let him take of them which he will without gifts of wooing (*ἀνέδρον*) to Peleus's house; and I will add a great dower such as no man ever yet gave with his daughter³." So too in the *Odyssey* the disguised Athena says to Telemachus, "As for the wooers, bid them scatter them each one to his own, and for thy mother, if

¹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 398.

² *Burnt Njal*, chap. XIII (Dasent's trans.).

³ *Il.* ix. 146. *Il.* xxii. 51 (where Altes gives much goods to his daughter Laethoë on her marriage to Priam).

her heart is moved to marriage, let her go back to the hall of that mighty man her father, and her kinsfolk will furnish a wedding feast, and array the wedding gifts (*ἑδνα*) exceeding many, all that should go with a daughter dearly beloved¹. Such passages as these make it clear that it was not the practice with the Achæans for the bridegroom to purchase the bride from her kinsmen, but to lay down gifts which would come back with her, augmented by others given by her father or family, the conjoint goods forming a common fund on which to commence housekeeping, as was the case with the Germans and the Norsemen.

On the other hand the practice of the Pelasgians of Thessaly differed as widely in this respect from that of the Achæans as did their system of succession. Thus Neleus "had wedded Chloris for her beauty and had brought gifts of wooing past number," and he set a great price on the hand of his daughter Pero, for when all around were her wooers, "Neleus would not give her save to him who should drive off from Phylace the kine of mighty Iphicles, with shambling gait and broad of brow, hard cattle to drive²." The price named by Neleus indicates that, as amongst many modern tribes³, the purchase money for a wife had to be paid in cattle, a view strongly corroborated by the epithet "cow-winning" applied to maidens, to which we shall soon return.

As there are many other passages in the poems which imply that the girl was practically sold to the highest bidder by her father or brothers, the Homeric scholars have concluded somewhat too hastily that Wife-purchase is universal in Homer⁴.

It will be remembered that the melanochrous Thracians, who were the close kinsmen of the Pelasgians of Thessaly, had in the days of Herodotus the institution of selling their daughters and purchasing wives. It is not therefore surprising that

¹ *Od.* i. 277. Here (as also in *Od.* ii. 196) it can only mean a dowry given to the bride by her father, although Butcher and Lang *ad loc.* say that "the *ἑδνα* in Homer are invariably gifts made by the wooers to the father or kinsmen of the bride, that is, the bride-price, the *kalym* of the dwellers on the Volga."

² *Od.* xi. 281 *sqq.*

³ Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 44.

⁴ See Ebeling's *Hom. Lex.* s.v. *ἑδνα*.

Neleus the Pelasgian of Iolcus followed the like practice, and that many survivals of the same custom should be found in the Homeric poems, which were composed, as we have argued, in the language and metre of the aborigines of Greece.

Now, as *eedna* is the only technical term used in either *Iliad* or *Odyssey* for marriage-payments made on either side, and there is as yet no specific term for a dowry, it would appear that the practice referred to by Agamemnon and Athena in the passages cited above had but recently appeared on Greek soil. But, as the two cases cited refer to the custom of the Achean princely houses, it follows that with the advent of the Achaeans not only a new rule of succession but also a new form of marriage had entered Greece. For now the suitor no longer buys the woman from her father or brothers, but the *eedna* are handed over to the father, only to be returned with others added to form the dower of the girl, as was the case in Germany and Scandinavia. Moreover, it is plain that the principle of the dower was of recent introduction, for, as already stated, there is no technical term for dower in Homer, though such are familiar in classical times¹ when the new principle of the dower had become firmly established as a concomitant of the new doctrine of kinship and marriage.

It needs but little reflection to see that in a society like that of early Athens, where property was vested in women and passed from mother to daughter, there is no place for the idea of a dowry for the daughter, for the daughters have succeeded to the family property, and have rather to dower out their brothers, as was the rule among the Cantabrians. In such societies as the Cantabrian the brother was given a small portion out of the family estate wherewith he might have the means of winning the good graces of some girl, who according to the native custom would be the possessor of her family property. The gifts of the suitor in such a case are in no sense purchase money, but merely propitiatory presents (*ἔεδνα*) to gain the

¹ Thus neither does *φερνή* (Herod. i. 93 etc.) occur at all in Homer, nor is *προίξ*, the regular Attic term (Demosth., Lysias, etc.), found in the sense of dowry in the poems. Pindar (*Pyth.* iii. 94) terms *ἔδνα* the dowry given by the gods along with Thetis to Peleus and along with Harmonia to Cadmus.

lady's favour, who may have just as free a right of choice as the Tibetan heiress at the present moment. Indeed the term *eedna* is so explained by the ancient commentators and lexicographers¹, a view too hastily rejected by modern scholars.

In such a community as ancient Athens, where the daughters inherited the family land, it was of the utmost importance for a man to secure some girl's hand, for with it went her land. The girl therefore became a very valuable possession, and as the males gradually acquired more power in the community, her father or brothers would naturally exploit her to the best advantage for themselves. Accordingly the *eedna*, nominally wooing-gifts to win the girl's good-will, would in many cases be actually paid to the father or brothers to gain their consent to the match. This of course is nothing else than Wife-purchase.

Now we found a relic of Wife-purchase in *coemptio*, the form of marriage as characteristic of the Plebeians as *confarreatio* was of the Patricians, and we held that the Plebeians had originated in the Ligurian aborigines of Latium, who were closely akin to the melanochrous Thracians, who bought their wives, and also to the aboriginal people of Greece. It would then be strange if no traces of Wife-purchase in early Greece had survived for us, such as those left us in several passages of Homer and in the epithet "cow-earning" often applied to girls (*παρθέναι ἀλφεσίβοιαι*). This term plainly belongs to a state of society similar to that existing in modern Darfur, where wives are bought with cows, twenty of which with a male and female slave are the usual price of a wife, and where daughters are preferred to sons, because, according to the native adage, "girls fill the stable, but boys empty it," for wives have to be purchased for the latter².

But we have just seen that in a definite case where a father puts up for sale his daughter's hand, he is a Pelasgian chief and not an Achean. Aristotle is therefore perfectly accurate when he alleges that Wife-purchase had been customary in early Greece³.

¹ For *ἐεδνα* as τὰ ὑπὸ τῶν μνηστῆρων ταῖς μεμνηστευμέναις δίδόμενα δῶρα see Ebeling's *Lex.* s.v.

² Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 44.

³ *Polit.* II. 8. 19: τὰς γυναῖκας ἐκνοῦντο.

The confusion in the use of the *eedna* is now explained. As we have already seen that the Homeric poems were composed in the language of the older race, and as the idea of dowry was quite new in Greece, and there was no technical word to express it, some general term such as *meilia* had to be employed, or the meaning of the old technical term *eedna* had to be extended, as in the passages already cited from the *Odyssey*, a usage fully established in Pindar. It is easy to point out in the language of Homer many other survivals of an earlier range of ideas. Thus the epic poet still continued to say "smite with the bronze" long after weapons were all made of iron, and to speak of the soul going beneath the earth, though he actually held the doctrine that the abode of the dead was no Inferno, but lay in the west on Ocean's marge.

It is now plain that the Achæans of Homer differed no less widely from the aboriginal population of Greece in their method of obtaining their wives, in their high ideal of the marriage state, and in the position assigned to the wedded wife, than they did in their customs of kinship and inheritance, whilst nowhere else in the ancient world could we find any parallel to the Achæans in all these vital principles of social life save in central Europe and among the Umbro-Sabellian peoples of Italy. But it is clear that the strict notion of the married state embodied in the *confarreate* marriage of the Patricians was not of recent growth at Rome, but that it had waned rather than waxed as time went on; and as Aristotle pointed out that the social habits of the Celts of upper Europe differed essentially from those of all other military races with which he was acquainted, we are justified in concluding that the high notions of married life held both by the Celto-German tribes and their kinsmen of upper Italy dated at least from the epoch when the Achæans became masters of Greece, and probably from a much more remote antiquity. But, as the Achæans had the same social principles in full force in the Homeric times, it is plain that these institutions were not of recent date with them, supposing even that the Achæans, Celts, and Umbro-Sabellians had evolved their social institutions from the lower stages of polyandry.

But, in the face of our recent investigations, is there any valid reason for supposing that these peoples had ever passed through the stage of promiscuity or even of group-marriage? We saw that in a single tribe the stronger man will appropriate the wife of a weaker, the latter being thus driven either to take the wife of one still weaker, or to steal one from another tribe, or else share a wife with several other weaklings. It is likewise certain that stronger tribes habitually carry off the women of their weaker neighbours, as the Malays for example used to carry off the wives of the little aboriginal Sakeis.

Now we have also seen that it is possible for the most primitive tribes of mankind, such as the Veddas, to preserve a monandrous condition closely resembling that of the greater apes. But, if it is thus possible for a very weak race under certain favourable conditions to retain in unbroken force the desire of each male to possess at least one female all his own, *a fortiori* the same would be possible for a tribe, which by some happy circumstances became more numerous than its rivals and by the advantage of environment waxed superior in physique. Such a tribe would always be able to protect itself against its foes, and prevent its women from being carried off. Pairing for life would thus continue to be the rule with them as with the Veddas.

In a former chapter I suggested that the peoples of Europe who speak what are called Indo-European languages had gradually moved upwards from the south-east as the ice-sheet receded. Those tribes which formed the van of the gradual movement up the middle of Europe would generally live under more invigorating climatic conditions than their neighbours lower down, and they would become superior to the latter in their physique, which would gain still further from the vast supplies of animal food ready to hand in the great forests of central Europe. This abundance of food would render infanticide unknown, and thus there would be no paucity of women from the slaying of female infants. Tacitus himself remarked on the fact that the Germans of his time reared all their children. Hence there would be no cause either for the rise of polyandry within the tribe or for carrying off the women

of a weaker tribe, which might thereby be led to that practice. It was therefore just as easy for the tribes of central Europe to continue in monandry as it was for the Veddas of Ceylon.

It is not improbable likewise that the great courage of the fair-haired peoples may be due in no small measure to the fact that they have never known a period of polyandry. For, as in the animal kingdom all war arises from three causes,—rivalry for females, defence of offspring, and struggle for subsistence, it follows that in a polyandrous community, where the jealousy of the males is suppressed, or at least kept in abeyance, one of the main incitements, if not the main, to combativeness is removed. This indeed may give to a polyandrous community a temporary advantage over a monandrous, since as there is less jealousy and strife, there is more leisure to develop the arts.

Thus on the discovery of the Canaries the Guanches of Lancerote, who were polyandrous, were much more advanced in culture than the monogamous natives of the other islands. Indeed it has been often marked that communities who practise polyandry are far in advance of their neighbours whose moral notions are infinitely higher. Thus the ordinary polyandrous Sinhalese have attained to a plane of culture entirely unknown to their neighbours the Veddas, to whom polyandry is absolutely repugnant¹.

Doubtless it was a desire to secure internal tranquillity for his Callipolis that led Plato to ordain a system of polyandry for his Guardians, who, men and women alike, were to live all together in common barracks, and eat at common mess-tables, having no separate houses or separate family relations; no youth was to know his own father, no father his own child, nay, even a mother must not know the babe that she had carried in her womb, for all the mature men and women were to be fathers or mothers of the younger, whilst all of the same age were to be brothers or sisters². Plato would have found the nearest approach to his ideal in the Agathyrsi of his own day and in the Australian savages of our time, though the restrictions of "group-marriage" enforced by the latter fall very far short of his desire for universal promiscuity.

¹ Westermarck, *op. cit.* pp. 515, 516.

² *Rep.* 457—460.

But whilst the suppression of the passions and emotions of the individual may be a considerable gain to a nascent community, this temporary advantage is acquired at a terrible cost, the decay of courage. For, since all animals fight most desperately to secure mates, and to defend their progeny, the eradication or suppression of such instincts and passions must sap the very foundations of pugnacity and courage. Thus neither Plato's Guardians nor the Australian aborigines could ever feel the throb of the noble passions that only beat with full strength in the hearts of the northern races, where individualism has remained as dominant as it is among the lower animals. This individualism, which rings in the bold Norsemen's utterance, *omnes sumus pares*, has engendered the heroic courage and daring enterprise, which have planted the Teutonic peoples in the forefront of the world, whilst its dangerous tendency to absolute selfishness in the keen struggle for a livelihood is redeemed by other animal instincts, which have ever remained unabated in the race, a self-denying devotion, which impels men, who in their dealings with others may be indescribably sordid and mean, cheerfully to endure toil and hardship, to brave perils, and, if need be, even to lay down life for wife and child.

In face of the feeble and unwarlike character of the Buddhist communities of Ceylon, Hindustan, and Tibet, who practise polyandry, we are impelled to the conclusion, that if the Teutonic peoples had ever similarly effaced or subdued their primary animal instincts, they would not now rank as the bravest races of the earth. But as the Homeric Achæans and the Umbro-Sabellian peoples had shared the peculiar social institutions of the fair-haired people of upper Europe, there is also no reason for supposing that either of those peoples had emerged from an antecedent stage of polyandry.

According to the view put forward already in this work the Aryans of the Rig-Veda had moved from central Europe into Asia at a date posterior to the rise of the practice of cremating the dead and the discovery of copper, but anterior to that of iron. If that view is sound, we ought to find among the early Aryans a system of kinship and marriage similar to that of the Achæans, the Umbro-Sabellians, and the Celto-Teutonic peoples.

Happily, there is sufficient evidence to make it highly probable that the Aryans coincided completely in this respect with their brethren of Europe. We have already pointed out that in the story of the Swāyamvara the repugnance to polyandry evinced by the sons of Pandu after the winning of Draupadi clearly indicates that the Aryan conquerors abhorred the polyandrous habits of the indigenous races whom they subdued.

But the Rig-Veda itself discloses many proofs that the Aryans were both monandrous and monogamous, that the male sex was regarded as superior, and that the father was the head of the family. The hymns contain frequent prayers for male children, and are regularly addressed to male divinities, such as Indra, Surya, Agni, the Aṣvins, and the like. Such prominence would hardly be assigned to the male sex in a community where polyandry and succession through women was the rule. One hymn at least makes it plain that monogamy was the normal practice of the Aryans. This hymn dwells upon the duality of the two Aṣvins, and accordingly the pairs of deities are compared with almost everything that runs in couples, including a husband and wife, and a pair of lips uttering sweet sounds¹. Unless then the relation between man and wife was held especially close and inseparable there would be no force in the comparison.

We also found reason for believing that the rule of male succession only arose where monandry had been immemorial, as amongst the Romans, the tribes of Germany, and the Achæans, and that the Roman *Patria Potestas* was the outcome of the same doctrine.

Not only was the father regarded as the head of the family in the Rig-Veda, but in the Hindu law we find the nearest parallel to the Roman *Patria Potestas*. Thus Manu² declares that a son, a wife, and a slave have no property of their own since their earnings are acquired for the man to whom they belong. Indeed it was the remarkable coincidence between the Roman and Hindu systems respecting the *Patria Potestas* which led Sir H. S. Maine to ascribe too wide a domain to this principle.

¹ *R. V. momdala* II, sūktā 39, cited by Westermarck, *op. cit.* p. 442.

² *Laws of Manu*, VIII. 416.

But to this day polyandry exists among the Dravidian races of Hindustan, and as the sons of Pandu the Pale looked upon it with horror, it follows that the doctrine of *Patria Potestas*, which is seen in its initial stage in the *Rig-Veda*, was no development of the indigenous peoples of the Indian peninsula, but had been introduced by the Aryans. This gains further support from Manu, who regards as an unwholesome innovation the doctrine that a daughter could select her own husband, an idea which, in face of the existence of polyandry and the *Swāyamvara* among the conquered races, must clearly have been borrowed by the Aryans from their subjects.

We have concluded that Wife-purchase, of which we saw survivals in the Roman *coemptio* and in certain passages and phrases of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, was not practised by the Sabines or Achæans any more than it was by the Germans, but that in each case it was the custom of the indigenous people. It will forcibly corroborate our general thesis, if it can be shown that whilst the Aryans who conquered India abhorred Wife-purchase, on the other hand it was normally practised by the races subject to them. In proof of this it will suffice to quote from Manu.

The four marriages in which a father gives away his daughter—*Brāhma*, *Daiva*, *Ārsha*, and *Prāgāpatya*—are blessed marriages, and from them spring sons radiant with knowledge of the *Veda*, honoured by good men, and destined to live a hundred years. But there are four other kinds of marriage, which are blamable marriages,—those effected by purchase, voluntary union, forcible abduction, or stealth—from which spring sons who are cruel and untruthful, who hate the *Veda* and the sacred law¹.

It is now plain that with the Aryans, with the Teutonic peoples, the Roman Patricians, and the Homeric Achæans the girl was solemnly given to her husband by her father, and not sold as was customary with the aborigines of Latium, of Greece, and of Hindustan.

Amid a society where reigned so noble a conception of domestic life and so strong a respect for the wife as that portrayed in Homer, there was not likely to be any place for

¹ *Laws of Manu*, III. 30 sqq.

the unspeakable sin which cankered Greek society in historical times. It is therefore not surprising that the Homeric poems are unpolluted by any suspicion of such. The sin of Sodom in all ages has been endemic in the Mediterranean basin, and has never, except sporadically and that mainly under southern influences, appeared north of the Alps, although but too often the conquerors of southern lands have become tainted with the loathsome corruption of their subjects. Thus according to Herodotus¹, himself a Greek, the Persians knew not unnatural crimes until they learned them from the Greeks. The same, *mutatis mutandis*, might be predicated of the Osmanli Turks. The similarity of Homeric society to that of the Teutonic peoples, whilst on the other hand it stands in such contrast to that of later Greece, is an indication that the Achæans had come from a region where such sins had found no place.

Nor are we unjust in ascribing to the Aegean people all that is grossest in historical Hellas. Thus the Greeks shared with the Egyptians the coarsest elements of Bacchic worship, for Herodotus pointed out² the similarity between the emblems carried by the Egyptian women at the festival of Osiris and those borne by their Greek sisters in the ritual of Dionysus, whilst the same writer ascribes to Melampus, one of the Pelasgian stock, the introduction into Greece of the worship of that god through its ceremonial and emblem.

¹ I. 185.

² II. 48.

CHAPTER II.

MURDER AND HOMICIDE.

"It hath the primal eldest curse upon it." *Hamlet.*

It is obvious that the law of bloodshed is closely bound up with that of kinship. Accordingly, if it should turn out that there are certain difficulties connected with the history of the treatment of the manslayer in the literary remains of ancient Greece, and that no rational explanation can be found for these contradictions on the hitherto prevalent doctrine that the Greeks were a homogeneous people, whilst on the other hand the tradition of an Achean conquest affords a ready solution, we shall thereby have obtained a further confirmation of the truth of our general doctrine.

Every Greek scholar knows that the trial of Orestes in the *Erumenides* hinges on the struggle between two diametrically opposed doctrines concerning the shedding of kindred blood, put forward by the Erinyes and Apollo respectively, the former with merciless iteration repeating the immemorial ordinance that *the doer must suffer*, and declaring that it is her function to follow like a sleuthhound the man with gore-stained hands until his destruction be finally accomplished, while Apollo, who is denounced by the Awful Goddesses as an innovator overthrowing primæval ordinances, proclaims a doctrine of mercy and forgiveness for the sinner, who if he seek and gain purification can be freed from his pollution and return to his home in peace. Thus, whilst the Erinyes maintains that Orestes could win no forgiveness, when once he had shed his mother's blood, even though she was the murderess of his father, Apollo justifies Orestes on the ground that it was the duty of the latter to avenge his father, as the tie between son and father is closer and more sacred than that between son and mother, and the god deliberately avows that it was at his

own behest that Orestes had slain his mother. Clearly then at Athens the old order had yielded place to new not only as regards kinship, but also in respect of bloodshed.

If we had no other witness than Aeschylus, we should be justified in holding that from of old the Athenian law decreed that he who had shed kindred blood should be stoned to death, or else go into exile. But the evidence of Aeschylus is completely corroborated by the laws respecting both wilful murder (*φόνος ἐκούσιος*) and involuntary homicide (*φόνος ἀκούσιος*). Attic law recognized three kinds of wilful murder—i.e. by wounding, by poison, and by arson¹. These cases were tried by the Boule of the Areopagus. The penalty was death and the confiscation of the murderer's goods—that is, if he determined to risk the verdict, for it was possible for him, if he chose, before the end of the trial, to quit the land, in which case his goods were still confiscated and he became an exile for life².

The duty of prosecuting the homicide, whether wilful or involuntary, devolved by law upon the near relatives of the victim—father, brother, or sons—who had to give the manslayer formal notice in the Agora, a necessary preliminary to taking proceedings before the Archon Basileus. In the further stages of the prosecution they were to be supported by the dead man's cousins, cousins' sons, father-in-law, son-in-law, and *phratores*, for the law ordained that "prosecution shall be made jointly by cousins, and cousins' children and descendants of cousins, and sons-in-law, and fathers-in-law, and *phratores*." Other passages of Demosthenes declare that "the law commands the relations to go forth and prosecute as far as descendants of cousins³." But even though in the case of the involuntary homicide the kinsmen of the slain had the right of forgiving the homicide and of being appeased by him, this could only be done after the trial had been fully carried out, and, to effect this, the father, brothers, and sons must be

¹ Arist. *Polity of Ath.* LVII: εἰσὶ δὲ φόνου δίκαι καὶ τραύματος, ἃν μὲν ἐκ προνοίας ἀποκτείνῃ ἢ τρώσῃ, ἐν Ἀρείῳ πάγῳ, καὶ φαρμάκων ἐὰν ἀποκτείνῃ δοῦς, καὶ πυρκαϊᾶς· ταῦτα γὰρ ἡ βουλὴ μόνᾳ δικάζει. Cf. Telfy, *Corp. Iur. Attici*, pp. 282—9.

² Dem. *Mid.* 528: οἱ φονικοὶ (sc. νόμοι) τοὺς μὲν ἐκ προνοίας ἀποκτενύντας θανάτῳ καὶ δειφονίᾳ καὶ δημεύσει τῶν ὑπαρχόντων ζημιόσει.

³ Adv. *Macart.* 57, *Contra Euerg.* et *Mnesib.* 72.

unanimous in the matter; if the deceased had left no near relatives, the Ephetae were to choose according to rank ten of his *phratores*, on whom the right of forgiveness then devolved. It was absolutely necessary that the homicide should first have been tried and banished by the Ephetae. Afterwards he might appease the next of kin, and get them to agree to a curtailment of his term of exile; but although it could be made merely a nominal punishment, yet the sentence and departure into exile had to be carried out.

It will be observed that the laws of Athens, which in this case were the laws of Solon, forbade the kindred of one who had been deliberately slain to accept any compensation whatever from the murderer, or to forgive him on any pretext whatever. From this it is clear that in cases of wilful murder the law of Athens knew no such thing as *wer-geld*, whilst, in cases of accidental manslaughter, compensation could only be accepted after a full trial and the banishment of the slayer. The relatives could not abstain from prosecution. If a man who had been killed, either deliberately or accidentally, requested his kindred, before he expired, not to prosecute his slayer, in that case and in that only could his kindred refuse to prosecute the manslayer. Indeed it was specially provided by a law of Solon that no one should take a blood-wite as satisfaction for the murder of a relative. But it cannot be held that this was a new principle introduced by Solon, for we know from Aristotle's *Polity of the Athenians* that Solon retained the ordinances of Draco concerning bloodshed¹.

But, although all antiquity rang with the severity of the Dracontian ordinances, it will not be maintained that these were the creation of that legislator himself, for he cannot be credited with more than a codification of the immemorial customary laws, not the least important of which in all primitive communities are those relating to bloodshed. We are therefore justified in considering the ordinances of Draco concerning homicide as no new legislative enactments, but rather the embodiment of doctrines which had prevailed at Athens

¹ Chap. vii. 1: πολιτείαν δὲ κατέστησε καὶ νόμους ἔθηκεν ἄλλους, τοῖς δὲ Δράκοντος θεσμοῖς ἐπαύσαντο χρώμενοι πλὴν τῶν φονικῶν.

from time out of mind. Indeed the very term *Thesmoi* applied to the Dracontian code in contrast to that of *Nomoi* used of the Laws of Solon, taken in connection with the fact that the title *Thesmophoros*¹ was especially attached to Demeter as the creator of social law and order, and that the greatest festival of the goddess held at Athens was called the *Thesmophoria*, would indicate that in Draco's ordinances we have nothing but ancient customs crystallized into law.

The evidence thus drawn from the legal antiquities of Athens distinctly supports the doctrine of Aeschylus that severity to the bloodshedder was the immemorial rule, and not a late outcome of a higher moral sense and an increased respect for the sanctity of human life felt by either Draco or Solon. We may therefore hold that the doctrine put by Aeschylus in the mouth of the Erinyes, 'that the doer must suffer,' was a precept of hoary antiquity, and that it was her *primaeval* duty to avenge kindred blood shed upon the earth. Who the Erinyes was, and why it was her function to take vengeance for blood that had fallen on the earth, I shall endeavour to show in a later chapter². As the offence of Orestes was matricide, a crime for which there could be no money compensation, there was not much opportunity for any reference to the payment of blood-gelt in the *Eumenides*, even if any such custom existed at Athens.

But although the Erinyes took especial delight in avenging the blood of a mother, her function included the exaction of vengeance for the shedding of all kindred blood, termed by Aeschylus 'blood within the tribe' (*ἐμφύλιον αἷμα*). This however is by no means limited to a single tribe, but includes the whole body of Athenian citizens. Thus when the Erinyes has been baulked of her vengeance on Orestes, Athena fears lest she may implant in her citizens intestine strife (*ἐμφύλιος ἄρης*), bloodshed within the tribe³. Plainly, if *emphylios* can be applied to civil strife among all the citizens of Athens,

¹ Diod. Sic. v. 5.

² [The subject is not treated in this volume.]

³ *Eum.* 861: μηδ', ἐξελούσ' ὡς καρδίαν ἀλεκτόρων,
ἐν τοῖς ἐμοῖς ἀστοῖσιν ἰδρύσσης ἄρη
ἐμφύλιόν τε καὶ πρὸς ἀλλήλους θρασύν.

the 'kindred blood,' which it is the province of the Erinyes to avenge, is not limited to a single clan, or phratry, or tribe, but includes the blood of all the tribal communities which are held to be of the same stock.

Nor must it be supposed that the terrible pollution which, if not atoned for, is punished by the Erinyes with barrenness of women and cattle and blights upon all crops and trees, arose only from the slaying of parents or near relatives. The picture given by Sophocles in the Parodos of the *Oedipus Tyrannus* of the effects of the curse that lighted upon the Thebans in consequence of the pollution accruing from the murder of Laius corresponds closely to that threatened against Athens by the Erinyes, because the full penalty for his mother's blood had not been exacted from Orestes. Now it is plain that if the *agos* that brooded over Thebes from the murder of Laius could only have resulted from the slaying of that monarch by a member of the royal kindred, there would have been little difficulty in marking down the culprit, whereas we know that Creon simply brought back a statement from the oracle at Pytho that the man, whoever he was, who slew Laius, was harboured in the land. From this it follows that if the slayer of Laius had been not his son, but only any common Theban citizen, the pollution would have been just the same in its effects on the land and its people. Thus according to the Athenians of the fifth century B.C., 'kindred blood' is the blood of any member of the tribal community, but the tribal community is coextensive with the *Polis*.

The *Eumenides* tells us that there had once been a time at Athens when descent was reckoned through the mother. This is amply confirmed by survivals in Attic law. The stern doctrine which forbade the acceptance of any requital for the murder of a man by the payment of which the slayer could avoid death or perpetual exile has been likewise substantiated by the Attic laws of homicide which were in force at least in the seventh century B.C. We may therefore without hesitation accept also the tradition that this doctrine was no creation of recent legislators but had been rooted in the soil from prehistoric times.

Now when we turn to the Homeric poems we at once find that the recognized practice in cases of homicide is that the close relations of the murdered man, such as his father or brother, accept an eric (*ποινὴ*), and the manslayer is permitted to remain in his own home without going into exile even for a short space: "Yet doth a man accept an eric from the slayer of his brother or of his dead son; and so the manslayer for a great price abideth in his own land, and the kinsman's heart is appeased, and his proud soul, when he hath accepted the recompense¹." This statement put in the mouth of Ajax is strikingly confirmed by the fact that the typical case of legal procedure selected by the poet for the famous Trial Scene on the Shield of Achilles is a question of homicide, wherein the point at issue is not whether the defendant is guilty or not guilty of the crime, but whether he has paid the blood-wite or not. As however other scholars have held a different opinion not only as regards the meaning of the two talents of gold, but also on the very question of the blood-gelt, it will be necessary to discuss their views as briefly as possible.

First let us take the passage around which so much strife has arisen:

"But the folk were gathered in the place of assembly; for there a strife was arisen, two men striving about the blood-price of a man slain; the one avowed that he had paid all, expounding to the people, but the other denied that he had received aught; and each was fain to obtain consummation before an arbiter. And the folk were cheering both, as they took part on either side. And heralds kept order among the folk, while the elders were seated on polished stones in the sacred circle, and they held in their hands the staves of loud-voiced heralds. Then before the folk they rose up and gave doom each in turn. And in the midst lay two talents of gold, to be

¹ Il. ix. 632:

καὶ μὲν τίς τε κασιγνήτοιο φονῆος
ποιῆν ἢ οὐ παιδὸς ἐδέξατο τεθνηῶτος·
καὶ ῥ' ὁ μὲν ἐν δήμῳ μένει αὐτοῦ, πόλλ' ἀποτίσας,
τοῦ δέ τ' ἐρητύεται κραδίη καὶ θυμὸς ἀγήνωρ
ποιῆν δεξαμένον.

given unto him who should pronounce most righteously the custom¹."

These lines have been explained in many different ways, but there are sufficient data, legal, archaeological, and linguistic, to show that the only possible interpretation is that put forward long since by Sir Henry Maine².

The points which require to be settled are, (1) what are the two talents of gold, (2) to whom are they to be given, (3) what is the point at issue, (4) are there two distinct scenes, (a) in the Agora, (b) the trial before the elders? We shall take these questions in order.

(1) Sir H. Maine held that the two talents of gold are the court fee and that the procedure corresponds to the Roman *Legis actio sacramenti* described by Gaius³. Mr Laurence⁴ combated this, contending that the two talents were the blood-wite of the murdered man, and maintained that if the talents were to be given to one of the judges, a second trial would be necessary to decide who was the best judge. Then the present writer showed⁵ that two talents of gold were too small a sum to be the blood-gelt of a freeman, for in the list of prizes for the chariot-race two talents of gold are only the fourth prize. I have shown elsewhere⁶ that the talent of the Homeric poems was simply the equivalent of a cow in gold and that it was the same in weight as the stater of the classical period,

¹ Il. xviii. 497 sqq.:

λαοὶ δ' εἰν ἀγορῇ ἔσαν ἄθροοι· ἐνθα δὲ νείκεος
ὠρώρει, δύο δ' ἄνδρες ἐνείκεον εἵνεκα πονηρῆς
ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου· ὁ μὲν εὖχετο πάντ' ἀποδοῦναι,
δήμῳ πιφαύσκων, ὃ δ' ἀναινετο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι·
ἀμφὺ δ' ἰέσθην ἐπὶ ἱστορίᾳ πείραρ ἐλέσθαι.
λαοὶ δ' ἀμφοτέροισιν ἐπήπνον, ἀμφὶς ἀρωγὰι.
κῆρυκες δ' ἄρα λαὸν ἐρήτουν· οἱ δὲ γέροντες
εἶπαι· ἐπὶ ξυστοῖσι λίθοις ἱερῷ ἐνὶ κύκλῳ
σκηπτρα δὲ κηρύκων ἐν χέρσ' ἔχον ἡεροφώνων·
τοῖσιν ἔπειτ' ἦίσσον, ἀμοιβῆδις δὲ δίκαιον·
κεῖτο δ' ἄρ' ἐν μέσσοισι δύο χρυσοῖο τάλαντα,
τῷ δόμεν θεὸς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἶποι.

² *Ancient Law* (1906), p. 385.

³ iv. 13 sqq.

⁴ *Journ. of Philology*, vol. viii (1879), pp. 125 sqq.

⁵ *ibid.* vol. x. (1881), pp. 30—3.

⁶ *Jour. Hell. Stud.* vol. viii (1887), pp. 133 sqq.; *Origin of Metallic Currency* (1892), pp. 1—9.

i.e. 135 grains Troy. Now since a slave woman, given as a prize for wrestling, was valued at four cows (τῶν δὲ ἑτεσσαράβοιον), and since a talent of gold = a cow, two talents of gold (= two cows) could not be the price of a freeman, if an ordinary slave girl was worth four cows. We may therefore conclude that the two talents of gold are not the blood-money.

But there is another view by which they may be regarded as neither blood-money, nor yet as a fee for the judge. Some scholars have held that the Homeric procedure corresponds to the Roman *sponsio*. In that case the litigants made a wager, and the two talents represent the talent wagered by each: the successful litigant would receive the two talents in addition to the award of the court. Dr Leaf¹ declares that whether we have here a *sacramentum* or a *sponsio* is an insoluble problem. But if we examine the language of the final clause of the passage, we shall find a criterion by which we can come to a clear decision.

(2) In the line τῷ δόμεν, ὃς μετὰ τοῖσι δίκην ἰθύντατα εἴποι, scholars have fixed all their attention on the words δίκην εἴποι, and have entirely neglected the adverb ἰθύντατα. I have shown elsewhere that the metaphor of *straightness* or *crookedness* is always used of good or bad *judges*, but never of litigants². Do

¹ Jour. Hell. Stud. vol. VIII (1887), pp. 122 sqq.

² Origin of Metallic Currency, pp. 389—90 (App. A). The following passages (there cited) will show that ἰθύς, ἰθύειν, εὐθύειν, εὐθυντήριος, ὀρθός, σκολιός always refer to the judge. The metaphor is from the carpenter's rule, cf. ἐπὶ στάθμῃ ἰθύειν (Od. v. 245).

Il. xvi. 387: οἱ βίη εἰν ἀγορῇ σκολιὰς κρίνωσι θέμιστας.

Hesiod, Opp. 219 sqq.: αὐτίκα γὰρ τρέχει Ὀρκος ἅμα σκολιῇσι δίκῃσι τῆς δὲ Δίκης ῥόθος ἐλκομένης ἧ κ' ἄνδρες ἄγωσι [ῥωροφάγοι, σκολιῆς δὲ δίκης κρίνωσι θέμιστας].
ἧ δ' ἔπεται κλαίονσα πόλιν καὶ ἦθεα λαῶν,
ἥερα ἔσσαμένη, κακὸν ἀνθρώποισι φέρονσα,
οἵτε μιν ἐξελάσσωσι καὶ οὐκ ἰθεῖαν ἔνειμαν.

Solon, 3. 36: εὐθύνων σκολιὰς δίκας.

Pindar, Pyth. iv. 152: καὶ θρόνος, ᾧ ποτε Κρηθεΐδας ἐγκαθίζων ἱππόταις εὐθυνοῖ λαοὺς δίκας. Pyth. xi. 9: ὀρθοδίκαν γὰρ ὁμυαλόν.

Aesch. Persae, 764: σκῆπτρον εὐθυντήριον.

Arist. Rhet. i. 1. 5: οὐ γὰρ δεῖ τὸν δικαστὴν διαστρέφειν εἰς ὀργὴν προάγωντας ἢ φθόνον ἢ ἔλεον· ὅμοιον γὰρ καὶ εἰ τις, ᾧ μέλλει χρῆσθαι κανόνι, τοῦτον ποιήσῃ στρεβλόν.

we in the present day expect to hear from either side the 'straightest' account of the case, or do we not well know that from the advocate we can only expect to hear an *ex parte* statement? On the other hand we have the same metaphors in use with reference to a judge, who is described as *upright, unswerving, impartial*. Would the ancient Greeks ever have dreamed of expecting a litigant "to speak his plea *straight*"? From the passages quoted it is clear that he only connected the idea of *straightness* with the judge. We may therefore conclude that the last clause of the Trial Scene can only mean that the two talents of gold were to be given to that one among the Elders, who spake *straightest*. Now *δικη*¹ in Homer always means *custom*, as in such well-known phrases as "as is the custom of mortals." The talents then were to be given to that elder who expounded most rightly the custom. Thus we are relieved from the great difficulty of having to give *δικη* in this passage the meaning of 'a plea' or 'claim,' a sense quite un-Homeric, but necessary if the clause referred to the successful litigant.

We have now cleared up two points, and we know for certain that the talents are the fee for the judge, and thus they correspond to the *prytaneia* which had to be deposited by the litigants in all private lawsuits at Athens as fees for the court.

It might be said that though the two talents are not sufficient to form the entire blood-wite for a man, yet they are a part of such a payment. All members of an Arab *Hayy* are responsible for the payment of the blood-money of a man who has been murdered by any member of their *Hayy*, and conversely the blood-money paid by a *Hayy* for the murder of a man of another *Hayy* is divided among all the members of the latter according to their propinquity to the dead man². The same practice prevailed in Wales with respect to the payment and distribution of the *Galanas*³. If therefore it be maintained that in the Homeric trial the point at issue is that the defendant declares he has paid every one of the relatives of the murdered man, but the plaintiff denies that he has got

¹ αὐτῇ δικῇ ἐπὶ βροτῶν (Od. xi. 218), etc.

² Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia*, pp. 52, 262.

³ Hugh Seebohm, *Greek Tribal Society*, pp. 78—9.

anything, though he is of the kin of the slain, it must be held that the two talents represent the amount due as the share of such a kinsman. But as I have shown that the language of the last clause makes it certain that the money is for the judge, this theory falls to the ground. In any case it is improbable that the manslayer would make separate payments to the individual members of the family of the murdered man, but the blood-gelt would rather be paid in a lump sum, and the relatives would divide it according to their propinquity to the slain. Besides, in Homer the tribal system is not seen, though it was in full vigour in Athens in the classical period.

(3) We next come to deal with the point at issue between the litigants. One possibility we have already disposed of. Two others remain, (a) the ordinary view, that it is a simple question of fact, the one declaring that he had paid the *eric*, the other denying that such a payment had been made; (b) Dr Leaf¹, following Münscher (as quoted by Ebeling, *Lex. Hom.* s.v. ἀναλνμαι), maintains that the question at issue is whether the next of kin will accept blood-wite and allow the manslayer to remain in his own country. He holds that the issue is not a bare question of fact, "Had a certain price been paid over or not?" "A strange subject, surely, to be honoured with a place among the types of human activity, which the Shield presents us, and hardly a worthy one to be chosen as the representative of that civic energy which to a Greek was the very breath of his nostrils." His main argument is that ἀναλνμαι in Homer always means 'to refuse' and not 'to deny.' But, as will be seen in the footnote², this is not the case, and in one passage at least

¹ *Jour. Hell. Stud.* vol. VIII (1887), pp. 122 sqq.

² "So far as I can see (says Dr Leaf) ὁ δ' ἀναλντο μὴδὲν ἐλίσθαι can mean one thing only; 'the other refused to accept anything.' ἀναλνμαι, at least in Homer, always means 'to reject,' generally with the added notion of contempt and indignation, as will be clear to any one who will take the trouble to look up the passages in Ebeling's *Lexicon*. In two cases only it might appear to mean 'deny'; and in these (I 116, § 149) the context shows that it implies really the repudiation not of a gift offered but of an idea presented."

I will give these two passages, which Dr Leaf ought to have set before his reader. The first is from the Embassy;

ὦ γέρον, οὔτι ψεύδοις ἐμὰς ἀρας κατέλεξας.
 δασάμην, οὐδ' αὐτὸς ἀναλνμαι.

Dr Leaf himself has to translate this verb as 'deny.' There is therefore not the slightest objection to rendering the clause $\delta\delta'$ ἀναίμετο μηδὲν ἐλέσθαι as "the other denied that he had received anything."

On the other hand there are several serious, not to say fatal, objections, to taking the passage in the way borrowed by Leaf from Münscher. In the first place the use of the aorist infinitive ἀποδοῦναι after the past tense of εὔχομαι renders it grammatically impossible for the clause to refer to the future¹. It would

The passage from the *Odyssey* (xiv. 149) runs thus :

ὦ φίλ', ἐπεὶ δὴ πάντων ἀναίμεαι οὐδ' ἐτι φῆσθα
κεῖνον ἐλεύσεσθαι, κτλ.

Now first let me point out that "the repudiation of an idea presented" is nothing else than a denial. When St Peter denied Christ he did nothing more than to repudiate the idea presented to him by the maidservant of the High Priest, "Thou art one of them." In the first of our two passages the word ἀναίμεαι stands in contrast to the previous line, "Old sir, in no false wise hast thou accused my folly. Fool was I, I myself deny it not." This is the rendering of Messrs Lang, Leaf, and Myers. According to the preface (p. 5) of their work (1883) Dr Leaf translated Bks i.—ix, so that he himself is the author of the rendering just given. Plainly when he so translated the passage he had no theory about the Trial Scene.

In the other passage ἀναίμεαι is further explained by the words οὐδ' ἐτι φῆσθα which put at rest any doubt about the meaning. When Messrs Batcher and Lang render it, "My friend, for as much as thou utterly beliest me, and sayest that henceforth he will not come again," they evidently thought that Eumaeus, when he repudiated the idea presented by his disguised master, expressed his denial in very strong language, since they render ἀναίμεαι 'beliest.'

The fact is that ἀναίμεαι means both 'to deny' and 'to repudiate,' just as in Attic Greek ἀρνοῦμαι, ἐξαρνοῦμαι, ἀπαρνοῦμαι, have both meanings, as any one who does not already know it may ascertain by turning to the *Lexicon*. What other word is there in Homeric Greek to express 'deny' except ἀναίμεαι? The only alternative is to use the periphrasis οὐ φημι.

¹ In the only other case in Homer where in indirect speech εὔχεο is followed by the aorist infin., the latter refers to time past :

Od. xi. 261 : ἦ δὴ καὶ Διὸς εὔχετ' ἐν ἀγκούρῳσι λαῶναι.

On the other hand in all the cases where the declaration refers to the future, εὔχεο is followed by the future infin. :

Il. iv. 119 : εὔχετο δ' Ἀπόλλωνι Λυκηγεῖσι κλυτοτόξῳ
ἄρῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξιν κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην.

Of. Il. xxiii. 872 : αὐτίκα δ' ἠπειλήσεν ἐκηβόλῳ Ἀπόλλωνι
ἄρῶν πρωτογόνων ῥέξιν κλειτὴν ἑκατόμβην.

Od. xvii. 59 : εὔχετο πᾶσι θεοῖσι τελέσσας ἑκατόμβας
ῥέξιν, αὐτὸς δὲ Ζεὺς ἄντικα ἔργα τελέσσει.

appear that Dr Leaf himself felt this difficulty, for he is careful to translate "the one averred that he *had paid* in full, and made declaration thereof to the people, but the other refused to *accept ought*." The italics are mine. But it is an undue forcing of the language in a sentence composed of two parallel clauses, each containing an imperfect tense followed by an aorist infinitive, to make the infinitive in the first clause refer to past, in the second to future time. If the aorist infinitive ἀποδοῦναι indicates a time already past, the aorist infinitive ἐλέσθαι must also refer to time past. But as it is impossible to translate the second clause as "he refused to have received anything," it follows that it can only be translated "he denied that he had received anything." Moreover, Dr Leaf does not even get rid of the mere matter of fact by his straining of the language, for as the defendant averred that he had paid in full, the point at issue was not a simple question of payment of blood-wite, or going into exile, which the judges would have to decide, for they would have to consider the question whether, if the defendant spoke the truth, and the prosecutor had already accepted blood-gelt, the prosecutor had any right to raise the question afresh.

Secondly, the use of the term ποινή in the preceding sentence renders it impossible for the question in dispute to be anything else than the payment of blood-wite¹. Dr Leaf's rendering treats ποινή as if it were φόνος (*homicide*). The

Once is εὐχετο followed by the aorist infin. when time future is contemplated, but this is in *direct speech* :

Il. xv. 371 : εὐχετο, χεῖρ' ὀρέγων εἰς οὐρανὸν ἀστερόεντα·
 "Ζεῦ πάτερ, εἰ ποτέ τις τοι ἐν Ἀργεὶ περ πολυπύργῳ
 ἦ βοὸς ἦ οὐὸς κατὰ πύονα μηρία καίων
 εὐχετο νοστήσαι, σὺ δ' ὑπέσχεο καὶ κατένευσας,
 τῶν μνῆσαι, καὶ ἄμνον, Ὀλύμπιε, νηλεὲς ἦμαρ."

Of. Il. xiv. 484 : τῷ καὶ τίς τ' εὐχεται ἀνὴρ
 γνωτὸν ἐνὶ μεγάροισιν ἄρ' ἔτι ἀλκτῆρα λιπέσθαι.

¹ ποινή seems always used of payment for the life of a man either by blood or blood-gelt. It is used of the retribution for a son killed in battle by the killing of an enemy instead (Il. xiii. 659, cf. Il. xvi. 398). It is used of the Trojan youths whom Achilles reserved to slay (λέξατο κούρους ποινήν Παιτρόκλοιο, Il. xxi. 27) and of the horses given to Troj by Zeus as compensation for Ganymede (Il. v. 266).

point at issue is not the *murder* of a man, but the *payment* for a man who has been slain (εἵνεκα ποινῆς ἀνδρὸς ἀποφθιμένου). In the passage from Ajax's speech already cited the acceptance of the blood-gelt by the kinsman of the slain, and its payment by the slayer, stand in clear contradistinction to exile, the other alternative. In the Trial Scene the point at issue cannot be whether the kinsman will or will not accept blood-gelt, for the preceding sentence has already shown that *payment* has been agreed on, for exile is not one kind of payment, but its antithesis.

Thirdly, if the kinsman of the slain man refused, as Leaf supposes, to receive anything, we should expect δέχεσθαι as in the parallel passage just cited (ποινὴν δεξαμένου) and not ἐλίσσθαι, which does not mean *accept*, but rather *win*, or *obtain*¹.

There is also an *argumentum ad hominem* which is fatal to Dr Leaf. He thinks that "the obvious inconveniences of a system (i.e. of blood-feud) under which a purely accidental homicide might deprive the state of an infinite number of its most useful members led to two successive advances. Firstly, the homicide might flee, and live in exile. Later, he might pay a definite price to the family of the murdered man, and be exempt even from the penalty of exile. By these means the blood-feud was extirpated." Incidentally I may remark that, as we have seen above, the Athenians never reached the second stage at all, and yet the blood-feud had died out there at a very remote date. This view also presupposes that the whole human race has passed through a stage in which no compensation would be taken for the life of the slain. But of this there is no proof whatever.

"The point which had been reached by Homeric society is a comparatively advanced one. The first stage, that of actual blood-feud, seems to have been long past, at least there is, I believe, no case in the poems where blood is ever exacted for blood. Homicide sometimes leads to exile, and is sometimes commuted for a fine; we are at the transition from the second

¹ See Ebeling, s.v. αἰτέω: medium: (1) sumo, mihi sumo, (2) mihi aufero, (3) mihi capio, cibum, somnum, alia, (4) eligo.

to the third stage. In one of the latest portions of the poems, I. 632—6, the payment of a fine in lieu of exile is indeed spoken of as the recognized course." The passage to which he refers is the speech of Ajax already cited several times. Yet the writer of these lines speaks as though the acceptance or refusal of blood-wite rested solely with the next of kin, nor is there the slightest trace in this or in any passage of Homer of any control being exercised by the community in such matters. As Dr Leaf holds that this passage is later than the *Shield*, it is fatal to his theory that the Trial Scene represents the state deciding whether the manslayer shall be banished, or whether the next of kin, no matter how reluctant they may be, shall be compelled to take compensation, and allow the homicide to stay in the land.

This is further substantiated by Dr Leaf's own remark that "we find also numerous cases of exile even for homicide of the less heinous sort, such as that of which Patroklos was guilty, and that this penalty was a familiar one we see from Ω 480—1." His father Menoetius had brought Patroclus when yet a little one from Opoeis to Peleus "by reason of a grievous man-slaying, on the day when I slew Amphidamas' son, not willing it, in childish wrath over the dice¹." Now, if ever there was a case where the community would interfere with the right of the kindred of the slain, it would be in such a case as this, where a child had killed his playmate in a sudden quarrel over their toys. We have seen above that even at Athens, where there could be no remission of the penalty of exile in the case of deliberate murder, there was yet considerable leniency shown to those who had shed blood by accident or without deliberation. It would then be only natural that the state would first interfere with rights of private vengeance in cases where there was no malice aforethought, and where the offender was, like Patroclus, not only a child, but also the son of a chief.

But did the state at any time or anywhere compel the kindred of one who had been slain to accept a blood-price and permit the slayer to remain in the land? In other words, was

¹ *Il.* xxiii. 86 *sqq.*

there ever such a 'third stage' as that to which Dr Leaf sees a transition in the Trial Scene? The evidence derived from ancient Greece is entirely contrary, for when the state does interfere with the right of private vengeance it precludes the kindred from accepting any payment even in cases of accidental homicide, and from letting off the manslayer from going into exile. The legal systems of other barbaric communities, both ancient and modern, testify the same.

Plainly then the community had no more power to relieve the child Patroclus from the death penalty or banishment than it has in modern Abyssinia, which furnishes some striking parallels to Homeric customs. Parkyns¹ relates how, whilst two little boys aged respectively eight and five were gathering wild fruits, the elder climbed a tree to gather fruit, while his little friend stood expectant beneath; the former fell from the tree on his companion, and killed him. The child was charged with homicide. "The trial was long; but after much examination of the different books, and many opinions taken of the wisest men in the country, it was ultimately concluded that of a truth the boy was by law guilty of death." The sentence was "that the dead boy's brother should climb the tree and tumble down on the other's head till he killed him." Fortunately the mother of the deceased was afraid to risk the life of her only surviving son, and accordingly she preferred to let the culprit off.

"Why too (asks Dr Leaf) such popular ferment, with the machinery of heralds and councillors, and prizes for forensic eloquence, about a simple matter which could only be settled, if at all, by oaths and witnesses?" He evidently thinks that something unusual is taking place, having a hazy idea that the Trial Scene represents something very like the opening day of the assizes in an English county town, which has been thrown into a state of unusual bustle by the arrival of the judges, the Bar, and the High Sheriff with his trumpeters and javelin-men. He does not realize that the poet simply reproduces the daily life of the Agora, where the people assembled each morning,

¹ *Life in Abyssinia* (2nd ed., 1868), pp. 366-7.

the crowd being greatest about 9 o'clock¹, dispersing to their homes about 11 o'clock for the midday repast, "at the hour when a man rises up from the *agora*² and goes to dinner³, one who judges the many quarrels of stout carles that seek for law." So far then from such a quarrel (*veikos*) as that wrought on the Shield being anything unusual, the passage just cited from the *Odyssey* shows that these *veikea* were of very frequent occurrence, and that it was part of the daily life of the leading men of the community, such as the elders portrayed on the Shield, to settle these matters in the forenoon. So the Egyptian king Amasis sedulously transacted all the business that was brought before him from early dawn till the time of full market⁴.

Dr Leaf urges that the dispute whether the price had or had not been paid could only have been settled "by oaths and witnesses." But there is no reason why in the course of the trial, of which we only have a single glimpse, oaths and witnesses should not have formed a very substantial part. We are not even told that the litigants made any statement to the elders, for the lines which contain the point at issue do not refer to their statements in court, but only give the poet's account of the cause of the contention.

¹ I have shown (*Transactions of Cambridge Philological Society*, vol. i. pp. 301-2) that the 'full market' (*πλήθουσα ἀγορά*) was about 9 A.M. and the 'break-up of the market' (*ἡ διάλυσις τῆς ἀγορᾶς*) about 11 A.M. (cf. Herod. ii. 173; iii. 104; iv. 181).

² *Od.* xii. 439:

ἦμος δ' ἐπὶ δόρπον ἀνὴρ ἀγορήθεν ἀνέστη
κρίνων *veikea* πολλὰ δικάζομένων αἰζηῶν.

³ I have shown (*Journ. of Philology*, vol. xvii. p. 159, '*Δείπνον* and *Δόρπον*') that *δόρπον* does not mean supper, a late evening meal, as it had always been supposed, but any meal from noon on. From taking *δόρπον* to be an evening meal (Butcher and Lang, Merry *ad loc.* etc.) and from supposing that the oriental courts sat until late in the afternoon like our own law courts, scholars were led to assert that Homer in the account of Charybdis believed that there were three tides in every twenty-four hours. In the same volume (pp. 114-6) I have shown that when once we properly understand the hours at which the *agora* was held, and the *dorpon* taken, there is not the slightest reason for imputing to the poet that, although he probably lived close to the shores of the Mediterranean, he did not know that there were only two tides every twenty-four hours.

⁴ Herod. ii. 173.

Again, Dr Leaf refers to the two talents of gold as "prizes for forensic eloquence," assuming that they represent the deposit in an action by wager (*sponsio*), a view which we have seen above to be untenable. The legal procedure of barbaric communities both ancient and modern demonstrates that payments corresponding to the two talents of gold form a regular feature in the legal process of such communities, and they are the direct counterpart of the salaries paid to our own judges. Thus according to the ancient Irish laws the Brehon for deciding a cause was paid a fee equivalent to one-twelfth of the value of the object in dispute¹, on the same principle that "the equivalent of one-ninth of the headband of gold is *paid* in silver, or the equivalent of the one-twelfth of the gold ring is *paid* in silver for the making of it, and (still) its value is not the more according to law; but the owner of the article is better pleased that it should be ready, and that the labour of the goldsmith might not go for nothing²." If the Homeric judge was paid on anything like the same principle, the blood-gelt in dispute would have been 24 talents of gold = 24 cows. Now as the eric of the Bo-aire chief, the lowest of the Irish free classes, was seven cumhals (female slaves), and as each cumhal was reckoned at three cows³, his eric was 21 cows, very near the 24 cows which we have suggested for the Homeric *poine*. Moreover, as a female slave given as a prize by Achilles⁴ was valued at four cows, and as the mention of her value indicates that she was somewhat above the standard slave, it is probable

¹ *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 233 (the withholding of his fee from a Brehon is enumerated in a long list of offences), cf. p. 235; vol. iii. p. 305 (the Brehon has to pay eric-fine for false judgment, and in wrong judgment by inadvertence he forfeits his fee of one-twelfth, as well as being fined a cumhal etc.).

² *ibid.* vol. iv. p. 415. According to the *Senchus Mor* (*Anc. Laws of Ireland*, vol. i. p. 133) "the tenth part of every article is the price for manufacturing it, together with food and drink. For shaving, i.e. the price of shaving, i.e. for the wages of shaving, i.e. for the shaving morsel, i.e. a thin cake, the eighth part of a griddle of bread and the length of the haft of a knife, of bacon, and the breadth of its back of the skin upon it."

³ Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, pp. 33, 304-5 (in Welsh laws a slave woman was worth four cows).

⁴ *ibid.* p. 8.

that the regular value of the female slave in Homeric times was three cows, as in Ireland. In that case the *poine* of 24 *talanta* = 24 cows would be equivalent to eight female slaves. If we take four cows = a slave, then the *poine* would be six slaves. The result either way comes so close to the value of the life of the lowest grade of freemen in the Irish and other codes, that it renders probable my conjecture that the two talents of gold represented one-twelfth of the blood-money.

The Gold Coast supplies an equally good instance in modern times. "When the day arrived for the hearing of Quansah's charge, a large space was cleanly swept in the market-place for the accommodation of the assembly; for this a charge of ten shillings was made and paid. When the Pynins (head men) had taken their seats, surrounded by their followers, who squatted upon the ground, a consultation took place as to the amount which they ought to charge for the occupation of their valuable time; and after duly considering the plaintiff's means, with the view of extracting from him as much as they could, they valued their intended services at £6. 15s., which he was in like manner called upon to pay. Another charge of £2. 5s. was made in the name of tribute to the chief, and as an acknowledgement of gratitude for his presence upon the occasion¹." The payments were made in gold-dust weighed out by men appointed for the purpose.

(4) Dr Leaf says that "there are obviously two scenes; first, the dispute in the market-place, when the litigants are supported by the clamour of the crowd, and wish to refer the matter to an *ἵστωρ*. Secondly, the scene 'in court,' where the *γέροντες* are the judges, and the shouting crowd are kept in the background. As elsewhere in the Shield the distinction of the two scenes is not expressly marked, but there need be no hesitation in admitting it." We shall however see abundant reason not only for hesitation, but also for rejecting this view altogether.

In the first place Dr Leaf ought to have pointed out where else in the Shield the distinction between two scenes is not expressly marked. This certainly cannot be said of the Com-

¹ Brodie Cruickshank, *Eighteen Years on the Gold Coast of Africa*, vol. I. p. 279 (London, 1853).

mon Field, the Harvest, the Vineyard, the Herd of Cattle, the Sheepfold, and the Dance. We have then nothing left but the City in Peace, and the City in War: in the case of the latter Dr Leaf admits that "there are clearly two main moments—(1) the siege of the city; (2) the fight over the herds. There may be two others—(3) the debate among the besiegers; (4) the sortie of the besieged; but it is equally possible to regard these as merely narratives to bring the first two into connection." In the City at Peace there are also two main moments, the Marriage Procession, and the Agora—a Night scene, and a Day scene. Thus there is complete correspondence between the two Cities, if we are content with two scenes in each. On the other hand Dr Leaf divides the City at Peace into three scenes—(1) the Wedding, (2) "the dispute in the market-place, when the litigants are supported by the clamour of the crowd, and wish to refer the matter to an *ἵστωρ*," (3) "the scene 'in court,' where the *γέροντες* are the judges, and the shouting crowd are kept in the background." But why should there be more than one scene representing the market-place filled with a busy crowd, a quarrel between two men each backed by his supporters, in another spot the elders on their stone seats ready to hear and decide all suits? By making three scenes in the one City and only two in the other Dr Leaf spoils the balance of the design.

Next Dr Leaf admits that we have to supply "the reference by the *ἵστωρ* to the council." But, as the scene implies that the elders are sitting ready to hear causes offhand, we are not justified in assuming a preliminary hearing corresponding to the Anacrisis at Athens, and the Roman procedure in civil matters whereby the *praetor* first heard the case, and the parties at the end of the proceedings demanded a *iudex*, "and the *praetor* fixed a day for them to come and receive one." Afterwards on their reappearance in court on the thirtieth day, a *iudex* was assigned them from among the *decemviri (stlitibus iudicandis)*¹. There is no good reason for believing that the preliminary proceedings in civil causes before the archon at Athens were of ancient date, whilst we are definitely

¹ Gaius, iv. 15.

told by Gaius¹ that it was not until the passing of the *Lex Pinaria* (350 B.C.) that it became the practice for the *praetor* to assign a *iudex*.

Aeschylus while composing the trial of Orestes in the *Eumenides* probably had in his mind the procedure in trials for homicide in his own day, when the King Archon took charge of all such cases (p. 356) and according to their character brought them before the Areopagus or one of the four lesser courts. But as the King Archon in case of equality of votes gave his vote (called 'Athena's pebble') in favour of the accused, and as there is no doubt that he represented the ancient king, we may infer that in early days such cases were tried before the council consisting of the king and the elders, who in the *Eumenides* are represented by Athena herself and her Areopagites over whom she presides, turning the scale in favour of Orestes by her own vote. It is very improbable that at any period cases of bloodshed would have been decided by the king alone without the advice and support of the elders acting as his assessors.

In order that Dr Leaf's analogy between the trial of Orestes and the Trial Scene should hold good, he must assume that in early times at Athens the first steps in a case of homicide were taken before an *istor* (ἵστωρ), who then referred it to the king and council of elders. But, as we have seen, such cases were first laid before the Archon Basileus, the representative in such matters of the ancient monarch.

Not only then does the analogy in cases of homicide break down, but so also does that drawn between the Anacrisis at Athens in classical times in civil causes and the procedure in like cases at Rome after 350 B.C. and the trial arising from homicide depicted on the Shield. There is therefore no ground for assuming two trials, one before a 'daysman,' another before the Gerontes.

But it is easy to get an explanation for the line referring to an *istor* which will not necessitate the assumption of proceedings for which there is not a tittle of evidence. The litigants wanted to have a final decision (πεῖρα) at the hands of an

¹ *loc. cit.*

istor, but on Dr Leaf's hypothesis they got nothing of the kind, for the final decision is to take place before the elders. That an *istor* was an umpire whose decision was final is clear from the only other passage where the word occurs in the poems—where Agamemnon is the referee of the bet made on the chariot-race¹. The judge of primitive times is nothing more than a referee, for unless he be an absolute monarch, his decision has only the sanction of public opinion. But we have seen above that the fee of two talents was to be paid to that one of the elders who spake the custom straightest, that is, the man whose judgment in the case was considered to be final. But as the *istor* sought by the litigants was to give them a final decision, it follows that the *istor* is none other than that elder who gave judgment.

Nor has the suit of Flosi against Njal's sons for the murder of Hauskuld, the priest of White Ness, cited by Dr Leaf from the *Story of Burnt Njal*², any bearing on the Homeric trial. Indeed Dr Leaf himself admits that he quotes it "only to show the public importance of these questions of the acceptance of an atonement, and the way in which they are taken up by the community as matters transcending mere family interests. In other respects the attitude of the Icelanders towards the law is different enough from that of the heroic Greeks. Though the question has to be brought before the Thing, the community does not enforce the acceptance of blood-money, but only gives a moral support to private influence." Thus by his own showing the case fails to prove the point in support of which it was cited, though, as will soon be seen, the saga shows a striking resemblance between the Homeric Achæans and the Norsemen in their attitude towards homicide. Flosi's case had broken down by reason of a legal flaw, and Njal himself had proposed to end all further trouble by paying atonement on behalf of his sons. Flosi agreed to this and accordingly each side appointed six daysmen or arbitrators to fix the atonement to be paid. As

¹ Il. xxiii. 485:

δεῦρό νυν, ἥ τρίποδος περιδώμεθα ἡὲ λήβητος,
ἵστορα δ' Ἀτρεΐδην Ἀγαμέμνονα θελομεν ἀμφω.

² cxxii (Dasent's trans.).

the daysmen were not regular judges, but the friends of the parties acting as arbitrators, so far from receiving any fee, they subscribed amongst themselves half the amount of the atonement price. As they desired to put an end to a feud of long standing, they ordered that the money should be paid at the Thing, evidently to avoid such a contention arising between the two parties later on as, according to the view commonly held about the Trial Scene, had led to the strife between the litigants, the one declaring that he had paid all, the other denying that he had received anything. The daysmen, as we are told, subscribed themselves and Hall made prayer "to all the people that each man will give something for God's sake." Then "the daysmen gathered together in the freeman's churchyard the money which they had promised to give"; Njal, his sons, and Kari paid in all the money they had with them, and then men gave so much that not a penny was wanting. But in the whole story there is not a word about wishing to save Njal's sons from banishment because they were of importance to the community. The right of Flosi to insist on their banishment, could he but prove his case, is never questioned. On the contrary the daysmen would have been quite ready to banish Njal's sons had they thought that such a course would have ensured an end of troubles, for banishment was proposed by Gudmund, but Snorri opposed it on the ground that "those banishments are often ill fulfilled and men have been slain for that sake, and atonements broken, but I will award so great a money fine that no man shall have had a higher price here in the land than Hauskuld."

The contingency which Snorri feared had arisen in the case of Gunnar of Lithend. Gunnar and his brother Kolskegg had slain Thorgeir. Twelve arbitrators, as in the case of Njal's sons, were nominated to make, if possible, an atonement that would be lasting and thus end a long and bloody feud. The arbitrators gave a money award, which was to be paid down there and then at the Thing, and "besides Gunnar was to go abroad and Kolskegg with him, and they were to be away three winters; but if Gunnar did not go abroad when he had a chance of a passage, then he was to be slain by the kinsmen of those

whom he had killed¹." This addition to the award seems to have been intended as the best means of putting an end to a strife in the course of which many lives had been lost on both sides. Gunnar did not go into exile, and was accordingly slain by Thorgeir's kindred, and the feud burned as fiercely as ever.

The Icelandic communities evidently thought that banishment, provided it could be carried out rigorously, was the best means of putting an end to feuds. Where then is any support to be found for Dr Leaf's theory that the Trial Scene represents the community as interfering to constrain the next of kin to accept blood-gelt and to allow the slayer to abide in the land? We have just seen that the evidence of all the other passages in Homer bearing upon homicide tells against this view. Nor can he find any evidence in the Greece of later days, for we have seen above that at Athens the state so far from encouraging the acceptance of blood-gelt absolutely debarred the kindred from in anywise condoning the homicide, and down even to the latest times compelled one who by mere accident had caused the death of another to depart into exile, even though the period of banishment might only be nominal.

Clearly then it is quite unhistorical to suppose that there are necessarily three stages in the extinction of the blood-feud—(1) the penalty of exile, (2) when the kindred voluntarily accept a blood-price, and (3) when the community compels them to do so, whether they wish it or not.

The Athenians had succeeded in eradicating the blood-feud without ever admitting the principle that "blood which had been shed on the earth" could be compensated by mere money payment.

This was certainly the view held by the Athenians themselves in the fifth century B.C., as is plain from the words of Euripides in the *Orestes*². Tyndareos and Menelaus are disputing over the punishment of Orestes; the former says, "If right and wrong are clear to all, who was ever more senseless than this man, seeing that he never weighed the justice of the case, nor yet appealed to the general law of Hellas? For when Agamemnon breathed out his life beneath the blow my daughter

¹ *ibid.* LXXIII.

² Eur. *Or.* 492-517.

dealt upon his head,—a dastard deed, which I shall never defend—he ought to have instituted a righteous prosecution for bloodshed, and banished his mother from his home; then would he have gained the credit of forbearance from the calamity, and he would have kept strictly to the law, showing piety as well. As it is, he has come to the same fate as his mother; for though he had just cause for thinking her a wicked woman, he has surpassed her wickedness by slaying her. I will ask, Menelaus, just this one question: Suppose the partner of his couch had slain yon man, and his son slays his mother in revenge, and then his son shall wipe out blood by blood, what limit will there be to horrors? Our fathers of old time enacted well; they forbade anyone with hands imbrued in blood to come into their sight or cross their path; and ordained that he should be purified by exile, but that he should not be slain in turn. Otherwise there must always have been one, who, by taking the pollution last upon his hands, would be liable to have his own blood shed.”

But be it observed that the spirit of the Homeric Achean differs *toto caelo* from that of the Athenians. In the former case it rests solely with the next of kin whether the slayer shall go into exile or abide in the land, the question being merely one of retribution, and the community evincing not the slightest dread of any pollution and consequent bane which might be brought on the land by the continuance therein of one whose hands were stained with human blood. On the other hand, it is clear from the words of Euripides just cited, and from numberless other passages, that the Athenians regarded banishment not merely as a means of checking blood-feuds, but as an effectual way of ridding the land of a pollution, fraught with the gravest consequences for it and all that dwelt therein. Banishment of the murderer removed the necessity of his being put to death by any other member of the community, who in his turn would incur pollution. The ancient rule was blood for blood, and it was to avoid the pollution (*ἄγος, μλσρμα*) which would light on him who shed the criminal's blood that death by stoning was devised by both Semites and the ancient inhabitants of the Aegean. It was the stone which

became stained by blood and not the hand of him who cast it. Hence the frequent reference to death by stoning in the Tragic writers as well as in the Hebrew Scriptures. Such for instance was the penalty proposed for Orestes in the play named after him: when "Orestes, poor wretch, scarce prevailed on them to spare him death by stoning, promising to die by his own hand, and that thou (Electra) shouldst die by thine, within the space of this very day¹."

But while the Semites seem to have always been perfectly satisfied with the security from pollution afforded by the stoning of the criminal (as is clear from the case of Stephen), on the other hand so great a dread had the Greeks of the terrible consequences of blood pollution, that in the course of time the Athenians devised a still more effective method of avoiding all risk. Orestes and his sister in the play were permitted to die by their own hands in lieu of being stoned. So the Athenians in the fifth century B.C. when need arose for carrying out the death penalty compelled the culprit to drink hemlock (*κόνειον πίνειν*) as in the case of Socrates. This practice has been ascribed to the great humanity of the Athenians by those whose admiration for that people has not unfrequently led them into extravagances.

But that men in course of time began to think that even stoning did not afford a sufficient guarantee against the consequences of the pollution arising from 'kindred blood,' may be seen from an incident in the history of Agylla (Caere). Though the combined fleets of the Carthaginians and Etruscans were defeated in the sea-fight off Alalia by the Phocaeans (*circa* 543 B.C.), the crews of forty Phocaean ships fell into their hands. The Etruscans landed their captives at Agylla and stoned them all to death (*κατέλευσαν*)². "Afterwards it befell the Agyllaeans that everything that passed by the spot where lay the stoned Phocaeans, became distorted, or maimed, or palsy-twitched, were they cattle, sumpter animals, or human beings. On this the people of Agylla sent to Delphi wishing to expiate their sin. The Pythian priestess bade them to

¹ Eur. *Or.* 946.

² Herod. i. 167. The passage is unfortunately mutilated.

perform those rites which are to this day carried out by the Agyllaeans. For they sacrifice to them as heroes with great magnificence, and hold a contest both for athletes and for horsemen."

This passage makes it clear that the Greeks gradually ceased to believe that he who killed another by flinging a stone at him enjoyed immunity from the blood pollution, simply because not a drop of the victim's blood had stained his hand.

It is clear that the Agyllaeans must have considered themselves of the same blood as the Phocaeans, for otherwise there could have been no *agos*. The Carthaginians and Etruscans proper could kill Greeks to their hearts' content without fear of any evil results, for there was nothing to forbid the slaying of captive enemies of an alien race. As the people of Agylla were of the same blood as the Greeks whom they slew, we thus get a strong corroboration of the ancient tradition (vol. I. p. 244) that Agylla was a settlement of Pelasgians from Thessaly. This is further confirmed by the circumstance already noticed by Niebuhr¹ that when calamity befell them, they were not satisfied with Etruscan *haruspices*, but sent to consult the Delphic oracle, one of the most ancient shrines of the Pelasgian race.

In the Homeric poems we have three cases of manslayers who had shed the blood of kindred—Meleager, Tlepolemus, and Theoclymenus. To the two former of these we have already had occasion to refer. Although Meleager had slain his mother's brothers, the Aetolians permitted him to remain in Calydon, while in the case of Tlepolemus who had slain Licymnus, the brother of his grandmother Alcmena, the other sons and grandsons of Heracles threatened him, and he had to seek safety in flight. Let us now turn to Theoclymenus. He was descended from Melampus, who belonged to the Pelasgian royal house of Argos, the renowned Amphiaraus being likewise his great-grandson. Just as Telemachus, homeward bound to

¹ *Hist. of Rome*, vol. I. p. 124 (Eng. trans. 1831). Niebuhr however is quite unwarranted in concluding from this passage that the Agyllaeans were not assisted in this war against the Phocaeans by any of their neighbours, on the ground that the divine judgment fell on them alone.

Ithaca, with his men all on board, was sacrificing to Athena¹, Theoclymenus drew nigh, and besought Telemachus to take him with him, telling him how that he had fled from his country for the slaying of one of his own kin. "Many brethren and kinsmen of the slain are in Argos," said he, "wherefore now am I an exile to shun death and black fate at their hands. Methinks they follow hard after me²."

Theoclymenus and Tlepolemus thus met with like treatment from their kindred; both these having a measure meted out to them very different from that dealt to Meleager by the Aetolians. The explanation of this difficulty is at once found in the fact that whilst the fair-haired Meleager and his Aetolians are Achean, both Tlepolemus and Theoclymenus belong to the aboriginal race. It would then appear that the rule of driving into exile those who had shed blood within the kin, the universal rule of the Greeks of classical times, had descended direct from the practice of the autochthonous race of Greece. On the other hand the treatment of Meleager by his kindred can be readily paralleled amongst the peoples of northern Europe.

There can be no doubt that whilst the Homeric Achean had no dread of blood pollution, both the Pelasgians of Attica and the Pelasgians of Thessaly who had settled in Etruria had the same horror of the consequences of the blood of kindred (in its widest sense) shed upon the earth. Nor did the aborigines of Greece in this respect stand apart from other peoples of the eastern Mediterranean. Thus it is enjoined by the law of Moses that "Whoso killeth any person, the manslayer shall be slain at the mouth of witnesses: but one witness shall not testify against any person to cause him to die. Moreover, ye shall take no ransom for the life of a murderer, which is guilty of death: but he shall surely be put to death. And ye shall take no ransom for him that is fled to his city of refuge, that he should come again to dwell in the land until the death of the

¹ *Od.* xv. 222 *sqq.*

² *Od.* xv. 272-3:

οὕτω τοι καὶ ἐγὼν ἐκ πατρίδος ἄνδρα κατακτᾶς
ἐμφυλον· πολλοὶ δὲ κασίγνητοί τε ἔται τε κτλ.

priest. So ye shall not pollute the land wherein ye are: for blood, it polluteth the land: and no expiation can be made for the land for the blood that is shed therein, but by the blood of him that shed it. And thou shalt not defile the land which ye inhabit, in the midst of which I dwell: for I the Lord dwell in the midst of the children of Israel¹."

Among the cities assigned to the Levites, six were to be cities of refuge "that the manslayer which killeth any person unwittingly may flee thither...that the manslayer die not, until he stand before the congregation for judgement." These cities were to be a refuge not merely for the Hebrews themselves, but also "for the stranger and for the sojourner among them." "But if he smote him with an instrument of iron, so that he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall surely be put to death. And if he smote him with a stone in the hand, whereby a man may die, and he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall surely be put to death. Or if he smote him with a weapon of wood in the hand, whereby a man may die, and he died, he is a manslayer: the manslayer shall surely be put to death. The avenger of blood shall himself put the manslayer to death: when he meeteth him, he shall put him to death. But if he thrust him suddenly without enmity, or hurled upon him anything without lying in wait, or with any stone, whereby a man may die, seeing him not, and cast it upon him, so that he died, and he was not his enemy, neither sought his harm, then the congregation shall judge between the smiter and the avenger of blood according to these judgements: and the congregation shall deliver the manslayer out of the hand of the avenger of blood, and the congregation shall restore him to his city of refuge, whither he was fled: and he shall dwell therein until the death of the high priest, which was anointed with the holy oil²."

Neither amongst the classical Greeks nor amongst the Hebrews do we ever hear of beheadal as a mode of execution. This probably is not due to mere accident, for Aeschylus in some famous lines reckons decapitation among the horrible punishments practised in other lands, but loathed by Athe-

¹ Numbers, xxxv. vv. 30-4.

² Numbers, xxxv. vv. 11-25.

nians¹. It would likewise appear that the Dorians had the same dread of blood pollution as the Athenians, for their practice of flinging malefactors down the Ceadas² was probably due to the same motive which led the Athenians to throw similar persons down the Barathrum or compel them to drink hemlock. On the other hand the Achean had no hesitation in executing the guilty by the sword; nay, he even thought that it was too good a death for the bad. Thus Odysseus³ after the slaughter of the suitors ordered Telemachus and the faithful neatherd and swineherd to lead out the wicked handmaids and slay them with their long swords. But Telemachus said, "God forbid that I should take these women's lives by a pure death." Accordingly he hanged them "that they might die by the most pitiful death."

Again, the Athenian of classical times, who slew another, felt such dread of his victim's spirit, that he tried to render his ghostly enemy incapable of taking vengeance. To this end he cut off the hands and feet, placing them under the armpits of the corpse⁴. This he did because he believed, like the Mubammadans and Hindus of to-day, that if the body was maimed when the spirit left it, so too would be the ghost for all time to come.

But the Homeric Achean had no such dread or practice, for Agamemnon in the *Odyssey* does not charge his wife and her paramour with mutilating his body, as is asserted by the Attic dramatists; and when Odysseus slew the suitors, not only did he not mutilate their bodies, but he sternly rebuked his servants for exulting over them as they lay in death. There was no ceremony of any kind to lay the ghosts of the slain: the

¹ *Eum.* 186 sqq.:

ἀλλ' οὐ κατανιστῆρες ὀφθαλμωρύχοι
δίκαι, σφαγαί τε, σπέρματός τ' ἀποθορόῃ
παίδων κακοῦνται χλοῦνις, ἥδ' ἀκρωνία
λευσμοί τε, καὶ μύζουσιν οἰκτισμὸν πολλὸν
ὑπὸ βάχιν παγέντες.

² *Thuc.* i. 134; *Paus.* iv. 18, 4.

³ *Od.* xxii. 440 sqq. It is very doubtful if λάων ἔσσο χιτῶνα (*Il.* iii. 57) refers to death by stoning. More likely it means "you would long since have been dead with a cairn of stones over you."

⁴ *Aesch. Choeph.* 439: ἐμασχαλίσθη (sc. Agamemnon); *Soph. El.* 444-6. Cf. *μασχαλίσματα* (*Soph. Fr.* 566 N²).

bodies were simply carried out of the Megaron into the court, where they lay till their kindred carried them away for burial; the blood was washed from the tables and benches with sponges, and was scraped from the floor, and then sulphur was burned¹.

We shall soon see that the dread felt at Athens and in other districts of Greece occupied by the older race, as also among the Semites, sprang from the same cause—the fear of enraging the chief deity of the land.

The Homeric practice is that of the Germans, who, though they held it a duty to adopt the feuds as well as the friendships of a father or a kinsman, held also that these feuds were not implacable. "Even homicide is expiable by the payment of a certain number of cattle and of sheep, and the satisfaction is accepted by the entire family, greatly to the advantage of the state, since feuds are dangerous in proportion to a people's freedom²."

The laws of many of the Teutonic tribes have survived, and they amply confirm the statement of Tacitus. Though these codes have reached us for the most part in the form of late redactions written in Latin, nevertheless enough remains to demonstrate that homicides were commonly atoned for by payments graduated according to the rank of the parties. Wounds were similarly paid for according to their severity. Although in these laws as they have reached us compositions for homicide and wounds are generally reckoned in *solidi* and *denarii*, there is abundant evidence to show that such payments were regularly computed in cattle, as stated by Tacitus³. Such too we shall find to be the case in the Norse and Danish codes, as well as amongst the Cymry of Wales and northern Britain.

In the laws of the Alamanni it is laid down that if a *baro* or a woman be done to death, he or she shall be atoned for according to his or her lawful wergelt⁴. The Bavarians had a

¹ *Od.* xxii. 409 *sqq.*

² *Tac. Germ.* 21.

³ Thus Charlemagne in dealing with the recently conquered and Christianized Saxons found it necessary to define the value of his new *solidus* of twelve *denarii* by equating it to the value of an ox (*Capitulare Saxonicum* of Charlemagne: Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Leg.* t. i. p. 72).

⁴ *Pactus Alamannorum*, ii. 42 (Pertz, *Mon. Germ. Hist. Leg.* t. iii. p. 37). For estimation of wounds, see *ib.* pp. 34–5; for other instances of wergelt, see *ib.* p. 60.

similar law¹; and so too was it with the Burgundians², the Visigoths, and the Salic and Ripuarian Franks³. The same holds true of the Old Saxons⁴ (who comprised the tribes of Westfali, Ostfali, and Angrarii), of the Anglii and Werini⁵, who lived in north Thuringia, and of the Frisians⁶.

When the Teutonic tribes passed into Britain, they brought

¹ *Lex Baiuvariorum* (*op. cit.* p. 328): si quis liberum occiderit furtino modo et in flumine eiecerit vel in tale loco eiecerit aut cadauer reddere non quiverit, quod Baiuarii murdrida dicunt: inprimis cum 40 solidis componat, eo quod funus ad dignas obsequias reddere non ualet, postea uero cum suo werageldo componat. For other references to wergelt, see *op. cit.* pp. 298, 308; if a man carried off a free man or free woman, and could not restore him or her, he had to pay a wergelt of 160 solidi to the parentes (p. 322).

² *Lex Burgundiorum* (*ib.* p. 538). When Gundebald's laws were framed (A.D. 501-516), the Church and Roman law had already modified that of the Burgundians, who were then dwelling between Neuchâtel and Geneva in what had once been part of the land of the Sequani, on the French side of the Jura. The wilful homicide was condemned to die: si quis hominem ingenuum ex populo nostro cuiuslibet nationis, aut seruum regis natione duntaxat barbarum, occidere dampnabili ausu aut temeritate praesumpserit, non aliter admissum crimen quam sanguinis sui effusione componat.... Si optimate nobilem occiderit, in medietatem pretii 150 solidos; si aliquem in populo medio-rem, 100 sol., pro minore persona 75 solidos praecipimus numerare.

³ *Lex Salica* (ed. J. H. Hessels), col. 91 tit. xv., cod. 1: si quis hominem ingenuum occiderit aut uxorem alienam tulerit a uiuo marito, mat leudardi, hoc est, viii. M. din. qui fac. sol. cc. culp. iud.; cf. tit. xxiv. (col. 118); *Lex Ribuarie*, tit. vii. (Pertz, *Leg. t. v.* p. 215).

⁴ *Capitulare Saxonum* of Charlemagne, cap. 7 (Pertz, *Mon. Hist. Germ. Leg. t. v.*): statuerunt ut si ab eis aliquis interfectus euenerit, in triplum cum componere debeat qui hoc facere praesumpserit.

⁵ *Lex Anglorum et Werinorum*, probably promulgated under Charlemagne, circ. 802 (*ib. Leg. t. v.* 119).

⁶ *Lex Frisionum* (*ib. Leg. t. iii.* p. 656); incipit lex Frisionum, et haec est simpla compositio de homicidiis. Si nobilis nobilem occiderit, 80 solidos componat; de qua multa duae partes ad haeredem occisi, tertia ad propinuos eius proximos pertineat; et si negauerit, se illum occidisse, adhibitis secum 11 eiusdem conditionis hominibus iuret; si nobilis liberum occiderit, solidos 53 et unum denarium soluat;... si nobilis litum occiderit, 27 solidos uno denario minus componat domino suo, et propinquis occisi solidos 9 excepta tertia parte unius denarii;... si liber nobilem occiderit, 80 solidos componat;... si liberum occiderit, solidos 53 et unum denarium soluat;... si litum occiderit, solidos 27 uno denario minus componat domino suo et propinquis occisi solidos 9 excepta tertia parte unius denarii;... si litus nobilem occiderit, similiter 80 solidos componat;... si liberum occiderit, solidos 53 et unum denarium soluat, etc.

Of. p. 668, uter in ipso certamine conuictus fuerit et sibi concediderit, soluat leudem occisi.

with them and there long retained their own customary laws. The laws of King Ethelbert of Kent, and of Edward and Guthrum, are very explicit concerning homicide. Every free-man had his value (*wer-geld* or *lead-geld*, 'man-price'), which was estimated according to his rank. In case he was slain, the slayer had to pay the *wer-geld* to the relatives or gild-fellows of the murdered man. Every kind of wound or injury to the person had its allotted price, which varied according to rank.

By the laws of Ethelbert, King of Kent, it was ordained that "if a man slay another in the king's 'tūn,' let him make 'bōt' with L shillings. If any one slay a freeman, L shillings to the king as 'drihtin-beah.' If the king's 'ambiht-smith,' or 'laad-rinc,' slay a man, let him pay a half 'leod-geld.'...If a man slay another, let him make 'bōt' with a half 'leod-geld' of C shillings. If a man slay another at an open grave, let him pay XX shillings, and pay the whole 'leod' within XL days. If the slayer retire from the land, let his kindred pay a half 'leod.' If any one slay a 'laet' of the highest class, let him pay LXXX shillings; if he slay one of the second, let him pay LX shillings; of the third, let him pay XL shillings¹." The *laet* stood between the lowest class of freeman (*ceorl*) and the slave.

In the laws of Edward and Guthrum the *wer-geld* of a 'twelve-hynde' man, the highest class in the Anglo-Saxon aristocracy, was 1200 shillings, while that of the 'twy-hynde' man, the lowest class of freeman, otherwise termed a *ceorl*, was 200 shillings (about four pounds of silver). Beside paying the *wer-geld*, the homicide was also compelled to pay blood-wite to the king for breaking the peace. The *wer-geld* was paid in instalments².

¹ Thorpe, *Ancient Laws and Institutions of England*, Vol. i. p. 5.

² Thorpe, *op. cit.* pp. 175 sqq. As 48 shillings went to a pound of silver, the *wer-geld* of even the lowest freeman was four pounds of silver. But we know the ordinary value of a male slave was a pound of silver. If a man carried off the maiden of highest value from her master, he had to pay 50 shillings, i.e. a pound of silver, and to purchase her from her owner; we may conclude that the female slave had the same value as the male (see Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, p. 54f.). This tallies well with the provision in the laws of Ethelbert that the 'maiden-bōt', i.e. compensation for outraging a free-born maiden, was the same as the *wer-geld* of a freeman.

The ancient Teutonic notion that homicide was merely a wrong which could be atoned for by a money payment continued in England until the time of Alfred, who, under the influence of the Levitical Law, held that murder was a breach of the moral principles revealed to man by God. He accordingly commenced his own code with a translation of the Hebrew Decalogue, and made in accordance with its principles the following enactments respecting homicide: "Let the man who slayeth another wilfully perish by death. Let him who slayeth another of necessity or unwillingly or unwilfully, as God may have sent him into his hands, and for whom he has not lain in wait, be worthy of his life, and of lawful 'bōt,' if he seek an asylum. If, however, anyone presumptuously and wilfully slayeth his neighbour through guile, pluck thou him from my altar, to the end that he may perish by death'."

The ancient laws of Scotland² furnish ample evidence that the payments of wergelts continued there far down into mediaeval times, the amounts being reckoned in cows.

Hitherto our path has lain through the dry bones of the old Teutonic codes, but that which can make these dry bones live still breathes for us in the Sagas of the North, composed in lands that lay outside the influence of Roman law, and at a date prior to the advent of Christianity. In the lay of *Beowulf*, probably an eighth-century Northumbrian redaction of a Scandinavian epic, the scene of which lies chiefly in the Baltic, the blood-feud plays a foremost part. Indeed, one of its chief episodes—the succour brought to Hrothgar by Beowulf, who slays the monster Grendel—springs from the circumstance that Ecgtheow, Beowulf's father, in the course of one feud had raised another by slaying Heatholaf, the Wylfing. His own people, in fear of the Wylfings, constrained Ecgtheow to leave the land, and he accordingly sought refuge with Hrothgar, the chief of the Scyldings, who compounded with the Wylfings for him. One of the sons of Hrethel, Beowulf's mother's father, had killed his brother by accident, but the manslayer neither makes atonement nor is he driven into exile. So again, when Ean-

¹ Thorpe, *Laws and Institutions of England*, Vol. i. p. 47.

² Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, pp. 297 sqq.

mund, the paternal kinsman of Beowulf, who had come as an outlaw to the court of the young king Heardred, had slain the latter, Beowulf, though mourning his cousin's death sorely, took no vengeance on Eanmund, the slayer in this case withdrawing in safety. The men of the North plainly looked at homicide within the kin in a spirit similar to that which actuated the Aetolians, who not only refused to surrender Meleager to the Curetes, but even permitted him to abide in his home.

But it is amongst the Norsemen¹ of the tenth century that we can best study the primitive doctrines of northern Europe respecting homicide.

The wergelt for a man in Iceland in the tenth century was apparently of the same amount as that laid down in the Anglo-Saxon laws for the slaying of a freeman of the lowest class, i.e. 200 shillings. Thus when Oswif demanded compensation from Hauskuld for the slaying of his son Thorwald, "Hrut made his award and said, 'For the slaying of Thorwald I award two hundred in silver'—that was then thought a good price for a man—and thou shalt pay it down at once, brother, and pay it too with an open hand²."

The price of a slave among the Anglo-Saxons³ and the Welsh⁴ was a pound of silver, and such seems to have been the normal value in Iceland also. Thus when Hallgerda had caused her grieve, Kol, to murder Swart, Njal's and Bergthora's house-carle, and Gunnar, Hallgerda's husband, spoke to Njal about it, Njal took the award into his own hands from Gunnar and said, "I will not push this matter to the utmost; thou shalt pay twelve ounces of silver⁵" (i.e. a pound). Again, when Bergthora took in Atli, a homeless man from the East Friths, and he became house-carle to her and Njal, at Bergthora's instigation he slew Kol, who had slain Swart. Njal paid back

¹ The wergelts are a prominent feature of the old Norse laws, according to the Frostathing code being reckoned in cows. The cow being set at $2\frac{1}{2}$ ores of silver, the wergelt of a *haukd* was 96 cows (Seeböhm, *op. cit.* pp. 238 sqq.). The *Lex Sæmna* gives the Danish wergelts (*ibid.* pp. 276 sqq.).

² *The Story of Burnt Njal*, c. xii.

³ Liebermann, *Gesetze d. Angelsachsen*, I. 222.

⁴ Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, p. 32.

⁵ *Burnt Njal*, xxxvi.

as award for Kol the same twelve ounces of silver that he had received for Swart¹. Now Atli was not a slave but a freeman, and he took service with Njal on condition that if he was slain, a thrall's price should not be paid for him. Then said Njal, "Thou shalt be atoned for as a freeman, but perhaps Bergthora will make thee a promise which she will fulfil, that revenge, man for man, shall be taken for thee." Then Atli made up his mind to be a hired servant there². When Atli was murdered by Hallgerda's kinsman Brynjolf, and the news was brought to the Thing, Njal named his award at one hundred in silver, and Gunnar paid it down at once. Many who stood by said that the award was high, but Gunnar got wroth, and said that "a full atonement was often paid for those who were no briskeer men than Atli³." Afterwards, Hallgerda said to Gunnar, "Hast thou paid a hundred in silver for Atli's slaying and made him a freeman?" "He was free before," says Gunnar, "and besides, I will not make Njal's household outlaws who have forfeited their rights." When Brynjolf, who had slain Atli, was in turn slain by Thord, the son of a freeman, Njal paid for Brynjolf one hundred in silver when the news of the slaying reached the Thing⁴; when Thord was slain by Hallgerda's minions, Gunnar paid to Njal an award of two hundred in silver. And Njal, speaking of this sum to his son Skarphedinn, said that Gunnar had paid an atonement for Thord "as for two men⁵." Similarly, Njal later on paid two hundred in silver for the slaying of Sigmund, Gunnar's kinsman⁶.

When Thorgeir, Starkad's son, and Thorgeir, Otkell's son, with many others, tried to murder Gunnar by ambuscade, and were discovered, they bade Njal come between them and Gunnar with an offer of atonement, and declared that they would hold to what Njal awarded. At the Althing Njal named twelve men as judges in the suit, and then every man who had gone out paid one hundred in silver, and each of those namesakes two hundred⁷. When Njal's sons slew Thrain, Kettle, Thrain's brother, asked Njal if he were willing to atone in any

¹ *Burnt Njal*, xxxvii.

⁴ *ibid.* xl.

⁷ *ibid.* lxix.

² *ibid.* xxxviii.

⁵ *ibid.* xliii.

³ *ibid.* xxxviii.

⁶ *ibid.* xlv.

way. "I will atone for it handsomely," answered Njal; "and my wish is that thou shouldest look after the matter with thy brothers, who have to take the price of the atonement, that they may be ready to join in it." So it came about "that men were chosen to utter the award; and a meeting was agreed on, and the fair price of a man was awarded for Thrain's slaying, and they all had a share in the blood-money who had a lawful right to it¹." When Lyting slew Hauskuld, Njal's bastard son, after that Njal's other sons sought to take vengeance on Lyting and his two brothers; the latter were slain, but Lyting escaped, though wounded. Then Hauskuld the priest, Lyting's nephew, came with an offer of atonement. Njal agreed, stipulating that Lyting's brothers should fall as outlaws (i.e. be not atoned for), and that Lyting himself should not have any atonement for his wounds. "But, on the other hand," said Njal, "he shall pay the full blood-fine for Hauskuld....My will then is that he pays two hundred in silver for the slaying of Hauskuld, but he may still dwell at Samstede²." Hauskuld, son of Njal, had a son, Amund, who was also base-born. He went to Lyting and demanded atonement for his father: "I am base-born," said he, "and I have touched no fine." "I have atoned for the slaying of thy father," says Lyting, "with a full price, and thy father's father and thy father's brothers took the money; but my brothers fell without a price as outlaws³."

In the trial of Njal's sons for the murder of Hauskuld, of which we have already spoken (p. 375), Thrain's son, Snorri, awarded that Hauskuld "be atoned for by triple man-fines, but that is six hundred in silver. Now ye shall change it, if ye think it too much or too little." They said that they would change it in nothing⁴. In a prosecution for homicide at the Thing the next of kin or his representative stated the charge and demanded that the slayer should be made an outlaw, "not to be fed, not to be forwarded, not to be helped or harboured in any need," and that all his goods should be forfeited, half to the plaintiff himself, and "half to the men of the Quarter who have a right by law to take his forfeited goods⁵." When finally, after a long

¹ *Burnt Njal*, xcii.

² *ibid.* civ.

³ *ibid.* cv.

⁴ *ibid.* cxxii.

⁵ *ibid.* cxli.

dispute and a fray at the Thing, a settlement was made for the burning of Njal and his family, Njal himself was atoned for by triple man-fine, Bergthora his wife by double, and Helgi and Grim each by the same amount as their mother, whilst Skarphedinn's atonement was set off against that of Hauskuld of Whiteness. Each of the others who had been burned was paid for with a single man-price, while for Thord, the child of Kari, who was burned with his grandparents, no atonement was paid. Of the burners Flosi had to go into banishment for three winters, while several of his partners in the deed were never to return. If Flosi did not sail by the time three winters were spent, he and all the other burners were to become thorough outlaws, and their outlawry might be proclaimed at either the Harvest Thing or the Spring Thing¹.

From this grim picture of interminable feuds we learn that it was the first duty of every Norseman to avenge the blood of his kindred to the best of his power, and that it rested with the nearest relatives—father, sons, brothers—to pursue the manslayer by laying a charge against him at the Thing, unless they first accepted a money compensation either offered by the slayer and his relatives or awarded by arbitrators (usually twelve in number) nominated by each party. The Thing could only decide whether a man was guilty or not guilty, and it had no power to compel the kindred of the slain to accept a money compensation and permit the manslayer to abide in the land, or even to make a money award coupled with the condition that a man should go into banishment for a stipulated period; but in case the manslayer did not comply with the terms of the award to which he had been a voluntary party, he could be made an outlaw by the Thing. Once outlawed he could be slain without the slayer incurring any liabilities.

The 'full man-price' was 'two hundred in silver,' but there was no scale regulating higher payments according to the rank of the victim. Homeless freemen like Atli (if avenged at all) were atoned for by half the full man-price, while the bondsman was valued at twelve ounces of silver, that is, his value as a chattel. As in the North the outlaw or homeless man,

¹ *Burnt Njal*, CXLIV.

who had no one to avenge him, had no man-price, so among the Homeric Achæans the broken man who had left his own land could be slain without any payment of *poine*¹.

The Homeric Achæan had no qualms in shedding the blood of members of his own community, had no dread of the ghost of the victim, and therefore did not mutilate the corpse, and did not hesitate to associate with men whose hands were stained with kindred blood: so too was it with the men of the North. Thus although Thistiolf had murdered Thorwad, Hallgerda's first husband, and had made no atonement for it, yet her father Hauskuld, and Glum her second husband, allowed him to come freely into their dwellings, plainly feeling no repugnance at the manslayer². Again, Gunnar dug up the bodies of two men, who had assaulted him and whom he had slain, and there and then summoned them as outlaws for assault and treachery³, whilst the story of the slaying of Sigmund by Skarphedinn shows that decapitation was not repugnant to the Norsemen⁴.

Amongst the Norsemen of the tenth century the acceptance or rejection of the 'man-price' rested solely with the kindred of the slain. Such also, as we shall soon see, was the case with the Cymry of Britain and the Gaels of Ireland. Tacitus ascribes the same custom to the Germans, and there is ample evidence to show that such continued to be their law for many centuries later, although the consolidation of several tribes under a strong central authority, and the ever growing power of the Church, continually tended to interfere with the ancient rights of kindred vengeance. Nor is it difficult to see why, under the new Teutonic monarchies, the taking of blood-gelt became practically compulsory. The laws of the Anglo-

¹ *Il. ix.* 648: *ὡς εἰ τιν' ἀτίμητον μετανάστην*. My friend Dr Henry Jackson long since pointed out to me the true explanation of these words, and allowed me to print it in my 'Homeric Land System' (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1885, pp. 819 *sqq.*), p. 15 n. *ἀτίμητος* means that the man had no price (*τιμή*). For *τιμή* = *ποινή*, cf. *Il. i.* 159: *τιμὴν ἀρνύμενοι Μενελάω σοὶ τε, κυνῶπα, πρὸς Τρώων*; *Il. iii.* 286 *τιμὴν δ' Ἀργείους ἀποτινέμεν ἥντιν' ἔσκεν* and *Il. ix.* 634 *πόλλ' ἀποτίσας* (referring to *ποινή*), *Il. xiv.* 483-4 *ἵνα μὴ τι κασίγνητοῦ γε ποινή θηρὸν ἄνιτος ἔη*, *Od. xxiii.* 812-13 *ἀπερίσατο ποιὴν ἰφθίμων ἐτάρων*.

² *The Story of Burnt Njal*, xv.

³ *ibid.* lxiii.

⁴ *ibid.* xlv.

Saxons, the Franks, Alamanni, and Frisians show that the king exacted for himself a considerable portion of the fine paid by the manslayer. If the latter was forced into exile, the king lost the fine for the breach of his peace. Again, as the Church claimed the right of affording sanctuary to the manslayer, it was her interest to constrain the kindred to accept composition from the murderer, who of course had to requite the Church for her good offices. But where there was no strong central authority, as in Iceland, the ancient rules of private war went on unaltered.

The transition from the stage seen in Homer and Iceland to that of the Anglo-Saxons can be found in Abyssinia, where, as already shown (p. 369), the court, like the Icelandic Thing, can only decide the guilt or innocence of the accused, and though, in case the kindred accept compensation, the king or a head-chief receives a large fee, yet he has no power to constrain the next of kin to accept compensation in lieu of the blood of the manslayer.

All these considerations render it highly improbable that the Homeric Trial Scene represents the state interfering to force the kinsman to accept blood-gelt from the manslayer.

We have already had occasion to mention the well-known stumbling-block of scholars that in the Homeric poems the tribal system plays no part, although it is met in full vigour at Athens in classical times. A ready solution for this difficulty is afforded by the history of the Teutonic tribes who overran the Roman empire. The story of the Visigoths, Burgundians, Franks, and other Teutonic tribes, makes it clear that their migrations and conquests had a powerful effect in disintegrating their tribal system. The Teutonic *baro* living in the midst of the conquered natives had frequently none of his kindred near him, and consequently his old customs, based on kindred and tribe, became rapidly obsolete. We can now understand why it is that the tribe is scarcely heard of among the Homeric Achæans, though it flourished in Attica and Arcadia right down to classical times. The Achæan lord, like the Frank or Norman of later days, lived more or less in isolation from his kindred in the midst of his Pelasgian subjects, and when the epics were

composed, sufficient time had not yet elapsed since the conquest for the growth of new groups of Achean kindred.

This circumstance explains the fact that the *poine* for homicide appears to have been taken by the next heir of the murdered man—father or brother—without any portion of it being divided among the kindred. So too among the Visigoths, who were the master race in Spain, the parents seem to have retained the whole of the *wergelt* paid for a kidnapped child, no mention being made of kin.

So too the edict of Chilperic, apparently made after the Franks had extended their boundary from the Loire to the Garonne, shows a modification of the ancient law necessitated by the isolation of the Franks among their new subjects, for power to succeed to Salic land is given to daughters and to sisters of a dead Frank, the *vicini*, who would be conquered aliens, being carefully excluded from succession¹.

According to the ancient laws of Wales² each free man had his *galanas* or blood-price, whilst everyone from the king down to the lowest had his *saraad*, or honour-price, "according to his privilege." The *galanas* for the chief of a kindred was 189 cows, for an *uchelwr* (office-holder) 126 cows, for a man with a family, but without office, 84 cows, that of the *boneddig*, if unmarried, was 63 cows, for the *alltud* of the *brenhin* (chief) 63 cows, for the *alltud* of an *uchelwr*³ half that number, while the price of a bondsman was only four cows or a pound of silver, but that of the bondsman from beyond seas was six cows or a pound and a half of silver⁴.

In Ireland a similar system remained in force until 1611 in all parts of that island, except where the English had got a firm foothold and English law had superseded the Brehon.

In a law tract entitled "Of the Judgment of every Crime which every Criminal commits, down here," we read that every

¹ Seebohm, *Tribal Custom in Anglo-Saxon Law*, p. 159.

² *Anc. Laws of Wales and Institutions of Wales*, pp. 153 sqq.

³ Cf. Seebohm, *op. cit.* p. 55. The *alltud* of a chief was a stranger related to a chief's family, the *alltud* of an *uchelwr* was one related to an *uchelwr*.

⁴ For the higher value of a slave from a distant land, who therefore was unlikely to escape, see my *Origin of Metallic Currency*, p. 55. For Ireland, cf. *Book of Rights (Leabhar na g-Ceart)*, ed. O'Donovan, pp. 85-7.

crime committed by a man has to be paid for by himself except in the case of killing, provided that the guilty has the means of paying for it himself. "Every killing however which he commits, it is not he alone that shall pay *for*, though he has *the means of paying for* it, but it goes upon the family; and this now is the reason: because, though it were himself or his son that had been killed, it is the whole family that would take the body-fine of either of them and not his son or father in the case." Again, "if it be a necessary killing...whether it (*the means of payment*) be found upon him, or be not found upon him, his family are to pay in the proportion in which they divide his property, and he pays a 'cumhal' of compensation, and an equal share with father or son, of the six 'cumhals' of 'dire'-fine¹."

No matter what a person's rank might be, the 'body-price' was always seven female slaves (*cumhals*) or 21 cows, whilst the 'honour-price' (*enachlan*) varied according to rank, as did the Welsh *saraad*. The acceptance of compensation was voluntary and not at the dictation of the community².

It is now evident that the Achean laws of bloodshed, though completely at variance with those of the Athenians and other Greeks of the classical period, harmonize exactly with the doctrines which prevailed on the same subject among the tribes of Germany down to and long after the Christian era. This difference in so important a matter was probably due to a fundamental divergence in their ethical and religious notions. With the Athenian there was always present a horror of the pollution of the earth by the shedding of kindred blood, and the consequent anger of the Earth-mother, who in retribution for the blood of her children which defiled her breast sent barrenness, blight, and pestilence upon the land which harboured him whose hands were stained with the blood of kindred.

Similarly the Hebrew believed that the murderer was cursed by the earth, which had opened her mouth to receive

¹ *Anc. Laws of Ireland*, vol. iv. pp. 245-7.

² *Ibid.* vol. iv. p. 251: "It says in the text: Everyone dies for his crime, i.e. every one dies for his wilful crimes, when he does not get 'eric' (is not allowed to compensate by paying 'eric')."

a brother's blood¹, and that she refused to yield her strength to those who bore the brand of Cain. And as the Athenian held that the spirit of a murdered man (ἀλᾶστωρ)² left unavenged dogged the slayer and his kin, so the Hebrew believed that the blood of the slain cried out from his grave for vengeance.

Although the records of early Roman institutions are very scanty, yet they are sufficient to show that in early times the shedding of human blood, except that of a parent or a brother or sister, was not regarded as a crime to be punished with death. The history of the terms *parricida* and *parricidium* alone suffices to make it highly probable that originally no other kind of manslaughter was necessarily punished with death. In the first place, the oldest tribunal which dealt with capital offences was that of the *quaestores parricidii*³. Secondly, a law ascribed by Festus to Numa Pompilius shows us how the terms became extended to the murder of every free person in the community, for it was enacted that if any one deliberately did another to death, he was to be regarded as a parricide⁴.

If, then, ordinary manslaughter was not necessarily punishable by death, it is not unreasonable to infer that the kindred of the slain commonly accepted bloodgelt. It is at least certain that in cases where one man had injured another, a money payment was customary⁵.

Our inference is rendered all the more probable by the

¹ Gen. iv. 10-12.

² Aesch. Ag. 1500: φανταζόμενος δὲ γυναικὶ νεκροῦ τοῦδ' ὁ παλαιὸς δριμύς ἀλᾶστωρ Ἀτρεΐδης. Cf. Soph. O. C. 787-8.

³ Festus, p. 221 (Müller): parricidii quaestores appellabantur, qui solebant creari causa rerum capitalium quaerendarum. nam parricida non utique is, qui parentem occidisset, dicebatur, sed qualemcunque hominem indemnatum. The derivation from *pater* (Quintil. viii. 6, 35) is disputed because *tr* is a very stable sound-combination in Latin. Modern philologists connect the first part with Doric παῖς (πῆς) = παῖς*, but as παῖς = Lat. *affinis*, a relation by marriage, this derivation is not free from serious difficulty.

⁴ Festus, p. 221: si qui hominem liberum dolo sciens morti duit, paricidas esto.

⁵ Fragm. xii. Tab. [Aul. Gell. xx. 1. 12]: si iniuriam alteri faxit viginti quinque aëris poenae sunt. It is probable that originally *poena* like ποινή meant payment for a life either in blood or money. Cf. Enn. Ann. 101 (Vahlen): mi calido das sanguine poenas; Liv. vii. 19, 3: id pro immolatis in foro Tarquiniensium Romanis poenae hostibus redditum.

existence in early Rome of an elaborate system of payments (*multae*) for wrongs committed, in cattle, sheep, and bars of bronze each weighing a pound (*asses librales*), each cow being reckoned at 10 sheep, or 100 libral *asses*¹. That this system belonged especially to the Sabine conquerors of Rome is rendered almost certain from a statement of Varro that *multa* was a Sabine word, and that it still remained in use among the Samnites (who were of Sabine origin) down to his own time².

Although we have no direct evidence for the amount of the 'man-price,' yet we may with some probability infer its amount from the rating of the various classes in the Servian Constitution. Mommsen³ has laid down that land was the basis of assessment on the analogy of the Teutonic *hide*, assuming that the members of the First class possessed a whole hide, the remaining classes being composed of those who held proportionally smaller freeholds. But this assumption does not hold true even for the Teutonic tribes, for, as we have seen, in upper Europe a man's wergelt largely depended on the number of his cattle, from which it is more than probable that his assessment was based rather on cattle than on land. This is confirmed by the results of modern researches, which have demonstrated that amongst the Germanic peoples land was originally held by groups of kindred, who had their tillage in common and fed their cattle on the common pasture, and that severalty in land only sprang up at a comparatively late period.

Elsewhere⁴ I have shown that with the Homeric Achæans a man's wealth was estimated in chattels and not in land, values being reckoned in cows, just as among the Celts and Germans. We have also seen that among all the Teutonic and Scandinavian peoples and the Cymry of Britain the wergelt of the full tribesman appears to have been about 100 cows (occasionally 120).

¹ Aul. Gell. xi. 1. 1-3; Plut. *Poplic.* 11. Cf. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, p. 135.

² *ap.* Aul. Gell. xi. 1. 5; cf. Paul. *ex Fest.*, p. 142: *multam Osce dici putant poenam quidam. M. Varro ait poenam esse, sed pecuniariam.*

³ *History of Rome*, vol. i. pp. 95, 96 (English trans.).

⁴ 'The Homeric Land System' (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* 1885, pp. 319 *sqq.*).

According to Pliny¹ the highest rating in the time of Servius Tullius was 120,000 *asses*, and therefore that was the rating of the First class. This is confirmed by Festus², who states that the term *infra classem* meant all who were rated at less than 120,000 *asses*. Dionysius³ sets the rating of the First class at 100 *minae* (of silver) or 10,000 *drachmae*, of the Second at 75 *minae* (7500 *drs.*), of the Third at 50 *minae* (5000 *drs.*), of the Fourth at 25 *minae*, and of the Fifth at 12½ *minae*. Livy⁴ puts the rating of the *prima classis* at 100,000 *asses*, of the *secunda* at 75,000, of the *tertia* at 50,000, of the *quarta* at 25,000, and of the *quinta* at 11,000.

All are agreed that it is absolutely incredible that the original rating of the First class was 120,000 libral *asses*. As the cow was worth 100 libral *asses* at Rome in 451 B.C., 120,000 would have been equivalent to 1200 cows. It is impossible that in early Rome there could have been ninety-eight centuries composed of men each of whom possessed such a vast herd of cattle, especially in view of the known facts respecting the ratings customary among the pastoral peoples of the rest of Europe. Boeckh offered a most probable explanation, that, with the reduction of the *as* from the original weight of a pound (*libra*) first to two ounces, later to one ounce, there was a corresponding raising of the rating of the several classes. On the other hand, Mommsen, who holds that the rating was originally in land, thinks that the change in the method of rating from land to bronze took place at a time when land had greatly risen in value, and that accordingly the 120,000 *asses* of the First class are libral *asses*. Such a change as Mommsen supposes must have taken place before 263-241 B.C., for the *as* was reduced to two *unciae* during the First Punic war⁵. Yet it is hard to suggest any period before that date when there was likely to have been so great a rise in the value of land as is necessary to account for so large a rating

¹ H. N. xxxiii. 43: *maximus census cxxx assium fuit illo rege, et ideo haec prima classis.*

² p. 118 (Müller): *infra classem significantur qui minore summa quam centum et viginti milia aeris censi sunt.*

³ iv. 16, 17.

⁴ i. 43.

⁵ Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, pp. 377-8.

as that of 120,000 libral *asses* (which, according to Mommsen's own reckoning, would be worth about 400 minae of silver)¹. Boeckh's hypothesis fits far better the conditions of the problem. The *as* had been reduced to a single *uncia* in the Second Punic war. Thus 12 *asses* of the uncial standard were required to make up the weight of the old libral *as*. Accordingly, in the second century B.C. 120,000 *asses* would be equal to 10,000 libral *asses* of the earlier days.

But, apart from more general considerations, there is a fatal objection to Mommsen's theory. The 100 *minae*, which Dionysius gives as the rating of the First class, agrees completely with the statements of Pliny and Festus, if the 120,000 *asses* given by them as the rating of the First class are uncial, but becomes absurd if, like Mommsen, we take the latter for libral *asses*. If Dionysius made 100 *minae* of silver = 120,000 uncial *asses* = 10,000 libral *asses*, the ratio between the metals would be about 100:1, the general proportion between silver and bronze in the first and second centuries B.C. If, on the other hand, we suppose that he equated 100 *minae* of silver to 120,000 pounds of bronze, the ratio between the metals would be about 1200:1. Mommsen himself put the relation between these metals in early Rome at 288:1, and it seems most unlikely that it could ever have been higher than 300:1. In the centuries immediately preceding our era the ratio between these metals round the shores of the Mediterranean seems never to have been more than 120:1.

Livy, indeed, sets the rating of the First class at 100,000 *asses*, but this figure can be readily explained. As the Roman *denarius* is treated as a drachma by Greek writers, Livy, finding in a Greek source the assessments stated in drachmae, and desiring to translate the Greek silver numeration into that of the Romans in bronze, and taking the drachma = *denarius*, which contained 10 *asses*, would multiply 10,000 drachmae by 10 and thus bring out 100,000 instead of 120,000 as the rating of the First class.

As by the Lex Tarpeia a cow = 100 libral *asses*, 10,000 libral

¹ Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency*, p. 348.

asses would = 100 cows. In the face of the facts from upper Europe already stated, 100 cows would be a very natural number to form the normal herd of the full freeman of a pastoral community. This view is corroborated by one of the provisions of the Licinian Rogations (367 B.C.), which enacted that no one should hold more than 500 *iugera* of public land, nor feed more than 100 full-grown cattle or 500 small cattle on the public pastures¹. If 100 large cattle were the number which qualified a Roman for the First class, there was every reason why Licinius and Sextus should have taken 100 as the maximum number of cows which a citizen might feed on the public pastures.

I have shown elsewhere² that the method of rating by cattle was that in vogue in Sicily in the fourth century B.C., as is rendered clear by a statement in the *Oeconomica*³, that, in consequence of the excessive exactions of Dionysius, the Syracusans ceased to keep cattle. If the assessment at Syracuse, a great Greek trading city, was still based on cattle in the time of Dionysius (405-367 B.C.), *a fortiori* the same primitive method of assessment must have prevailed among the great cattle-keeping tribes of central Italy in the sixth and seventh centuries B.C.

According to Dionysius and Livy⁴ the First class was equipped with bronze helmet, breastplate and greaves, and carried a round shield (*ἀσπίς*, *clipeus*), a spear and a sword; the Second bore the oblong shield (*θυρεός*, *scutum*) instead of the round shield, and wore no breastplate; the Third also bore the *scutum*, and had neither breastplate nor greaves; the Fourth had the *scutum*, sword and spear⁵; the Fifth bore only javelins (*σάββα*⁶) and slings. Thus it was only the

¹ Appian, *Bell. civ.* i. 8: μηδένα ἔχειν τῆσδε τῆς γῆς πλεῖθρα πεντακοσίων πλείονα, μηδὲ προβατεῦναι ἑκατὸν πλείω τὰ μείζονα καὶ πεντακοσίων τὰ ἐλάσσονα.

² *Origin of Metallic Currency* (App. B), p. 393.

³ Arist. *Oec.* ii. 1349 b, 6: τῶν τὲ πολιτῶν διὰ τὰς εἰσφορὰς οὐ τρεφόντων βοσκήματα, εἶπεν ὅτι ἱκανὰ ἦν αὐτῷ πρὸς τοσοῦτον· τοὺς ὅν νῦν τι κτησαμένους ἀτελεῖς ἔσσεσθαι, πολλῶν δὲ ταχὺ κτησαμένων πολλὰ βοσκήματα, ὥς ἀτελεῖ ἐξόντων, ἐπεὶ καιρὸν ᾗτο εἶναι, τιμῆσασθαι κελεύσας ἐπέβαλε τέλος, κ.τ.λ.

⁴ Dion. Hal. iv. 16, 17; Livy, i. 43.

⁵ According to Livy they had only spear (*hasta*) and javelin (*verutum*).

⁶ According to Livy they only carried *fundas lapideaeque missiles*.

First which had complete armour and bore the round shield, all the rest who had shields bearing the *scutum*. To the 80 centuries of the First class were added 18 centuries of *equites*. But I have shown (vol. I. p. 468) that the Roman *equites* down to a late epoch bore a round shield with a central boss; and it has been likewise proved (vol. I. pp. 456—465) that the round shield with a boss was essentially characteristic of upper Europe, while the oblong shields, such as the Mycenaean, the Boeotian, the old Arcadian, the *ancile* and the *scutum* were indigenous in the Mediterranean lands. It thus follows that the 98 centuries of the First class bore the characteristic shield of the early Iron and Bronze Ages of central and upper Europe, whilst inferior classes, who wore only partial armour, carried the *scutum* so characteristic of the South. These facts, even if we had no other evidence, would suggest that the First class represented the ruling aristocracy in a community composed of conquerors and their subjects.

This presumption is confirmed by the invaluable statement of Festus¹ that all who had a property rating of less than 120,000 = 10,000 libral *asses* = 100 cows, were once described as unclassified, i.e. as not in the *classes*, i.e. not enrolled for military service. It is certain that in old Latin *classis* meant the *army*², from which it would appear that in early days there was only one *classis*, i.e. the body of full citizens, whose assessment was 100 cows, all others being described as *infra classem*, i.e. not permitted to bear arms.

It is clear that the statement of Festus can only refer to a state of things antecedent to the reforms attributed to Servius. Now, as there must have been many Plebeians who at the time of the reforms had property equivalent to 100 cows, it would follow that, if the mere possession of property to that amount gave a man a right to be enrolled in the *classis*, the wealthy Plebeians would have had no grievance. On the other hand, there were probably many

¹ See p. 223, note 2.

² Aul. Gell. x. 15. 4: equo flaminem Dialem uehi religio est (et) classem procinctam extra pomerium, id est, exercitum armatum, uidere (cited from Fabius Pictor).

Patricians who had not rateable property to the amount of 100 cows. If, however, the wergelt of a full Patrician was 100 cows, without any reference to his actual wealth, all difficulty disappears. We have seen that in all the lands conquered by the Teutonic tribes, as well as among the Cymry of Britain, there were one or more semi-servile grades, apparently composed of conquered natives, and each of these classes had its own wergelt, which depended partly on the amount of property.

Thus among the Anglo-Saxons, where the full wergelt of the freeman was 200 shillings (=100 cows), there were also freemen who had only half a wergelt (100 shillings), and three grades of *lasts* whose wergelts were respectively 80, 60, and 40 shillings.

But the status of the conqueror did not depend on property alone. For instance, after Charlemagne's conquest of the Saxons it was enacted that where the Franks paid 15 solidi, the more noble Saxons were to make composition with 12 solidi, freemen with 5, and *liti* (semi-servile class) with 4¹. But it is hardly probable that in every case a Frank was wealthier than the 'more noble Saxons.'

Furthermore, in some areas it was possible for a family of one of the lowest grades to rise into a higher one, and even in course of time to reach the condition of a tribesman with the full wergelt. The Servian Constitution shows the working of a similar principle. The aborigines of Latium, like those of all upper Italy, were Ligurians, overpowered later on by the Sabines, one of the Celto-Umbrian tribes. The Sabines formed the Patricians, brought into Rome the worship of Janus, Mars and Quirinus, and the sacred marriage called *confarreatio*. It has likewise been shown that the Romans practised both cremation and inhumation, and that the former was the universal custom of the Umbrians, the latter that of the Ligurians. Moreover, there is evidence that Patricians of undoubted Sabine ancestry, such as the Claudii, burned their

¹ *Capitulare Saxonicum*, cap. 3: placuit omnibus Saxonibus, ut ubicunque Franci secundum legem solidos 15 soluere debent, ibi nobiliores Saxones solidos 12, ingenui 5, liti 4 componant.

dead¹, a fact which strongly confirms our inference that the Sabines had introduced cremation. Incidentally we have seen that Latin was really the speech of the Plebeians, that is, the Ligurian element, which was without doubt the most numerous.

We have just seen that the First class (before the Reforms of Servius, the only *classis*) had the round shield and the full armour, which were the lineal descendants of the equipment of the men of the Hallstatt-Villanova period, in other words, the Celto-Umbrian tribes. On the other hand, all those who had previously been *infra classem*, if they had any shield, carried the *scutum*, and wore either only partial armour or none at all.

As the 98 centuries of the First class could outvote all the centuries of the remaining classes put together, the Sabine Patricians maintained practically full political control, and similarly retained all military power in their own hands, using the Ligurian Plebeians as auxiliaries, just as the Celts who conquered Gaul, and later the Franks and Normans, employed their subjects as light-armed troops. The Spartans, with their Perioeci and Helots, are a familiar example of the same practice in Greece.

It is probable that the aborigines of the Italian peninsula, like those of Greece, had a dread of the shedding of kindred blood and its consequences unknown to those peoples who, like the Sabines and all their congeners, freely took composition for homicide. As the practice of accepting *poine* which existed among the Homeric Achæans completely disappears from

¹ Thus P. Clodius, Cicero's enemy, who was undoubtedly a Patrician (cf. Cic. *ad Attic.* II. 9. 1, where Pompey is termed *traductor ad plebem*, because he had transferred Clodius from a patrician to a plebeian *gens*), was burned on a pyre in or near the *curia Hostilia* (Ascon. 40). Cremation in the Forum was forbidden by the X Tables, but certain families claimed the right, and it was generally conceded to *triumphatores* (Plutarch, *Quæst. Rom.* 79). Dionysius (v. 48) says that Valerius Poplicola, alone of all famous men down to his own day, had been assigned a spot for his pyre and burial in the city near the Forum at the foot of the Velian hill (καὶ χωρίον, ἐνθα ἐκαύθη καὶ ἐτάφη, μόνῃ τῶν μέχρι ἐμοῦ γενομένων ἐπιφανῶν ἀνδρῶν ἐν τῇ πόλει σόνεγγυς τῆς ἀγορᾶς ἀπέθαξεν ὑπ' Οὐελίας).

Of course the burning of Clodius, like that of Julius Caesar, occurred in a riot. More frequent was cremation carried out in the Campus Martius, as in the case of Sulla, etc., but this was stopped early in imperial times.

Greece long before classical times, and the indigenous doctrine reasserted itself, so the Sabine element at Rome, as it merged more and more into its subjects, appears to have been influenced by their ideas, and thus it came that Roman law, as we meet it fully developed, has imbibed the stern doctrine of life for life which is essentially characteristic of the Mediterranean. The gradual recrudescence of indigenous doctrines is well illustrated by the *Lex Pompeia* (52 B.C.), which enacted that those guilty of the murder of a parent, grandparent, or child, shall be sewn up in a leather sack with a dog, a cock, a viper, and a monkey, and thrown into sea or river, that the air may be denied them while they survive, and the earth when they are dead¹.

Nor can it be maintained that, because *wergelts* were not indigenous among the aborigines of Latium, therefore they would have had none after the Sabine conquest; for conquerors, who had themselves a scale of compositions for homicide and wounds, would naturally appraise the lives of their subjects in a similar fashion, whether the latter liked it or not.

The result of our inquiry into the Roman law of homicide has rendered it highly probable that the dominant element at Rome in early times had a system of *wergelts* like that of all the peoples of upper Europe, and we have seen some reasons for ascribing it to the Sabines, who made themselves masters of Rome.

As the system of *wergelts* brought into Spain by the Visigoths died out under Mediterranean influences, so did Sabine practice gradually fade away in Latium. But as the fairhaired Achæans, like all the peoples of upper Europe, took composition for homicide, and as that practice had disappeared from Greece long before classical times, we have still another proof that they, like Visigoths and Umbrians, had descended from central Europe.

As the Homeric Achæans held views on homicide differing totally from those of the peoples of the eastern Mediterranean, but exactly corresponding to those universal in the North until

¹ Later still such persons were either burnt alive or thrown to the beasts (*Jul. Paul. Sentent. v. 24*).

the spread of Roman law and Christianity had impressed upon the northern folk the ideas held in the South upon this vital question, we are inevitably led to conclude that the doctrine of the Homeric Achæans had made its way downwards from central Europe into Greece. It may be said that this doctrine had been simply borrowed by the indigenous people of Greece from the north, and that its presence on Greek soil does not necessarily indicate that it came there with a body of northern invaders. But if it had been borrowed without conquest, this would have been due to a fundamental change in the moral and religious ideas of the older race of Greece, and accordingly the new principle would have continued in force amongst the people who had deliberately embraced it. Yet it is patent that it died out very soon on Greek soil, and this proves that it was repugnant to the moral notions of the aborigines, and consequently must have been brought in by a body of conquerors.

Our conclusion that the Homeric view of homicide had descended into Greece from central Europe has a most important bearing on the chronological relation of the Early Iron Age of Hallstatt and the Bronze Age of Mycenaean Greece. For it affords a peculiarly strong corroboration of the conclusions which we have already drawn from an examination of the use of iron, the round shield, the brooch, and the practices of cremating the dead and tracing descent through males. In one respect the evidence afforded by the *wergelt* differs from that of all the others just enumerated: the use of iron, round shields, brooches, and the customs of burning the dead and reckoning descent through males continued on Greek soil down to classical and post-classical times. Thus it was possible, although we have shown it to be most improbable, to argue that all these objects and practices had grown up on Greek soil. On the other hand it has just been clearly shown that the doctrine of the *wergelt* was but transitory, and therefore must have been brought in by a body of invaders, whose national custom it was.

We may therefore conclude with confidence that the culture of the Early Iron Age of central Europe, essential elements in

which were iron, the round shield, the brooch, and the practice of cremation, was not dependent on, and therefore later than, the culture of Mycenaean Greece, as has hitherto been held. The reasons for that belief can be easily summarized¹.

(1) It was universally assumed that bronze, i.e. copper alloyed with tin, was first discovered in Egypt or Asia Minor, and that it had from thence made its way into Greece and so up Europe, and that accordingly the Bronze Age of Mycenae was older than the Bronze Age of central Europe. But I have given reasons (vol. I. p. 609) for believing that bronze was discovered in the copper-and-tin-bearing area of Hungary and Bohemia².

(2) It was held by Mr Myres³ that the knowledge of copper passed from Cyprus by way of Anatolia, the Hellespont and Thrace, into the Danubian region. But I have shown (vol. I. p. 607) that there are copper axes found in Hungary of a type far more primitive than any copper axe yet found in Cyprus or the Aegean.

(3) Until the appearance of my paper⁴ on the Early Iron Age of central Europe it was an undisputed article of faith that iron had reached central Europe either from Africa or Asia, Syria and Palestine⁵ being the most favoured claimants

¹ The following polemic was no part of the original form of this chapter, but as Mr J. L. Myres (*Class. Rev.* 1902, p. 75) charged me with producing "no evidence for regarding the Hallstatt civilization as independent of, or prior to, the Mycenaean," and with ignoring "the convergent lines of evidence which have led Mr Arthur Evans (Rhind Lectures, *Scotsman*, 19 Dec. 1895 [read 11 Dec.]), and others, to regard it as sub-Mycenaean," and as Prof. P. Gardner (*Engl. Historical Review*, 1901, pp. 743-6), evidently also referring to my friend Mr Evans, says that "the best authorities" will not accept my dates for the Hallstatt culture, whilst another reviewer (*Oxford Magazine*, 1902, p. 49) makes a similar statement, I have been compelled to enter on a more detailed controversy.

² Mr J. L. Myres in a long and very hostile review of the first vol. of the present work (*Class. Rev.* 1902, pp. 68-77, to which I replied, *ibid.* pp. 78-91) accepts my conclusion that bronze was discovered in Central Europe and passed thence into Greece.

³ *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* vol. xxvii. p. 172. I notice with satisfaction that Mr Myres in his review does not make the slightest attempt to maintain this view any longer.

⁴ *Rep. Brit. Ass.* 1896 (Liverpool), p. 930.

⁵ A. J. Evans (Rhind Lectures), *Scotsman*, 11 Dec. 1895, p. 10, col. 2.

for the honour of first discovering that metal; it was likewise commonly held that it only reached Greece in the ninth century B.C.¹, and central Europe a century later. But I have given reasons (vol. I. p. 610 *sqq.*) for believing not only that iron was discovered independently² in the Hallstatt area, but that probably knowledge of it was brought thence into Asia Minor, Palestine, and other parts of Asia; reasons have likewise been advanced for placing the composition of the Homeric epic at a date not later than 1000 B.C. But as iron is as frequently mentioned in the so-called oldest as in the so-called later strata of the *Iliad*, the evidence points to iron being in full use in Greece in the end of the second millennium B.C. But, as it has been shown that it probably was discovered in central Europe and descended thence into Greece, its use in the former area must have considerably preceded its first appearance on Greek soil.

(4) It was held by Montelius, who was followed by Evans, that the oldest form of the fibula had been invented at Mycenae in the fifteenth century B.C. It has been therefore assumed that Montelius has fixed the date of the oldest form of fibula (Peschiera type) found in North Italy. But as the oldest types of Hallstatt fibulae are later than the oldest types found in north Italy, the Hallstatt culture is held to be considerably posterior to the fifteenth century B.C. But this argument assumes that the fibula was invented in Greece. On the other hand, it has been shown (vol. I. pp. 570 *sqq.*) that it was invented in central Europe, and passed thence into Greece. As therefore it must have been in use in Central Europe at a date anterior to its appearance in Greece, it certainly cannot be adduced as evidence that the Italo-Hallstatt culture was derived from and was therefore later than that of Mycenae.

(5) Mr A. J. Evans³ sees in certain features of the Hallstatt

¹ A. J. Evans, *ibid.* "The use of iron spread about the ninth century before Christ through Cyprus to Greece and Italy."

² Mr Myres (*Class. Rev.* 1902, p. 74—5) now admits that it is "not improbable that the early Trans-Alpine iron-smelters, with their chimney-furnaces, represent an independent tradition from that of the Levantine iron-smelters with their chimneyless 'open-hearths'."

³ *Scotsman*, 11 Dec. 1895, p. 10, col. 2.

culture, "such as the figures of birds and animals, the multiplicity of pendants, and the degenerate traces of the returning spiral ornament," a resemblance to the Early Iron Age antiquities found at Olympia, and in the recently explored Caucasian cemeteries. Yet neither he nor anyone has bridged over the gap between the geometrical (Dipylon) culture found at Olympia and the true Mycenaean Bronze Age culture, nor has Mr Evans been able to deduce the Hallstatt forms to which I have just referred from the objects and ornaments of the Bronze Age of Mycenae, but he has been obliged to resort to the treasure discovered in Aegina (vol. i. pp. 33—6), which he thinks "revealed a new and later phase of Mycenaean art than had been hitherto known. Its probable date of deposit was about the ninth century B.C., and it contained open-work jewels with human, bird, and animal forms, and with pendant ornaments attached to them by small chains¹." These he thinks "supplied the absolute prototypes of some of the most typical Hallstatt forms. The birds and bird-holding figures, moreover, found in this series fitted on to the earliest religion of Mycenae." Yet he admits that "on the older Mycenaean jewellery they were certainly doves, the sacred bird of a goddess, traces of whose early worship were found throughout the Mycenaean world, but specially at Paphos—the goddess known to the Greeks as Aphrodite. On the later examples these birds were generally ducks or waterfowl²."

But as I have given reasons for believing that the Achaeans came down from central Europe about 1400 B.C.³, the resem-

¹ *Scotsman*, 12 Dec. 1895, p. 7, col. 3. See also Evans' address (*Rep. Brit. Ass.* 1896, p. 921), where he gives his chief reasons for his chronology of the Italo-Hallstatt period; Mr Evans' (*Jour. Hell. Stud.* vol. XIII. p. 224) says that "we are led to refer the deposit of the Aegina Treasure to the eighth or ninth century before our era or approximately to about 800 B.C."

² *loc. cit.*

³ Mr Myres (*Glass. Rev.* 1902, p. 70) admits that I have made "so probable" an intrusion into Greece from the north-west at the point where bronze gives place to iron, and he also admits (*loc. cit.* p. 76) that "enough seems to remain from Homeric sources alone to justify his [Ridgeway's] main contention: (1) that the genealogies give us an era for the coming of the Achaeans into Greece, about two generations before the Trojan War, and consequently about four generations before the Dorian invasion" etc. He thus accepts my conclusions

blance between the Aegina treasures and certain forms found in the metal work of the Italo-Hallstatt culture is due to the fact that the latter had been brought into Greece generations before the deposit of the Aegina treasure 'about 800 B.C.' As already remarked, Mr Evans felt the difficulty that, whilst the dove is the bird commonly seen in works of art of the true Mycenaean period, the duck forms the motive in the Aeginetan treasure. But the latter is a common motive on a series of bronze objects familiar in the Hallstatt and Italian areas, and which, though mentioned in the *Iliad*, are absolutely unknown in the graves of Mycenaean Greece—the well-known broad belts of bronze (the Homeric *mītra*), which have been found in Hungary, at Hallstatt, Este, Corneto (vol. I. fig. 58), and Bologna (vol. I. p. 311), and which are regularly adorned with circles flanked by ducks' heads or serpentine ornaments. As these girdles are certainly not of Mycenaean origin, there is no valid reason for supposing that their characteristic decoration is not indigenous.

(6) Mr Evans also sees another "feature of the Hallstatt relics derived from the same Mycenaean source" in "the votive bowls, caskets, and tripods, provided with wheels below, and often supporting various human or animal forms, or, in the case of the caskets, taking the shape of birds" (*cf.* vol. I. pp. 432, 451). "The Homeric description of similar works, such as the wheeled tripods wrought by Hephaistos, showed that their adoption on European soil went back to Mycenaean times. An 'Italo-Hallstatt' wheeled tripod such as Homer describes was actually found at Luceria in Apulia¹."

From this it will be seen that Mr Evans assumed, like almost every one else, that the Homeric poems represented the culture of the Bronze Age of Mycenae. But I have shown (vol. I. pp. 294 *sqq.*) that the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* represent the Early Iron Age, whilst the acropolis graves of Mycenae show not a trace of that metal. Accordingly, the resemblance between the wheeled tripods of the Italo-Hallstatt culture and those

that the Achaeans had descended from central Europe, had entered Greece in the 14th century B.C., and established a dynasty in Argolis about 1300 B.C.

¹ *loc. cit.*

described in Homer, so far from indicating that they passed from Mycenaean Greece into Italy and central Europe, rather shows that they had descended from the latter region into Greece in the Early Iron Age along with the men who brought in with them the use of iron, the round shield, the brooch, the practice of burning the dead, a strict marriage tie, descent through males, and the custom of accepting *wergelt*.

(7) Again, Mr Evans thinks that sub-Mycenaean influence can be seen in the Early Iron Age of Bosnia and Herzegovina: "notably in the great prehistoric cemetery at Glasinatz, a whole series of early Iron Age types betray distinct Mycenaean affinities. The spiral motive and its degeneration—the concentric circles grouped together with or without tangential lines of connection—appear on bronze torques, on fibulae of Mycenaean descent, and the typical finger-rings with the bezel at right angles to the ring. On the plates of other 'spectacle fibulae' are seen triquetral scrolls singularly recalling the gold plates of the Akropolis graves of Mycenae¹." But even granting for the sake of argument that the spiral motive reached the Danubian region from the Aegean, which is very doubtful, its appearance in the Early Iron Age in that quarter does not afford the slightest grounds for dating objects of the Iron Age, since Mr Evans himself² says that "examples of spiraliform painted designs on pottery going back to the borders of the Neolithic period have been found in Hungary and Bosnia." Why should not the spiral, which was already in use in that area at the close of the Stone Age, have continued to be employed down to the Early Iron Age, without any further borrowing from Mycenae at that epoch?

Again, there is no more reason for supposing that the concentric circles characteristic of the Danubian decoration are degenerated forms of spirals than there is for holding that the concentric circles seen often in African wood-carving have had a like origin. To base any arguments of borrowing by one people from another on the mere fact that spirals or circles are favourite motives with each is extremely dangerous, for the

¹ *Rep. of Brit. Association*, 1896, p. 921.

² *op. cit.* p. 919.

circle is a very wide-spread primitive decoration, and races like the Maoris of New Zealand (vol. I. Fig. 44) have developed the spiral for themselves without borrowing from Egypt or the Aegean. Mr Evans, it will have been noticed, holds that the fibula is Mycenaean in origin, but we have already seen strong reasons for coming to the opposite conclusion. The 'spectacle' fibula is certainly not an invention of Mycenaean Greece, and there is no reason why triquetral scrolls as well as spirals should not have been indigenous in Bosnia, nor is there any reason why certain people there should not have placed the bezels at right angles to the ring without any borrowing, especially in view of the fact that the aboriginal Illyrian tribes were closely akin to the oldest race of Greece.

I have pointed out (vol. I. p. 585) that the occurrence in the cemeteries of the Caucasus of fibulae similar to those of the Danubian region is probably due to the fact that the Cimmerians had passed from the Danube into South Russia and had made their way into Asia Minor and possibly into Armenia (vol. I. p. 396).

(8) It has been assumed that certain bronze articles which are characteristic of the Hallstatt culture and are adorned with parallel bands of warriors and animals, were derived from Mycenae, because they were held to have affinities with the Shield of Achilles, it being assumed that Homer represented the Mycenaean Bronze Age. But I have shown (vol. I. pp. 313—6) that the very few monuments from Mycenae and Tiryns which present such processions of warriors belong to the top stratum of each city, whilst the warriors are equipped not with true Mycenaean shields, but with round shields, which I have also shown to be characteristic of all the peoples of upper Europe.

Our examination has now shown that the foundations of the belief that the Hallstatt culture was dependent on, and therefore later in origin than, that of Mycenaean Greece, are but a series of unsupported assumptions, which cannot stand the test of the inductive method.

It has been argued in previous parts of this work that the Persians and Aryans of the Rig-Veda had passed from upper

Europe into Asia at a period prior to the discovery of iron, though later than the rise of the practice of cremating the dead. If this be sound, we ought to find traces of the *wergelt* among the Persians and Hindus.

Though the *Zend-Avesta* does not give us any direct evidence of the payment of blood-money in the case of man-slaying, yet certain passages render it clear that compensation for life and wounds was the rule amongst the ancient Persians. Thus we read that "if people come, fellow-believers, relatives, or friends, to expiate (*shaetō-chinaǵhō*) by money, or with a woman (*nāiri-chinaǵhō*), or in the spiritual way (*lehratu-chinaǵhō*)—if they will expiate by money, they shall bring up the money; if by a woman, they shall give in marriage a young maiden; if in the spiritual way, they shall recite the Holy Word¹." Again, the manslayer who refused to make an atonement received two hundred stripes, and there was a similar precept respecting him who had wounded another and refused to make atonement².

Compensation for homicide to this day is customary amongst Iranian tribes, such as the Ossetes, who call themselves *Ir* or *Iron* and their country *Ironistan*³, and who in "physiognomy, figure, and whole outward appearance form a perfect contrast to the surrounding Caucasian tribes, especially the Georgians," as they usually have "blue eyes and red or light brown hair⁴." They say that "their ancestors came originally over the mountains from the north; that they at first dwelt in the country now occupied by the Circassians, and had been driven onward as far as their present territory by other races pressing behind⁵." The Georgian annals represent the Ossetes as already their neighbours in the time of Alexander the Great, and say that they had come from the banks of the Don, whilst Ptolemy mentions them as living at the mouth of that river, and others declare that they built Azov.

¹ *Vendidad*, *Farg.* iv. 44, cited by Geiger, *Civilization of the Eastern Iranians in ancient times*, vol. II. p. 34.

² *ib.* *Farg.* iv. 30 *sqq.* (Darmesteter, p. 42).

³ Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia* (Engl. trans. 1854), p. 394.

⁴ *ibid.* pp. 413—4.

⁵ *ibid.* p. 394.

The custom and the law of blood-revenge prevails among both nobles and free men, and there are courts of arbitration "precisely like those which formerly existed in Germany¹." "If a murder be committed, any relative of the victim is entitled, and indeed obliged to take revenge and slay the murderer or one of his family; this accomplished, he goes to the grave of his kinsman and exclaims, 'I have revenged thy blood and slain thy murderer.'... In cases of murder or manslaughter, the injured party is always at liberty to refuse any offer of atonement, and to demand blood-revenge. Frequently however, especially in recent times, the case is referred to a court of arbitration, in which it is customary to tax the wounds of a man who has been killed at twice the amount for those of one who has recovered, the rate being in proportion to the rank of the family.... The body of every Ossetian has a settled value in the eyes of the judges.... The father of a family bears a higher value than an unmarried man, and a noble is rated at twice as much as a freeman. Every limb is taxed in the same manner. Gaping wounds are measured by barley-corns; a wound is said to be so many barley-corns long; its length is declared by the court, which imposes a penalty of one cow for each barley-corn; so that the infliction of a wound sometimes involves a fine of ten or twelve cows.... The maximum of compensation for murder or homicide has been fixed from time immemorial.... The murder of a freeman who is not a householder is rated at nine times nine cows; that of a head of one of the principal families at eighteen times eighteen cows." Unfortunately Haxthausen does not give the *wergelt* of the ordinary free householder, but as that of the unmarried freeman is 81 cows, and that of the head of a principal family is 324, and as a noble is rated at double the freeman, the married freeman cannot be more than 162 cows; 100 or 120 cows would be a not unlikely amount.

"In these courts of arbitration each party chooses three heads of families, not related either to the accused or the accuser, and these six select a seventh as a foreman. The court

¹ Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia* (Engl. trans. 1854), pp. 407—9.

first requires a solemn declaration from both parties that they will submit to its decision, and demands three sureties on each side. A post is then fixed firmly in the ground, as a symbolical sign that the disputants must abide by their agreement, a curse being invoked on all who neglect to fulfil it. When each party has stated its version of the case, the court retires for deliberation to a place appointed for the purpose, generally in a forest. When the judges have agreed upon a decision, they communicate it to both parties¹."

A parricide draws upon himself a fearful popular revenge: he is shut up in his house, with all his possessions, surrounded by the populace, and is burned alive².

Any "disputes relating to property are also decided by courts of arbitration....The judges receive, as a remuneration for their trouble, a present from each party, generally one-twentieth of the property in dispute³."

Sanskrit scholars⁴ have long since pointed out that the Aryans who entered north-western India had the institution of wergelt, whilst it has been further inferred from Vedic passages that the amount of the man-price was 100 cows, a fact which strikingly harmonizes with the wergelts of the peoples of upper Europe.

Although the Laws of Manu were composed at a date when the Aryan conquerors of India had been greatly influenced by the religious ideas of their subjects, yet there are not wanting indications that a system of composition for bloodshed had once existed.

Thus, if a Brahman shall unintentionally kill a Kshatriya, in order to purify himself he shall give 1000 cows and a bull ;

¹ Haxthausen, *Transcaucasia* (Engl. trans. 1854), p. 409.

² *ibid.* p. 415.

³ *ibid.* p. 411.

⁴ Roth has dealt with the Vedic passages (ZDMG, 41, pp. 672 sqq.; cf. Leist, *Alt-Arisches Jus Gentium*, p. 296; Buhler, *Festgruss an R. von Roth*, p. 46, "die vedischen Stellen beweisen, wie allseitig anerkannt ist, dass 100 Kühe ganz gewöhnlich als Preis für einen Mann, auch für einen Brahmanen, gezahlt wurden."

There is no passage in the Rig-Veda from which it can be inferred that the wergelt was 100 cows, although that number of cows is a favourite, e.g. i. 122, 7 (*gavām śata*); i. 126, 2; vii. 103, 10; 120 cows are mentioned, v. 27, 2.

a Brahman who has slain a virtuous Vaisya might give 100 cows and a bull, he who has slain a Sudra might give ten white cows and one bull to a Brahman.

But the acceptance of blood-composition continues to this hour in full force under the sanction of British rule among the tribes of Rajputana.

CHAPTER III.

FETISH, 'TOTEM,' AND ANCESTOR.

ὥσπερ δὲ καὶ τὰ εἶδη ἐαυτοῖς ἀφομοιοῦσιν οἱ ἄνθρωποι, οὔτω
καὶ τοὺς βίους τῶν θεῶν.

Arist. *Pol.* I. 2. 7.

IN the last chapters we discussed certain institutions, such as Kinship, Marriage, and the punishment of Bloodshed in early Greece, and our enquiries led us to conclude that there were wide and essential differences in these respects between the older inhabitants and the Achæans of Homer.

Now as Aristotle maintained that "men liken to themselves not only the forms, but also the lives of their gods," and inasmuch as we have found a wide difference not only in the physical characteristics, but also in their habits of life between Achæans and Pelasgians, we ought to find a corresponding difference in their religious ideas and their conceptions of the gods.

When we come to examine the religious ideas of the inhabitants of ancient Greece, we are met on the threshold by many difficulties. For instance the attention of students has long been attracted to one problem of special importance, with which we have already dealt to some extent in an earlier chapter (vol. I. ch. VII).

Stated shortly it is this: How comes it that, though in historical Greece the worship of the dead is very prominent, yet there is a complete absence of such cults in the Homeric poems, the earliest picture left us in literature of the habits and ideas of the dwellers on the soil of Hellas? We ought naturally to expect to find the worship of the dead much more prominent in the earlier period than in the classical and post-classical times, when such cults would have a tendency to fall into desuetude. Rohde in his work already cited

(vol. I. p. 512) dealt with this problem at great length, but failed to find a satisfactory answer.

The wide difference between the Homeric Achæans and the Greeks of the classical period in respect to the worship of the dead and the destination of the soul after death naturally leads us to enquire whether they differed similarly in regard to Animism in general. For, although all races of mankind may be said to be animistic in some form or another, it is obvious that there is a wide gulf between the Animism which characterizes races low in the scale of humanity and that which exists in the higher culture.

As we connect motion with life, we speak of ships and engines as if they were endowed with life and sentiency. And as this tendency to personify inanimate and manufactured articles exists in a greater degree among uneducated people than amongst the intellectual classes, we can readily understand that primitive peoples are much more prone to this way of looking at the world around them. In birds and beasts they see a vitality in every respect analogous to that which they observe in human beings, and they thus infer similarity of causation. They therefore ascribe to animals their own feelings and motives. To the tree or plant the same method of reasoning is applied; for though the latter lack the faculty of locomotion, the processes of growth and decay, and the change of foliage which they exhibit, are regarded as proofs that they are animated by a vital principle similar to that in the animal kingdom.

Nor is it only among the lowest races that such ideas are found in full sway, since nowhere are they found exercising more complete domination than among races who have attained to a high state of material culture.

A couple of typical cases will suffice to prove this. No one in face of the fine bronze work of Benin will deny the high degree of skill in the arts attained by the natives of West Africa, yet no region in the world offers a better field for the study of all the lower phases of Animism.

"The African," writes Miss Kingsley¹, "does not divide

¹ [We have been unable to trace this passage.]

up the world, as many Europeans and Asiatics seem to, into three divisions, God, man, and nature. To him there is no sharp division between these things, they are parts of a great whole. Man is a very important part, he belongs to a very high order of spirits, but not to the highest; for there are above and beyond his absolute control two classes—there is a great class equal to him—and lower than him in power there are many classes. Fourteen classes of spirits are clearly discernible. Everything that he knows of by means of his senses he regards as a twofold, part spirit, part not-spirit, or, as we should say, matter; the connection of a certain spirit with a certain mass of matter is not permanent. He will point out to you a lightning-stricken tree and tell you its spirit has been killed; he will tell you when a cooking-pot is broken, that it has lost its spirit; if his weapon fails, it is because someone has stolen, or made its spirit sick by witchcraft. There is one god who is the over-lord of all things but there is not any cult of this god among negroes or Bantus. He takes no interest in those things that he has created, leaving them to the dominion of lower spirits, over whom however he has power if he chooses to exert it; and to the management of these spirits with whom he is in immediate touch, the African turns his attention. It is only in dire extremity that he invokes this great over-god to restrain the evil working of the great nature-spirits, though he knows it will be in vain.

"In most parts of West Africa there are a class of spirits called the 'well-disposed ones,' and they are ancestors. Things are given to them—I do not say *sacrificed*, because sacrifice is quite another matter,—but things are given to them for their consolation and support, and they do what they can to benefit their own village and families.

"The soul is probably not immortal, but, though it lasts for a good time after death even if neglected, it is necessary to sustain it with offerings.

"There are four souls, the human; the soul in an animal, never in a plant, in the bush; the shadow on the path; and the dream-soul. The last three do not survive death; no customs are made for them at death."

The ancient Peruvians present in the New World an equally good example, for they had reached a very high level in the arts, as witness their architecture, metal-work and pottery. That, however, no tribe was ever more dominated by all the forms of the lower Animism is made certain by the words of Garcilasso¹, who not only wrote in the generation after the Spanish conquest, but was himself an Inca: "each province, each nation, each house had its gods, different one from another; for they thought that a stranger's god, occupied with someone else, could not attend to them, but only their own. Thus it was that they came to have such a variety of gods, and so many that they could not be counted. And as they did not understand, like the gentile Romans, how to make ideal gods, as Hope, Victory, Peace, and such like, because they did not raise their thoughts to invisible things, they adored what they saw.... Thus they worshipped herbs, plants, flowers, all kinds of trees, high hills, great rocks, and the chinks in them, hollow caves, pebbles, and small stones of different colours, found in rivers and brooks, such as jasper. They adored the emerald, particularly in a province which is now called Puerto Viejo; but they did not worship rubies and diamonds because there are none in that country. In place of them they worshipped different animals, some for their fierceness, such as the tiger, lion and bear; and as they looked upon them as gods, they did not fly from them, if they crossed their path, but went down on the ground to worship them, and these Indians allowed themselves to be killed and eaten without attempting flight or making any defence. They also adored other animals for their cunning, such as foxes and monkeys. They worshipped the dog for his faithfulness and noble character, the cat for its agility, the bird which they call *cuntur* for its size, and some nations adored the eagle because they thought they were descended from it, as well as the *cuntur*. Other nations worshipped falcons for their swiftness, and for their industry in procuring food. They worshipped the owl for the beauty of his eyes and head, and the bat for his quickness of sight, which caused much wonder that he could see at night. They also adored

¹ *Royal Commentaries of the Incas*, vol. I. pp. 47-8 (Markham's trans.).

many other birds according to their caprices. They venerated the great serpents that are met with in the Antis, twenty-five to thirty feet in length, more or less, and thicker than a man's thigh, for their monstrous size and fierceness. They also looked upon other smaller snakes as gods in places where they are not so large as in the Antis, as well as lizards, toads and frogs. In fine, there was not an animal, how vile and filthy soever, that they did not look upon as a god; merely differing one from the other in their gods, without adoring any real God, nor being able to hope for anything from them."

They held lightning and thunder to be the servants of the sun, and a chamber was set apart for them in the Temple of the Sun at Cuzco: "they did not look upon them as Gods, though some Spanish historians have said as much. On the contrary, they detested, and do still abominate, the house or any other place where it is certain that a thunder-bolt has fallen. They closed the door of such a house with mud and stones that no one might enter it, and when a bolt fell on the ground, they marked the spot with a heap that no one might tread there. They considered these places to be accursed and unlucky, and said that the sun marked them as such by his servant the thunder-bolt¹."

These examples will suffice to show the rashness of assuming that, because the people of Mycenaean Greece had consummate skill in many departments of art, they were but little influenced by the lower Animism, and that therefore, if the lower forms of religion can be proved to have existed in Greece, they must not be ascribed to the great race who built the palaces of Tiryns and Cnossus.

Though it can be demonstrated that the most characteristic phases of Animism, such as the worship of fetishes, animals, and ancestors, flourished in certain parts of Greece down into post-classical times, yet the students of Primitive Religion have scanned in vain the *Iliad* and *Odyssey* in search of evidence of fetish, totem, and ancestor. As the only idol mentioned is the Athena of the Acropolis of Troy, on the knees of which Hecuba and the Trojan women laid a rich offering of vesture, it cer-

¹ *op. cit.* vol. i. pp. 103-4.

tainly cannot be adduced as a proof that the Achæans had any representations of the gods.

It is quite possible that much of the confusion that has reigned in the study of Greek mythology and theology may be due to the fact that hitherto all enquiries have started with the tacit assumption that the Hellenes were a pure race. Our general theory that the primitive population of certain parts of Greece had been conquered by a people from central Europe has furnished a solution for many of the apparent contradictions between the archaeology and institutions of the Homeric age and those of Mycenaean and classical Greece. Can it likewise aid us to disentangle some at least of the perplexing problems of Greek religion? The difficulty of reconciling the noble conceptions of the gods set forth in Homer with the crude and gross ideas which prevailed down to late times, not only in primitive Arcadia, but also in Athens herself, "the schoolmistress of Greece," will find a simple explanation if it can be shown that the religious conceptions of the Achæans, like their institutions, were similar to those of the peoples of upper Europe, and that they knew not the grosser forms of religion until they came in contact with the Mediterranean race.

This would be only parallel to what befel the Aryans of the Rig-Veda, who, after conquering the older races of Hindustan, became infected with the gross materialism of their subjects. The ancient Persians had suffered a similar deterioration by coming into contact with the Semites of Asia Minor, for Herodotus¹ points out that they had from of old worshipped Zeus, the Sun, the Moon, Water, and the Winds, and that it was only at a late date that they adopted from the Assyrians and Arabs the uncleanly cult of Mylitta. We likewise know that the fair-haired conquerors of Gaul, who came from beyond the Rhine, had adopted the religion of their subject population, from whose ranks, as Caesar tells us, the Druidical priesthood was recruited².

The sharp contrast between the institutions of the Achæans and Pelasgians is closely paralleled in our days by the difference

¹ i. 131.

² B. G. vi. 13, 3; cf. vi. 21, 1.

in the law of succession between the Bechuana master tribes of the Zambesi area and their negro subjects, and there is the same parallelism in questions of religion. The Homeric Achæans had no fetish and no ancestor-worship, though the aboriginal race clung to such to the last. Livingstone¹ was struck by the absence of idols among the Bechuanas and Caffres, whilst they were present everywhere among the negro Balondas, and he points out the extreme dread of spirits and 'medicines' among the latter, whilst so much superstition was unknown among the former.

The Makololo upbraided the Makalaka for being superstitious, and reproached them with turning back from enterprise if a certain bird called to them, saying that it was unlucky². The spirit of the Makololo is that put by the Homeric poet into the mouth of Hector when he disregards the omen-bird which perturbed the Trojans:

τὴν δ' οἰωνοῖσι τανυπτερύγεσσι κελεύεις
πείθεσθαι, τῶν οὐ τι μετατρέπομ' οὐδ' ἀλεγίζω³.

But the conquering Makololo soon showed a tendency to adopt the lower cult of their subjects. The Balonda chief Santuru had planted at his capital Lilonda trees which formed "a grove on the end of the mound, in which are to be seen various instruments of iron just in the state he left them." One of these "has an upright stem of the metal, on which are placed branches worked at the ends into miniature axes, hoes, and spears; on these he was accustomed to present offerings according as he desired favours to be conferred in undertaking hewing, agriculture, or fighting. The people still living there, in charge of these articles, were supported by presents from the chief; and the Makololo sometimes follow the example." When these priests, as they may be termed, were asked to part with one of these relics, they replied that Santuru refused⁴.

We have abundant evidence for the existence of fetish practices in Greece in classical times. "In the olden time,"

¹ *Missionary Travels and Researches* [1857], pp. 158, 281, 286.

² *ibid.* p. 272.

³ *Il.* xii. 237 sq.

⁴ *op. cit.* p. 219.

says Pausanias, "all the Greeks worshipped unwrought stones instead of images¹," and indeed down to the latest times they revered such stones much more than the most splendid statues of the gods wrought by the hand of the sculptor. This is shown by the case of Orchomenus, the oldest sanctuary of the Charites in Boeotia. "They worship," says Pausanias, "the natural stones most and say that they fell to Eteocles from heaven. The artificial images were dedicated in my time, and they too are of stone²." At Hyettus in the territory of Orchomenus "there is a temple of Heracles, and the sick can be healed by him: he is represented not as an artificial image, but in the ancient fashion by an unwrought stone³." The Thespians honoured Eros above all gods, and had always done so: "they have a very ancient image of him consisting of an unwrought stone⁴." Near Gythium in Laconia was a large stone, which under the name of Zeus Kappotas was worshipped by the Helots, who are admittedly the descendants of the old Pelasgian population. It was on this stone that Orestes sat and was healed of his madness⁵.

Such unwrought stones were venerated (1) either because they were peculiar in material, colour, or form, or (2) because they covered the resting-place of the famous dead. It is not improbable that some of the former were meteorites, as may be inferred from the stories that they had fallen from heaven. Such possibly was the stone inscribed with the name of Zeus Keraunos⁶ ('Thunderbolt'), near Mantinea in Arcadia, whilst it has been conjectured by philologists that the term Kappotas applied to the unwrought stone near Gythium means that it had fallen down from heaven.

It is fairly certain that in shrines of great antiquity stones of crystalline formation were much revered. In the temple of Heracles (Melcarth) at Tyre Herodotus⁷ saw "two stelae, one

¹ Paus. vii. 22. 4.

² Paus. ix. 38. 1.

³ Paus. ix. 24. 3.

⁴ Paus. ix. 27. 1.

⁵ Paus. iii. 22. 1, ἀργὸς λίθος· Ὀρίστην λέγουσι καθισθῆντα ἐπ' αὐτοῦ παύσασθαι τῆς μάχης· διὰ τοῦτο ὁ λίθος ὠνομάσθη Ζεὺς Καππώτας κατὰ γλῶσσαν τὴν Δωρίδα.

⁶ B.C.H. 1878, p. 515.

⁷ Paus. iii. 22. 1.

⁸ ii. 44; cf. Theophrast. *De Lapid.* 25.

of pure gold, the other of smaragdus¹, shining with great brilliancy at night." At Cyzicus, an old Pelasgian settlement (vol. I. p. 280), in the temple of the Charites there was a triangular stone: this was Athena herself and her own gift to the Charites².

Both the stones just mentioned were probably natural crystals, the first being a large coarse beryl, the second possibly a large rock crystal. We shall soon see that the beryl was especially esteemed for its magical and medicinal properties, whilst the rock crystal was used to light the sacred fire from at least the fifth century B.C.

That these unhewn stones in certain cases may have formed the monuments of dead heroes whose names had perished is rendered probable by several passages in Pausanias. That traveller saw near Thebes on the way to Chalcis the grave of the hero Melanippus; "close to the grave are three unwrought stones" (*ἀργοὶ λίθοι*). Again he says that the tombs of Laius and the servant who attended him are at the very middle of the place where the three roads meet: "unhewn stones are heaped upon them³." Down along the road from Orchomenus in Arcadia were "cairns standing at intervals; they were heaped over men who fell in war." But the Orchomenians had no record of them⁴.

The anointing of fetish-stones with oil seems to have been a very common practice. Thus Theophrastus⁵ says that the superstitious man "will pour oil from his flask on the smooth stones at the cross-roads, as he goes by, and will fall on his knees and worship them before he departs." Lucian⁶ similarly speaks of a superstitious man who, if he only saw an anointed or crowned stone anywhere, straightway fell on his knees, worshipped it, and stood by it for some time, praying and begging blessings from it.

Close to the tomb of Neoptolemus at Delphi was a small stone, on which the Delphians poured oil every day, and at

¹ With the Greeks down to the end of the fourth cent. B.C. *σμάραγδος* included the beryl, the aquamarine, and the emerald, the two latter being only the more noble forms of the beryl.

² ix. 18, 2.

³ x. 5, 4.

⁴ *Anth. Pal.* vi. 342.

⁵ viii. 18, 3.

⁶ *Characters*, xxviii (Jebb).

⁷ *Alexander*, c. 30 (cited by Jebb).

every festival they put unspun wool on it. "There is also a notion," says Pausanias¹, "that this stone was given to Cronus instead of the child, and that Cronus spewed it out again." This of course refers to the Hesiodic myth that a stone wrapped in swaddling clothes had been given to Cronus instead of the infant Zeus, and swallowed under that delusion by the unnatural father. When Zeus obtained the mastery, and Cronus was obliged to disgorge his offspring, the first step in this process was the vomiting of the stone which, as it was a substitute for Zeus, the youngest of all the children of Cronus, had been swallowed last.

When it is remembered that it was customary at Athens to anoint the grave-stelae, it seems highly probable that the practice of pouring oil on stones at cross-roads and elsewhere, and the veneration of such, arose from the fact that these stones rested over the graves of long departed worthies. The spirit of the dead man was thought to permeate the earth and stones that covered his remains, and hence, if propitiated, it would benefit the worshipper or at least do him no harm.

How the spirit of the dead can act upon one who is in contact with the tomb wherein the body lies is well illustrated by the story told of the town of Libethra on the Macedonian side of Mount Olympus. "Just about noon a shepherd laid him down on the grave of Orpheus and went to sleep. But as he slept, he was moved to sing verses of Orpheus in a strong, sweet voice. So the herdsmen and ploughmen in the neighbourhood left their work and gathered to listen to the song of the sleeping shepherd²." It is therefore not unlikely that the supposed curing of Orestes by the stone called Zeus Kappotas may have been attributed to the beneficent action of the spirit of the dead hero who lay beneath the stone.

It is easy to find exact modern analogies to the stone worshipped as Heracles at Hyettus. Persons resort in numbers to the grave of Father Mathew, the apostle of Temperance, and rub the dust from the tomb on their bodies, and even eat it, that they may obtain relief from their maladies.

¹ x. 24, 6.

² Paus. ix. 30. 10.

The great mass of the Greeks, like the West Africans of to-day, believed that there were hosts of spirits who took an active interest in the affairs of men, and whom it was very important to propitiate. Hesiod¹ refers to these when he says that, after the earth had closed over the men of the Golden Age, they became benevolent *daemones*, who dwelt beneath the earth, watched over men, bestowing wealth, upholding right and restraining wrong; clad in mist they roamed the earth. When earth had covered the men of the Silver Age, they are called "blessed mortals beneath the earth".²

Aeschylus also speaks of the *daemones* as dwelling in the earth³.

The superstitious adored sacred stones because these covered the relics and were permeated with the *anima* of those long dead.

Nor need we be surprised at the persistency of fetish-worship among the Greeks of the classical period, for in parts of our own islands similar objects have been adored down to our own day. There was formerly on the island of Iniskea, off the west coast of Ireland, a small stone object called the Naimhog (pronounced Neevogue), 'Little Saint,' which was believed by the islanders to have great power over the weather and all ailments, and was much venerated.⁴

¹ *W. and D.* 121 sqq.:

αὐτὰρ ἐπεὶ καὶ τοῦτο γένος κατὰ γαῖα κάλυψεν,
τοὶ μὲν δαίμονες εἰσι Διὸς μεγάλου διὰ βουλᾶς
ἑσθλοί, ἐπιχθόνιοι (ὑποχθόνιοι), φύλακες θνητῶν ἀνθρώπων·
οἱ ῥα φυλάσσουσιν τε δίκας καὶ σχέτλια ἔργα,
ἥερα ἑσάμενοι πάντῃ φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν,
πλουτοδόται·

ὑποχθόνιοι seems the true reading. *ἐπιχθόνιοι* may be due to *φοιτῶντες ἐπ' αἶαν*.

² Hesiod, *W. and D.* 141.

³ *Pers.* 628 sqq.: ἀλλὰ χθόνιοι δαίμονες ἀγνοί, Γῇ τε καὶ Ἑρμῇ, βασιλεῦ τ' ἐνέρων, πέμψαν' ἑκέρθε ψυχὴν ἐς φῶς.

⁴ Dr Browne, "Ethnography of the Mullet, Iniskea, and Portholoy," *Proc. Roy. Irish Academy*, 1895, pp. 638-9. I have also derived other information from a private source.

The word *naoimh*, which is the regular Irish for a *saint*, is probably connected with the Gaulish deity Nemetona. The word *Naoimh* is clearly pagan and was simply transferred to holy men of the Christian times. The beings to whom springs are consecrated are styled *Naoimh* constantly. Thus at Ballydermott in

It was a flat stone, perfectly plain, and not hewn into any attempt at the human form. It was kept enveloped in a wrapper of homespun, which was renewed from time to time. In old days the Roman Catholic priests had always sanctioned the use of this stone and blessed it. On occasions when the weather was too rough to allow the priest to cross to the island from the neighbouring mainland of Mayo to administer the last rites to a sick person, or if there was a sudden need for him for a like purpose in the night, the islanders made signal. If it was night-time, they kindled a beacon and the priest came to the opposite shore with a lantern; the islanders held up the Naimhog, and the priest on the mainland made the sign of the cross in the air towards it; the islanders then hurried off and deposited the stone in the bosom of the sick person. Some thirty years ago, a new parish priest, having obtained the stone by a stratagem from the woman who was its custodian, threw it into the sea. As he died not very long after this act, the islanders ascribe his death to his interference with this stone, and they say that they had never known misfortune or hunger in the island until after its destruction.

The next stage was slightly to modify the natural irregularity of the stone by squaring it or giving it some other simple form. At Pharae in Achaia, in a shrine of Hermes, "close to the image stand about thirty square stones: these the people of Pharae revere, giving to each stone the name of a god¹." At Sicyon, beyond the shrine of Aratus, stood images of Zeus Meilichios and Artemis Patroa. "The images are rude: that of Zeus resembles a pyramid, and that of Artemis a column (*κίον*)²." The same is also seen on the coins of Ambracia and Oricus. On the bronze coins of Apollonia is a conical pillar. This is Apollo (*κωνοειδής*) the 'Cone-shaped.' So too, at Athens and elsewhere, Apollo Agyieus was regularly represented by a conical pillar. At Thebes a wooden column encircled with ivy was

King's County there is a spring with a whitethorn bush growing over it called Tubbernaoimheen—"the well of the little saint," but this was no Christian saint at all.

¹ Paus. vii. 22, 4.

² Paus. ii. 9, 6.

worshipped as Dionysus 'Round the Pillar' (Περικίονιος)¹, but this can hardly be held to be a true example, for it was the ivy and not the pillar which was regarded as the god.

Finally came the first attempt to anthropomorphize these symbols by giving them a rude resemblance to the human form. The common *Hermæ* of Athens are the most familiar representatives of this class, those "well known square pieces of carved work," the mutilation of which, on the eve of the Sicilian expedition, spread consternation at Athens. They were simply square pillars with faces². The symbol of Artemis at Perge was a cone-shaped stone, decorated below with metal bands and surmounted with a human head³: her temple there is represented with the idol inside on coins of that town.

That these rude representations of the gods, were characteristic of the aboriginal population of Greece is demonstrated, not only by the statement of Pausanias⁴ that the Arcadians appeared "to be exceedingly fond of the square shape," but also by the fact that, whilst at Athens and elsewhere this type was reserved for *Hermes*, the Arcadians even down to the latest times retained it in images of all the gods. Thus at Tegea⁵ there was a square image of Zeus Teleios. Again, at Megalopolis, not far from the Thersilium, was "an image of Ammon made like the square images of *Hermes* with ram's horns on his head⁶," whilst at the same place, within the enclosure of the Great Goddesses, were similar statues of *Hermes Agētor*, *Apollo*, *Athena*, *Poseidon*, and *Helios* surnamed both *Soter* and *Heracles*⁷.

From this it appears that not only the ancient gods, but even those of recent introduction like Ammon, were represented by images of the antique shape. Moreover, even when the representations of the deities had in other respects been

¹ *Orph. Hymns*, XLVII. 1 (Abel); Mnaseas *ap. schol.* on Euripides, *Phoen.* 651.

² *Thuc.* VI. 27: ἡ τετραγώνος ἐργασία. According to Themistius (xxvi. p. 316a) "before the time of Daedalus not only the *Hermæ* but all other statues were square." *Diog. Laert.* (v. 82): ἰδοὺ τετραγώνος Ἑρμῆς, ἔχων σῆμα, κοίλαν, αἰδοῖον, πῶγωνα.

³ A similar idol is seen on a Neapolitan vase.

⁴ *Paus.* VIII. 48, 6.

⁵ *Paus.* VIII. 32, 1.

⁶ *ibid.*

⁷ *ibid.* VIII. 31, 7.

modified, the Arcadians yet clung to their immemorial type. Thus Pausanias¹ says that "the Hermes statue in the gymnasium at Phigaleia represents him clad in a robe; however, it is not a full-length figure, but ends in a square form."

No people ever had a greater faith in the efficacy of sympathetic magic than the ordinary mass of Greeks in classical times. We have seen (vol. I. p. 330) that engraved stones of pre-Mycenean and Mycenean times are employed as milk-charms to this very hour by the women of Crete and Melos, and I pointed out that this was no modern innovation, for the use of a gem termed the Milk-stone (*γαλακτίς*) is especially recommended in the Orphic poem called *Lithica*². The fact that this stone is mentioned in immediate connection with rock crystal in the Orphic poem would naturally suggest that it was what is now known as 'milky crystal,' that is, common quartz crystal, which looks like water into which a drop of milk has fallen, but doubtless other stones of milky appearance would serve equally the desired end. Again, the reader is exhorted when offering a hecatomb to pray holding a 'flowered stone' in his hands, and he is assured that if he bear with him the Tree-stone to the temple, the minds of the gods will be made propitious, for the gem shows the semblance of a garden wherein are blooming trees with branches covered with thick foliage. This is the Tree Agate (*Ἀχάτης δένδρῆις*³):

"One part displays the perfect Agate-stone,
In one a shaggy grove is plainly shown;
Tied to their horns let this thine oxen bear,
While turning up thy furrows with the share,
And bid thy ploughman wear the potent charm,
Securely fastened round his sturdy arm;
Then wheat-crowned Ceres shall thy vows attend,
And with full lap upon thy fields descend⁴."

The moss and other agates which display beautiful fern-like and flower patterns are familiar to every reader. But of all agates, that known as *Leontoderes*⁵, so named from resembling

¹ VIII. 39, 6.

² *Lithica*, 201 sqq. (Abel).

³ *ibid.* 230 sqq.

⁴ TRS. C. W. King, *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 281.

⁵ *Lith.* 619.

the lion's tawny hide, which was mottled with black, white and red spots, was the most potent. He who wore it could compass the love of women; were he sick, let him but hold it in his hand, and it brought relief, whilst for fevers and agues the agate was the best of all remedies. So too the stone called *Chalazias* ('hailstone') gave relief in fever.

No gem was held in greater esteem by the Greeks at all periods than the *iaspis* or green jasper¹. It owed this repute to its verdant colour, for Dionysus will load with grapes the vines of him who uses the "spring-tinted jasper" (*εαρόχροος ἱασπίς*) when sacrificing on behalf of his vineyard, and the gods will pour down copious showers on his parched cornfield.

Again the carbuncle (*λυχνίς*) from its fiery colour was supposed to avert storm and hail from the crops².

The loadstone if worn by brothers kept them from discord. Its wearer could sway the assembly with his eloquence and bend the gods to grant his prayer. As it rushed to meet the steel, it was held to be peculiarly the stone of Ares³.

The amethyst, as its name (*ἀμέθυσον, ἀμέθυστον*) implies, was supposed to permit its wearer to drink deeply without fear of evil consequences, a power no doubt due to its being the colour of wine⁴.

Hematite, which was supposed to derive its characteristic colour from the blood of Uranus when mutilated by Cronus, was held to be good not only for impotence, but also against snakes⁵, a property likewise possessed by jet, which was in great repute as a menagogue⁶.

Powdered serpentine (*ὀφιδίτης πέτρα*) was a sure antidote for the bites of serpents and other reptiles, and was also held to be good for the eyes, and for deafness, and excellent as an aphrodisiac, whilst, as may well be supposed, the scorpites enjoyed great repute as a specific for the sting of the creature whose name it bore⁷.

Red coral was supposed to have originated in the seaweed of the Libyan shore on which Perseus laid Medusa's gory head,

¹ *Lith.* 267.

² *ibid.* 271.

³ *ibid.* 320.

⁴ Theophrast. *De Lap.* 38 : τὸ δ' ἀμέθυστον οἰνωπὸν τῇ χροίᾳ.

⁵ *Lith.* 643.

⁶ *ibid.* 474 sqq.

⁷ *ibid.* 338.

when he had journeyed to slay her, so Athena gave the plant a lasting virtue to guard wayfarers against all the perils of travel and war, and it was the potent coral that saved the mariner when seas ran high. If powdered and mixed with the grain in seed-time, it averted the rust from the corn and the lightning of Zeus from the field. If mixed with wine it quelled the strength of poisons. To this very hour red coral remains a favourite material for amulets in Mediterranean lands.

The rock crystal is held to be one of the most potent of talismans among savages and barbarians in all quarters of the globe. Thus the aborigines of Australia employ it in rain-making. "In the Ta-ta-thi tribe of New South Wales the rain-maker breaks off a piece of quartz crystal and spits it towards the sky; the rest of the crystal he wraps in emu feathers, soaks both crystal and feathers in water, and carefully hides them¹." So also the Queensland blacks employ as 'rain-stones'² pieces of white quartz crystal, fastened to the 'rain-stick,' whilst some of them crush to powder a rock crystal for the same purpose³. Obviously the resemblance of pure rock crystal to water or rather to ice has led mankind to use it for extracting water from the reluctant clouds in time of drought. Not only was it termed *crystal* by the Greeks from its resemblance to ice (κρύσταλλος), but its earlier Greek name *hyalos* (ὑαλός) probably refers to its use in rain-making⁴. The ancients⁵ believed that crystals were simply water frozen extremely hard, and in proof of this pointed out that they came from cold regions, such as the Alps. This theory of the formation of crystals was probably suggested by the fact that rock crystals with

¹ *Jour. Anthropol. Inst.* xiv. p. 362 (cited by Frazer, *Golden Bough*, ed. 1. p. 14). [*Magic Art*, i. 304.]

² W. E. Roth, *Ethnological Studies among the North-West-Central Queensland Aborigines*, p. 167; Frazer, *G. B.* ed. 2, vol. i. pp. 84-5 [*ib.* 254].

³ Roth, *op. cit.* p. 168; Frazer, *G. B.* ed. 2, vol. i. pp. 85-6 [*ib.* 255].

⁴ κρύσταλλος = *crystal* first occurs in Theophrastus (*Lap.* 30), who uses the older name ὑαλός = *glass* (*op. cit.* 49). I venture to suggest that ὑαλός simply means 'rainstone,' from ὕειν, 'to rain.'

⁵ Pliny, *H. N.*, xxxvii. 23: contraria huic causa crystallum facit, gelu uehementiore concreto. non aliubi certe reperitur quam ubi maxime hibernae nives rigent: glaciemque esse certum est, unde et nomen Graeci dedere.

cavities containing a liquid are occasionally found¹, and these would suggest that the process of freezing was still in progress.

But though the Greeks may have originally used the crystal for rain-making, in classical times its imaginary power of attracting water from the sky had been overshadowed by its real power of drawing down fire from heaven. It is certain, from a famous passage of Aristophanes², that by the fifth century B.C. it had been long employed as a burning-glass to kindle fire and was regularly sold in apothecaries' shops.

The poet of the *Lithica*³ exhorts his reader to "take in his pious hand the crystal bright, an emanation of the eternal radiance," for the minds of the gods are delighted with its brilliance, and grant the prayers of the votary. To test its virtue the owner should place it on splintered pine:

"Forthwith, reflecting the bright orb of day,
Upon the wood it shoots a slender ray,
Caught by the unctuous fuel, this shall raise
First smoke, then sparks, and last a mighty blaze.
Such we the fire of ancient Vesta name,
Loved by the immortals all, a holy flame;
No fire terrestrial with such grateful fumes
The fatted victim on their hearths consumes⁴."

These ancient burning-glasses were almost certainly balls of crystal, for the Roman surgeons held that if any part of the body required cautery, this was best effected by means of a crystal ball held up against the sun's rays⁵.

¹ I have a rock crystal (from a coal-mine near Newport in South Wales) very perfect in shape, which has no less than nine cavities all containing liquid, one of them showing an oily-looking bubble on the clear liquid.

² *Nub.* 767 ff.: ἥδη παρὰ τοῖσι φαρμακοπώλαις τὴν λίθον ταύτην ἐόρακας, τὴν καλὴν, τὴν διαφανή, ἀφ' ἧς τὸ πῦρ ἀπτοῦσι; ΣΩ. τὴν βαλον λέγεις;

³ *Lith.* 172 sqq.: κρυσταλλὸν φαέθοντα διανγέα λάβο χειρὶ λαῶν, ἀπόρροιαν πυριφεγγέος ἀμβρότου ἀγλαῆς· αἰθεὶ δ' ἀθανάτων μέγα τέρεται ἀφθιτον ἥτορ.

⁴ 180 sqq. The version is that of C. W. King, *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 380.

⁵ Pliny, *H. N.* xxxvii. 28: inuenio medicos, quae sunt urenda corporum, non aliter utilis id fieri putare quam crystallina pila aduersis opposita solis radiis. Theophrastus (*de igne* 73) refers to the kindling of fire not merely by crystal but also by peculiarly constructed objects of bronze and silver (ἐξάπτεται δὲ ἀπὸ τῆς βάλου καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦ χαλκοῦ καὶ τοῦ ἀργύρου τρόπων τινὰ ἐργασθέντων). The

Nor did the introduction of Christianity drive the crystal from its place of honour in sacred rites, for, although flint and steel had then long been in use for obtaining fire, the Church retained the crystal for kindling the new fire at Easter. We know, from the *Rituale* of Bury St Edmund's¹, that such was the practice of that famous abbey in the fifteenth century, for the succentor had to light the new fire by means of a lens; only when the sun did not shine might he resort to the vulgar flint and steel; the latter, in their turn rendered obsolete by the invention of lucifer matches, are still retained by the Roman Church for lighting the Easter fire. Thus, as the crystal at last ousted the primæval fire-stick, which long provided the 'self-begotten fire' for sacred purposes, so the crystal in its turn has been superseded by the flint and steel, which doubtless in their turn will be replaced by the lucifer match, when the latter has been banished from common use by some newer method of obtaining fire.

The belief in sympathetic magic which has made mankind employ the rock crystal for rain-making doubtless also gave rise to the doctrine that, if worn round the loins, it gave relief to those suffering from nephritic diseases².

It was held that for every bane that sprang from Earth, she herself supplied an antidote³. If she breeds the viper, she also provides the snake-stone. From her womb comes the whole brood of gems in which is limitless might, for they have all the powers possessed by herbs (*ρίζαι*); "great is the power of an herb, but greater still is that of a gem, since to the latter at its birth the Mother gave might eternal, and minished not by eld: but the herb fadeth away after its brief day of bloom, and when once it hath withered, what hope of aid can there be from its dead remains? Herbs are baneful as well as beneficent, but in gems there is no hurt⁴."

ancient Peruvians kindled the sacred fire of the Sun by means of a hollow copper disc.

¹ M. R. James, *The Abbey of St Edmund at Bury* (Cambridge Antiq. Society), p. 185: (on Maunday Thursday) succentor...accipiat novum ignem de berillo, uel de ferro et lapide, si sol non apparuerit.

² *Lith.* 190: ἀμφὶ δὲ καὶ νεφροῖσι δέθεις κάμνοντα σώσει.

³ *ibid.* 405.

⁴ *ibid.* 410 sqq.

Nor does the Orphic poet leave us ignorant how these stones effect their end, for we are told that the minds of the gods are delighted by the sight of Nature's handiwork¹.

Plainly then any stone which, by its unusual shape, colour or material, struck the eye of primitive man, was regarded by him with superstitious wonder. Nature had herself provided ready-made beads for *primaeval* man in the various kinds of perforated flints, such as silicified sponges or joints of *coniferae*, and accordingly such objects are found in the graves of the neolithic period. I here reproduce (Fig. 16) one, found along with a doubled-up skeleton in a cist-grave at Weeting, Norfolk². It is a black, water-worn pebble, with flat sides, and has apparently a natural perforation, possibly enlarged by its original owner.



FIG. 16. Stone bead from a cist-grave, Weeting, Norfolk².

But, as might be expected, the beautiful shapes and colours of crystalline stones have especially excited the wonder and awe of man at all times and in all places. We have but just seen that the lowest tribes still existing use rock crystal as a most powerful agent for magical purposes, although they have not sufficient skill to drill the substance. In Ceylon and Hindustan, where precious stones abound, various kinds of corundum—sapphire, ruby, oriental amethyst—in their rough state as picked from the stream, have for long ages been drilled with great labour and patience, and then worn as amulets. The hill-tribes of India similarly drill garnet crystals and rock crystals, and wear them for a like purpose. Indeed, the reluctance of the Hindus to facet gems in European

¹ *Lith.* 245-6: *ποτὶ γὰρ νόος οὐρανίωνων
μειδᾷ φέσεως πολυδαίδαλου ἔργον ἰδόντων.*

² This bead as well as a portion of the lower jaw of the skeleton is in my own possession.

fashion is in no small degree due to a desire to keep the stone as large as possible, in order that its talismanic power may not be impaired.

The wearing of precious stones as amulets and not solely for ornament has led the Hindus to perforate not only inferior crystals, but even the most magnificent gems. Thus the very finest stones which come from India are commonly spoiled for purposes of European jewellery by having a hole drilled right through. Accordingly the European lapidary frequently cuts them in two. No better example of the Hindu practice of treating gems is needed than the huge ruby set in front of the great crown of England, which was given by Pedro the Cruel to the Black Prince after the victory of Najara in 1367, and which Henry V wore on his helmet at Agincourt. It is an irregular oval, pierced through the middle after the usual Indian fashion. In order to conceal the perforation it is now filled up with a small stone of the same colour.

The Indians especially esteemed the beautiful crystals of beryl—long hexagonal prisms—which they either kept in their natural shape or fashioned into cylinders, drilling a hole through their whole length and stringing upon elephants' hairs, or fitting them into ouches (*umbilici*) at either end.

From a very early date the Egyptians had learned to drill the rock crystal, and by the time of the Twelfth Dynasty beads of that material were commonly used. The crystal had its pyramidal terminations ground flat, and was perforated along its axis, the hexagonal shape being often retained, though frequently polished into a complete cylinder. There can be little doubt that the popularity of the cylinder in Asia Minor and of cylindrical beads in Egypt was due to the fact that Nature provided in the quartz crystal and the beryl, two stones held in great esteem as amulets, materials which could be shaped into cylinders with very little effort. The cylindrical beads of beryl found in the early tombs of Rhodes evidently owe their form to the natural shape of the crystal.

When other materials came to be employed, the cylindrical form derived from the rock crystal and the beryl continued in favour, and the beautiful Egyptian beads made in faience and

glass are still imitated to our own days in the aggerly beads so prized by the natives of West Africa.

It would appear that beads of stone and their imitations in pottery and glass originated not in aesthetic reasons, but from the far more practical consideration that it was advisable to wear something which would protect its owner from the malevolence of both ghostly and fleshly enemies. Indeed the same may be asserted of almost every other kind of object worn as an ornament by primitive man, whether they be shells, such as the cowry (*cyprea moneta*), or seeds such as the *abrus precatoria*, or the teeth and claws of lions, tigers, jackals or boars, and the various imitations made of them.

Thus the cowry shell, which was so highly valued in Africa that it became a chief medium of exchange, owed its popularity to its supposed virtue as an amulet rather than to its beauty. So too the Troglodyte Ethiopians who bordered on Egypt wore little shells round their necks as charms against witchcraft¹.

But not content with the natural magic in such stones the Greek medicine-men, like their brethren of to-day, sought to augment their innate virtues by strange rites and incantations. The Trojan Helenus was said to owe his power of unerring prophecy to such a stone, and the process by which he made for himself this powerful fetish is described in the *Lithica*². The stone was a lump of magnetic iron (siderites), "called by some the living mountain-stone" (*ἐμψυχον ὄρεϊτῆν*), round, rough and wrinkled, hard, heavy and black. For thrice seven days the wizard shunned both bed and bath, and abstained from animal food; then he laved the stone in a perennial fount, and swaddled it in pure garments like a babe, sacrificed to it as to a god and chanted over it potent spells to give it a soul. Next lighting lamps in his pure hall, like a mother with her infant in her arms, he fondled in his hands the godlike stone.

It seems certain that the tendency to give a human shape to the rough stone worshipped as a fetish, the first step in sculpture, was due to a desire to increase the inherent magic

¹ Strabo, xvi. 775: *περικεινται δὲ τοῖς τραχέλοισ κογχία ἀντὶ βασκανίων*.

² 360 sqq.

of the stone. Thus the African of to-day carves into human aspect the rough stone which has probably been selected as a fetish because of a rude resemblance to a human head. Thales said that the red-haired Thracians represented their gods as red-haired, and that the Ethiopians represented their gods as black, with flat noses and woolly hair, and that bulls and horses if they could make themselves gods would give them the forms of bulls and horses. The African fetish¹ here shown (Fig. 17) demonstrates the truth of Thales' doctrine, for the negro carver has not only given the lump of steatite his own features, but has represented the woolly hair dressed after the fashion of his own tribe.

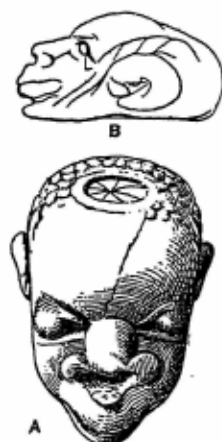


FIG. 17. Fetish; West Coast of Africa.

Such then was the method of treating a stone of large size; but another and to us far more interesting way of enhancing the talismanic potency of the gems such as those just described was in universal use in the Aegean and neighbouring lands from the earliest period till long after the establishment of Christianity.

We have just seen that no stone was more highly esteemed for its talismanic virtues by the Greeks than the *iaspis* or green jasper, the stone known commonly to the modern lapi-

¹ This fetish from the West Coast of Africa is in my own possession.

daries as *plasma*, i.e. chalcedony coloured green. After the rise of Gnosticism in the end of the first century of our era, and after Basilides had invented the Abraxas¹, a name made out of the Greek numerals for 365, the number of aeons which were supposed to emanate from Ormuzd, the *iaspis* was the stone generally selected to be engraved with this uncouth form, which had the head either of a cock or a lion, and whose legs were serpents.

Now Galen² tells us that it was commonly believed that an *iaspis* engraved with the Abraxas (τὸν τὰς ἀκτῖνας ἔχοντα δράκοντα) was a sure remedy for diseases of the chest, but he says that he himself had tried these stones without the addition of the Abraxas and had found them equally efficacious. From this then it is clear that the Abraxas was added to the *iaspis* to increase its natural potency, and we may therefore infer reasonably that in earlier times similar reasons had led to the engraving of stones with devices. Nor are we without good evidence for this. We have seen that the wine-coloured amethyst secured its wearer against inebriety. Dionysus³ (and Methe⁴) were not uncommonly the devices cut on these stones, a fact which renders it probable that the natural potency of the amethyst was thought to be enhanced by adding the representation of the wine-god himself.

Again, as the carbuncle was thought to ward off thunder and hail, the occurrence of Sirius⁵ on ancient carbuncles may well indicate a desire to increase the innate virtue of the gem by thus invoking the aid of the raging Dogstar himself.

I have already pointed out that the earliest Babylonian cylinders had no devices, and that the constant recurrence of the same sacred subjects on those that are engraved indicates that the device was not primarily intended for signet purposes, but rather to enhance the potency of the stone. But

¹ C. W. King, *The Gnostics and their Remains*, p. 77 sqq.

² Galen, *de Simpl. Med.* ix. 18 (xii. p. 207 Kühn).

³ *Anth. Pal.* ix. 748.

⁴ *Anth. Pal.* ix. 752 (the signet of Cleopatra).

⁵ e.g. the famous head of Sirius formerly in the Marlborough collection. Cf. C. W. King, *Precious Stones and Gems*, p. 54. [Furtwängler, *Antike Gemmen*, I. 4.]

as the most common material of the cylinders is hematite, a stone also employed for Mycenaean gems, and as we have just seen that in the Orphic *Lithica* special potency is ascribed to this stone, we are thoroughly justified in concluding that stones such as hematite and magnetite were first used by themselves from their supposed magical properties, and that later on it was sought to augment this innate potency by the addition of sacred devices.

If modern savages and barbarians, mediaeval Christians, and the Greeks of classical times have all regarded the rock crystal with peculiar reverence, we may reasonably infer that the Greeks of still earlier days attached a similar sanctity to such stones. When therefore we meet with Mycenaean gems of rock crystal, we must not suppose that the material was selected merely because it would make a pretty seal-stone, but rather because of its talismanic potency. And as the virtue of the iaspis and hematite was supposed to be augmented by having set on it the Abraxas sigil, we may logically conclude that the symbols carved on the Mycenaean gems, like those on Babylonian cylinders and like the verses of the Koran inscribed on modern Muhammadan seal-stones, were primarily if not solely meant for amuletic purposes.

The omission of all mention of engraved stones in the Homeric poems, whether as signets or ornaments, which we have before remarked, gains a new significance when we realize that the Mycenaean gems are really fetish stones primarily meant for amuletic purposes. We have just seen that the aborigines of Greece worshipped stones whether unwrought or rudely fashioned into human shapes, thus standing in strong contrast to the fair-haired peoples of central Europe who had no inclination for portraying their divinities in wood or stone, and whose sole or at least chief ornament which can be at all reckoned as a precious stone was the amber of the Baltic and North Sea. For rock crystal, amethysts, and garnets, though common in the jewellery of the Teutonic peoples after the great migrations, either set in brooches and buckles, or strung as beads, seem only to have come into use through contact with the South.

Many proofs of the worship of trees as well as of stones can be found in classical Greece. Yet there is no evidence of it in Homer, for although Zeus of Dodona and his priests the Selli are mentioned, and although Odysseus went thither to consult the oracle, no mention is made of the sacred oak. But in the sagas which tell of the days before the sons of the Achæans came, 'the talking oaks'¹ of Dodona played a great part.

In the Acropolis of Pelasgic Athens flourished the famous olive, which, when hacked down by the sacrilegious hands of the Persians, had in one night put forth a wondrous shoot, sure presage of swift victory over the destroyer: its praise abides for ever in the great ode of the *Oedipus Coloneus*².

It would seem that with a growing tendency to anthropomorphism these sacred trees were sometimes cut into human shape like the yews and box-trees of Dutch gardens two centuries ago. At least this may be inferred from the story told by Pausanias that "at Temnus close to the river Hermus there is an image of Aphrodite made of a growing myrtle tree³." Tradition said that Pelops dedicated the image to propitiate the goddess when he prayed that he might wed Hippodamia.

Nor was it only the green tree that had divine life within it. Thus it was a fragment from the sacred oak of Dodona which, set in the prow of the Argo, gave to that ship her sentient power; for the tree spirit still reigned within the fibres of even the sapless chip.

Thus when a tree that had long been venerated fell by storm or decay, its power left it not, and hence men continued to adore the log as they had done when it was a living tree. Abundant evidence of this is ready to hand in many places. In the seventh century A.D. there were still five famous sacred trees in Ireland, one yew, one oak, and three ash trees, all of which fell or were destroyed in that century. "When the

¹ Aesch. P. V. 831 f.: *μαντεία θῶκός τ' ἐστὶ Θεσπρωτοῦ Διός,*
τέρας τ' ἀπίστον, αἱ προσήγοροι δρῶες.

² 668 sqq.

³ Paus. v. 13, 7: *Ἀφροδίτης ἄγαλμα ἐν Τήνῳ πεποιημένον ἐκ μυρσίνης τεθελύας· ἀναθεῖναι δὲ Πέλοπα αὐτὸ παρειλήφαμεν μνήμῃ κ.τ.λ.*

Éo Rossa which stood at Drombarna, Co. Monaghan, fell, it was bestowed by S. Molaisse on the saints of Ireland, and it is recorded in the Life of S. Molling of Luachair that he engaged a celebrated artisan, named the Gobán Saer, to construct an oratory for him from the portion assigned to him. But in thus converting this object of pagan worship to Christian use S. Molling suffered personal injury, which, we are told, an agent of Satan endeavoured to aggravate¹."

Thus at Icaria an unwrought log was worshipped as Artemis². So too there is reason to believe that the oldest image of Jupiter Capitolinus was the trunk of an oak tree.

The next step was to give some rough shape to the tree trunk. The oldest image of Hera at Argos was a tall pillar (κίλιν), probably of wood³. The oldest representations of the Dioscuri at Sparta (called δόκανα) were two parallel beams joined by two cross-pieces⁴.

The next step was to fashion the rough hewn log or post at least partially into human guise.

The oldest image of Hera at Samos was a plank (σάβις), but in the archonship of Procles it was fashioned into human form⁵.

The same tendency to anthropomorphism can be seen amongst modern fetish tribes. Thus the Balondas, though they commonly use a crooked stick for an idol when they have no professional carver, prefer one formed of a rude block of wood with a human head carved on it⁶. These Balondas have great masses of woolly hair which lies upon their shoulders⁷. The fetish stick from Loanda here shown (Fig. 18) carefully represents this characteristic of its worshippers, thus once more confirming the acute remark of Thales⁸.

¹ Olden, *Church of Ireland*, p. 5.

² Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 40 p.

³ Clem. Alex. *Stromat.* p. 418 p.

⁴ Plutarch, *de frat. amore*, 1.

⁵ Clem. Alex. *Protrept.* p. 40 p.

⁶ Livingstone, *Missionary Travels and Researches* [1857], p. 275.

⁷ *Ibid.* p. 450, figs. 2, 3, 4.

⁸ This fetish stick was given to me by my old pupil and friend Rev. T. J. Pulvertaft, M.A. The block is from a drawing by my friend Rev. J. G. Clark, M.A.

We have thus reached the same stage in the case of these wooden idols as that represented in stone by the common type of Hermes. These rudely wrought wooden images of the gods were called *xoana*, and there is traditional evidence that these were the creations of the older population. Thus at Therae in Laconia in the sanctuary of Eleusinian Demeter was a wooden image of Orpheus, "a work, they say, of Pelasgians¹."

Among fetish-worshippers of modern times the adoration of weapons is exceedingly common. Thus the West African regularly treats his spear as though it had a spirit dwelling within, and speaks to it and fondles it.



FIG. 18. Fetish Stick from Loanda.

The worship of weapons was habitual in Japan in the period of the great civil wars from the 13th century to the 16th. In the making of the finer swords, which had often magical powers, the craftsman was sometimes helped by the god Inari². These weapons often had distinctive names of their own, such as Little Raven, reminding us of Arthur's Excalibur and Roland's no less famous Durandal.

So also in Greece weapons and implements seem to have been worshipped. Thus "the people of Chaeronea honour most of gods the sceptre which Homer says was made for Zeus by Hephaestus," and Zeus gave to Hermes, and Hermes to Pelops,

¹ Paus. III. 20, 5.

² S. Bing, *Artistic Japan*, vols. I.-III. p. 113.

and Pelops bequeathed to Atreus, and Atreus to Thyestes, from whom Agamemnon had it. "This sceptre they worship, naming it a spear; and that there is something divine about it is proved especially by the distinction it confers on its owners. The Chaeroneans say that it was found on the borders of their territory and of Panopeus in Phocis, and that the Phocians found gold along with it, but that they themselves were glad to get the sceptre instead of the gold. There is no public temple built for it, but the man who acts as priest keeps the sceptre in his house for the year; and sacrifices are offered to it daily, and a table is set beside it covered with all sorts of flesh and cakes¹."

That the worship of weapons was familiar in the pre-Achean age of Greece is proved by the traditions. According to Aeschylus² Parthenopaeus not only swore by his spear, like a Crusader by his sword, but paid more regard to it than to god and thought more of it than of his own eyes. Again, Caeneus, one of the Minyans who manned the Argo, is said to have planted his spear in the middle of the market-place, and to have constrained people to treat it as a god. He himself sacrificed and prayed to it instead of to the gods, and he obliged passers-by to swear by it also³.

According to Justin, in the time of Romulus "kings had, instead of a diadem, the spears which the Greeks call sceptres. For from the very beginning the ancients worshipped spears as immortal images, in memory whereof spears are still added to the images of the gods⁴."

There is thus indubitable evidence that in early Greece there was a fetishism as complete as that of West Africa at the present day. Later on we shall see indications that fetishism was just as cruel on Greek as on African soil.

On the other hand, although there is frequent mention of

¹ Paus. ix. 40, 11.

² *Septem* 529 ff.: *δυνασί δ' αἰχμήν ἣν ἔχει μάλλον θεοῦ σέβειν πεποιθὺς δυνάτων θ' ὑπέτρεπον ἣ μὴν κ.τ.λ.*

³ See *Schol.* on Hom. *Il.* i. 264, and *Schol.* on Apollon. Rhod. i. 57 (both cited by Frazer *ad* Paus. ix. 40).

⁴ *XLIII.* 3, 3 (also cited by Frazer, *loc. cit.*).

weapons of various sorts in the Homeric poems there is a complete absence of all trace of such a practice among the Homeric Achæans, although in the poems, especially in the *Iliad*, there are frequent references to swords and other weapons which had belonged to famous personages. For example, there was the sword of Asteropæus¹, and also the famous club² taken by Nestor from Ereuthalion. The history of this club is recited, but no reference is made to any supernatural characteristic attached to it. Even to the divinely wrought arms of Achilles—the handiwork of Hephaestus—no supernatural power is assigned, but only a beauty passing the skill of earthly craftsmen.

We have now seen that the worship of sacred stones and trees especially survived in those parts of Greece in which it is admitted that the autochthonous race always held its own. On the other hand no less marked is the absence of all allusion in the Homeric poems to any such cult. For although it seems certain that Hecuba and her attendant women laid their offerings on the knees of a representation of Athena in the citadel of Troy, it must be remembered that the Trojans were not Achæans.

Yet it may be said that in the *Iliad* Achilles is represented as swearing by the herald's staff, and that this is therefore a case of fetish such as those just cited. But the resemblance is only superficial, as is at once apparent from the passage itself: "But I will speak my word to thee, and swear a mighty oath therewith: verily by this staff that shall no more put forth leaf or twig, seeing it hath for ever left its trunk among the hills, neither shall it grow green again, because the axe hath stripped it of leaves and bark; and now the sons of the Achæians that exercise judgment bear it in their hands, even they that by Zeus' command watch over the traditions—so shall this be a mighty oath in thy eyes³."

In these words there is no veneration for the dried and sapless staff, neither is a divine origin assigned to it, nor has it been the possession of any famous man, whose spirit might still breathe within it, but its sanctity rests simply on the

¹ *Il.* xxiii. 807.² *Il.* vii. 132 ff.³ *Il.* i. 283 sqq.

ground that it is held in the hands of those that deal out justice. Men who venerated and offered sacrifices to fetish spears, wooden xoana, chips from Dodona, or dried up olive stumps, would have regarded as blasphemous the words in which Achilles emphasizes the utter absence of all life within the staff. The sceptre or staff was the symbol of royal authority among the Achæans¹: and the elders in the assembly, as they rose to speak, "held in their hands the staves of loud-voiced heralds²." Probably the sceptre became the "sign of earthly power, the attribute of awe and majesty," because those who first exercised such an office did so by right of *force majeure*, asserted by means of the club or spear. We need therefore assign no more special character to the staff by which Achilles swore, than to the mace or sword of state employed as insignia of office in mediæval and modern times.

There can be no doubt that the worship of sacred stones and other fetish objects was a characteristic feature of the peoples who dwelt round the eastern Mediterranean. Once more let us turn to upper Europe. If we can there find an absence of fetish corresponding to the spirit of the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*, we shall have added another proof that the Achæans had come down from central Europe into Greece.

"The Germans," says Tacitus³, "do not consider it consistent with the grandeur of celestial things to confine the gods within walls, or to liken them to the form of any human countenance. They consecrate woods and groves, and they apply the names of deities to the abstraction which they see only in spiritual worship."

If the views propounded in this work are sound, the religion of the Persians and of the Vedic Hindus ought to harmonize with that of the Teutonic peoples. But the reader does not require to be reminded that the ancient Persians had "no images of the gods, no temples, nor altars, and considered the use of them a sign of folly⁴."

¹ See Ridgeway, *J. H. S.* vi. 336, where it is pointed out that *σκηπτρον* is almost invariably used in Homer as an emblem of authority.

² *Il.* xviii. 505. The staff figured (vol. i. p. 274) above was similarly used in the Maori assembly. It was held by him who for the time had the ear of the house.

³ *German.* 9.

⁴ Herod. i. 131.

"This comes," says Herodotus¹, "from their not believing the gods to have the same nature as men, as the Greeks imagine. Their wont however is to ascend the summits of the loftiest mountains, and there to offer sacrifice to Zeus, which is the name they give to the whole circle of the firmament. They likewise offer to the Sun and Moon, to the Earth, to Fire, and to Water and to the Winds. These are the only gods whose worship has come down to them from ancient times. At a later time they began the worship of Urania, which they borrowed from the Arabs and Assyrians. Mylitta is the name by which the Assyrians know this goddess, whom the Arabs call Alitta, and the Persians Mitra."

Equally clear is the evidence of the Rig-Veda concerning the religion of the Aryans who entered north-western India. The hymns are addressed to Indra, the wielder of the thunder-bolt, to the Sun (Surya), to the Winds (Maruts), to Fire (Agni), whilst there is no trace of fetish worship. But to this point we shall presently return.

The attitude of the Homeric warrior towards his weapons is not that of the West African, but that of the Norman, who, though, like the Christian knight of a later day, he believed that magic could endow a sword with marvellous qualities, yet did not worship such as a fetish. So was it with the famous bill which Gunnar had taken from Hallgrim. The latter had it made by seething-spells, and the spells had said that nought save that bill should give him his death-blow. Straightway was it known when that bill was soon to slay a man, for something sang in it so loudly that it might be heard a long way off²; and when the coming fight was to be of unusual fierceness, gouts of blood burst out on it³. Surely if ever weapon was worthy of worship, it was this. Yet when Gunnar was slain and they placed him sitting in his cairn, they would have buried the bill with him like any common weapon, but Rannveig his mother would not hear of it and said that it was for him who was ready to avenge Gunnar⁴.

As primitive man could 'conceive inanimate objects as the

¹ Herod. I. 131.

² *Burnt Njal*, xxx.

³ *ibid.* lxxi.

ibid. lxxvii. cf. lxxviii.

receptacles of spirits, he found still less difficulty in believing that animals, who showed a vital principle so analogous to his own, were the abodes of spirits, which it was prudent to propitiate or at least not to offend. If the spirits of men after their death could enter and occupy stocks and stones, the savage naturally argued that it was equally if not more easy for the ghosts of the dead to migrate into animals. There is no phase of the lower religion more familiar than Animal Worship, which wherever it exists or once existed seems always to have a belief in the transmigration of souls as its inseparable concomitant, as for instance in ancient Egypt. One side of this great department of Beast Worship has of late years especially attracted the attention of anthropologists.

More than thirty years ago the late J. F. McLennan first drew attention to Totemism, which, in his opinion, had deeply influenced the religious and social history of mankind¹. The name *totem* as well as the institution itself seems first to have been brought into notice by John Long². In the language of the Chippeways *ot-ote* = "his *ote*," clan-name or clan-animal.

According to Long, "one part of the religious superstition of the savages consists in each of them having his *totam*, or favourite spirit, which he believes watches over him. This *totam* they conceive assumes the shape of some beast or other, and therefore they never kill, hunt, or eat the animal, whose form they think this *totam* bears." Long goes on to tell how an Indian, whose *totam* was the bear, by inadvertence killing a bear, was filled with horror at his act. He said that he had been met on the way back by another large bear, who pulled him down and scratched his face. The bear, according to the Indian, asked him what could have made him kill his *totam*, to which he replied that he did not know that the bear was among the moose at which he had fired, and that he was very sorry for what he had done, and hoped that the bear would have pity on him. The bear suffered him to depart, bidding him to be more cautious in future, and to acquaint all the Indians with

¹ 'The Worship of Animals and Plants' (*Fortnightly Review*, Oct. and Nov. 1869, Feb. 1870).

² *Voyages and Travels of an Indian Interpreter and Trader* (London, 1791) p. 86.

the circumstance, that their *totams* might be safe and the Master of Life might not be angry with them. As he entered Long's house, he exclaimed, "Beaver, my faith is lost, my *totam* is angry, I shall never be able to hunt any more."

McLennan on this story remarks: "Should one be surprised to find that admonitory bear of the man's imagination worshipped as a god further on in the history of Bear tribes advancing undisturbed by external influences, correlated with the Master of Life in the Olympus, or even preferred to, or identified with him?" "The subject of (McLennan's) inquiry are Totems and Totem-gods, or, speaking generally, animal and vegetable gods," and his object was to explain what Totems are, and what are their usual concomitants; to throw light on the intellectual condition of men in the Totem stage of development; to examine the evidence that mankind in prehistoric times came through the Totem stage, having animals and plants and the heavenly bodies conceived as animals for gods before the anthropomorphic gods appeared; and to reach the conclusion that the hypothesis of the ancient nations having come through the Totem stage is sound¹. McLennan had a clear grasp of the nature of the totems of the North American Indians—the division of tribes into totem-clans, each of which had its proper totem-animal, and the rule of exogamy, which forbids marriage within the clan, and necessitates marriage between members of different clans: totem-animals are regarded as kinsfolk and guardians of the clansmen, who in their turn respect them and do not either kill or eat them. As Sir George Grey had already called attention to the close similarity between the totem-clans of North America and the Kopong-clans of West Australia, McLennan was able to point out that such totem-clans were to be found both in America and Australia, and he rightly anticipated that many more instances of their prevalence would be brought to light.

By the publication of his *Totemism* in 1887, which placed before students a large collection of classified facts drawn from all parts of the world, Mr J. G. Frazer rendered valuable aid to the study of this department of Anthropology, but, like

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, Oct. 1899, p. 416.

² *ibid.* 408.

McLennan, he did not then put forward any theory of the origin of Totemism.

As in this investigation we are not directly concerned with the origin of Totemism, I shall not refer to the various hypotheses of its origin. I shall content myself with stating briefly the leading facts of Totemism, citing only such examples as are universally admitted. We shall then be in a position to inquire whether only Beast Worship alone or that peculiar phase of it called Totemism existed in early Greece and in contiguous Mediterranean lands, and whether also any traces of its existence can be found among the peoples of upper Europe. Mr Frazer has defined a totem as "a class of natural phenomena or material objects—most commonly a species of animals or plants—between which and himself the savage believes that a certain intimate relation exists¹."

We have already seen (1) that the totem of the North American Indians is an animal or plant from which all the members of a clan think they are descended. (2) As a consequence the clan treats with respect every individual member of the totem class, as a rule neither killing nor eating it, or eating only certain parts of it. Thus the Elk clan of the Omahas neither eat the flesh nor touch any part of the male elk, nor do they eat the male deer; similarly a sub-clan of the Black Shoulder (Buffalo) clan may not eat buffalo tongues nor touch a buffalo head. (3) If an individual of the totem species is found dead, it is mourned for and buried as if it were a clansman. Thus the Wanika in East Africa look on the hyaena as one of their ancestors, and the death of a hyaena is mourned by the whole people; the mourning for a chief is said to be as nothing compared with the mourning for a hyaena. (4) Again, some totem clans avoid looking at their totem, whilst others are careful not to speak of it by its proper name, but use descriptive epithets instead. Thus the three totems of the Delawares—the wolf, the turtle and the turkey—were alluded to respectively as 'round foot,' 'crawler,' and 'not chewing,' the last referring to the bird's manner of bolting its food; and the clans called themselves, not Wolves, Turtles, and 'Turkeys,' but 'Round Feet,' 'Crawlers,'

¹ *Fortnightly Review*, 1899, p. 654.

and 'Those who do not chew.' So too the Bear clan of the Ottawas called themselves not Bears, but Big Feet. (5) As the clansman respects the totem, so the totem respects him. Thus in Senegambia the men of the Scorpion clan affirm that scorpions will run over their bodies without biting them. (6) As a corollary to this belief it was but natural that such tribes should test the genuineness of any man who claimed to be of their clan by the aid of the totem beast. So accordingly the Moxos of Peru, one of whose totems is a jaguar, test the claims of a candidate medicine man by compelling him to prove his kinship to the jaguar by being bitten by that animal and surviving the bite. In Senegambia at the present day a python is expected to visit every child of the Python clan within eight days after birth; a Mandingo of this clan has been known to say that if his children were not so visited, he would kill them. (7) Not only does the totem abstain from injuring its clansmen but it is often supposed to render direct benefit to them. Thus members of the Serpent clan in Senegambia profess to heal by their touch persons who have been bitten by serpents. (8) Again, the totem can give his clansmen important information by means of omens. So in the Coast Murring tribe of New South Wales, each man's totem warned him of coming danger; if his totem was a kangaroo, a kangaroo would warn him against his foes. (9) The clansman is often regarded as having special magical powers over his totem animal. Thus the Small Bird clan of the Omahas in harvest time, when the birds attack the crops, take some corn which they chew and spit over the field, believing that this will keep the birds from the corn. If worms infest the crop, the Reptile clan of the Omahas perform a ceremony which is supposed to save corn for that year at least from the ravages of the worms.

But other natural objects besides animals and plants occur as totems, a question of very considerable moment when we come to review the various theories of the origin of Totemism. Thus the sun was not only the totem of several North American clans, but is met with in Africa and Australia; in North America Thunder, Ice, Snow, Earth, Water, Sea, Sand, Salt, Star and Bone were all totems, Rain, the Foam of the river (among the

Oraons of India), Honey, all perform a similar function among totemic peoples¹.

(10) The clansman is in the habit of assimilating himself to the totem by wearing the skin or some other part of the totem animal, and by the fashion of arranging his hair so as to resemble the totem; and he represents the totem on his body either by paint or tattooing. Thus the Minnitarees when going to battle dressed in wolf-skins; the skin with the tail attached hung down the back, the wearer's head being inserted in a hole in the skin and the wolf's head hanging down on his breast. The traveller who reports this practice also states that the Minnitarees regarded the wolf as especially strong 'medicine.' A Teton warrior was seen wearing two or three raven-skins fixed to the back of the girdle with the tails sticking out behind; on his head he wore a raven-skin tied so as to let the beak project from the forehead. Among the Thlinkets on solemn occasions, such as dances, memorial festivals, and burials, individuals often appeared disguised in the full form of their totem animals; as a rule each clansman carries at least an easily recognizable part of his totem with him. The Condor clans of Peru, who believed themselves descended from the condor, adorned themselves with the feathers of that bird. The Iowa clan had each a distinguishing mode of dressing the hair; the boys of the Buffalo clan wore two locks of hair in imitation of horns, but as soon as they were grown up they shaved off all the hair except the scalp-lock with a fringe of hair surrounding it. Amongst the Omahas, the small boys of the Black Shoulder (Buffalo) clan wear two locks of hair in imitation of horns. The Small Bird clan of the Omahas leave a little hair in front, over the forehead, for a bill, and some at the back of the head, for the bird's tail, with much over each ear for the wings².

In reference to such practices it must be carefully borne in mind that many North American Indians believed that they had each an animal—bison, calf, tortoise, bird and the like—in their bodies.

¹ Frazer, *Totemism*, pp. 24-5.

² *ibid.* pp. 26-7.

But here I must point out that ceremonial dances in which the performers clothe themselves in the skins of beasts and imitate their actions need not have any connection whatever with the clan totem, but may be purely magical performances carried out on the eve of hunting the particular animal in order to insure a good supply of game and success in the chase. Catlin¹ describes two such dances at considerable length (with illustrations from drawings made on the spot). Speaking of the Sioux Indians, he says: "The Sioux, like all the others of these western tribes, are fond of bear's meat, and must have good stores of the 'bear's-grease' laid in, to oil their long and glossy locks, as well as the surface of their bodies. And they all like the fine pleasure of a bear hunt, and also a participation in the bear dance, which is given several days in succession, previous to their starting out, and in which they all join in a song to the *Bear Spirit*; which they think holds somewhere an invisible existence, and must be consulted and conciliated before they can enter upon their excursion with any prospect of success. For this grotesque and amusing scene, one of the chief medicine-men placed over his body the entire skin of a bear, with a war-eagle's quill on his head, taking the lead in the dance, and looking through the skin which formed a mask that hung over his face. Many others in the dance wore masks on their faces, made of the skin from the bear's head; and all, with the motions of their hands, closely imitated the movements of that animal; some representing its motion in running, and others the peculiar attitude and hanging of the paws, when it is sitting up on its hind feet, and looking out for the approach of an enemy."

Quite similar to this was the Buffalo dance of the Mandans, like their noble quarry now gone for ever from the bluffs of the Missouri. "Buffaloes, it is known, are a sort of roaming creatures, congregating occasionally in huge masses, and strolling away about the country from east to west, or from north to south, or just where their whims or strange fancies may lead them; and the Mandans are sometimes, by these means, most

¹ *Letters and Notes on the Manners, Customs, and Condition of the North American Indians* (London, 1841), vol. i. p. 245, pl. 102.

unceremoniously left without anything to eat; and being a small tribe, and unwilling to risk their lives by going far from home in the face of their more powerful enemies, are oftentimes left almost in a state of starvation. In any emergency of this kind, every man musters and brings out of his lodge his mask (the skin of a buffalo's head with the horns on), which he is obliged to keep in readiness for this occasion; and then commences the buffalo dance,...which is held for the purpose of making 'buffalo come' (as they term it), of inducing the buffalo herds to change the direction of their wanderings, and bend their course towards the Mandan village¹.

(11) The Indians of British Columbia, who are strict totemists, often painted their totems on their foreheads, when all persons of the same totem had to do honour to it by casting property before it. The Haidas of Queen Charlotte Islands are universally tattooed, the design being in all cases the totem conventionally depicted. When several families with different totems live together in the same large house, a Haida chief will have all their totems tattooed on his body.

Among the Hurons (Wyandots) each clan had a distinct mode of painting the face, and, at least in the case of chiefs at installation, this painting represented the totem. Among the Moquis the representatives of the clans at foot-races, dances and the like, had each a conventional representation of his totem blazoned on breast or back. Catlin² gives a portrait of La-doo-ke-a (the Buffalo Bull), a Pawnee warrior of great distinction, "with his *medicine* or *totem* (the head of a buffalo) painted on his breast and his face."

Mr Frazer³ has pointed out that "among most of the Californian tribes, the Ainos of Japan, the Chukchi in Siberia, and many of the aborigines of India, it is the women alone who are tattooed. Old pioneers in California are of opinion that the reason why the women alone tattoo, is that in case they are taken captive they may be recognized by their own people

¹ Catlin, *op. cit.* vol. I. p. 127, pl. 56.

² *op. cit.* vol. II. p. 27, pl. 140.

³ Frazer, *Totemism*, pp. 29-30, who cites S. Powers' *Tribes of California*, p. 109, Siebold's *Ethnol. Stud. über die Ainos*, p. 15, Scheube, *Die Ainos*, p. 6, Nordenskiöld, *Voyage of the Vega*, p. 296, Dalton, *Ethnol. of Bengal*, pp. 114, etc.

when opportunity serves. This idea, Mr Powers says, is borne out by the fact that 'the Californian Indians are rent into such infinitesimal divisions, any one of which may be arrayed in deadly feud against another at any moment, that the slight differences in their dialects would not suffice to distinguish the captive squaws¹.' Mr Frazer accordingly thinks "there may be a grain of truth in the explanation of tattooing given by the Khyen women in Bengal; they say that it was meant to conceal their beauty, for which they were apt to be carried off by neighbouring tribes²." But this explanation will not meet the case of the Uganda women, some of whom "scarify their stomachs to a pattern like a large W; it is said to be done by the women to please their husbands. Medicine men are paid a small fee to perform this work³." The explanation offered by the Californian observers is probably true, but it has far greater significance than appears on the surface. As all the North American tribes had the rule of female descent and exogamy, it was therefore of great importance, in case a woman was recaptured by her tribe, to have a sure means of knowing whether the captured squaw was really a clanswoman. Tattooing gave them a sure test and thus enabled them to keep accurately the pedigree of the clan, and to avoid improper intermarriages.

As the clansman paints or tattoos himself, so likewise does he paint or tattoo his weapons, hut, canoe, and other articles. Among the Thlinkets shields, helmets, canoes, blankets, household furniture, and houses are all marked with the totem, painted or carved. In single combats between champions of different Thlinket clans each wore a helmet representing his totem. In front of the houses of the chiefs and leading men of the Haidas are erected posts carved with the totems of the inmates. As the house may contain several families of different totems, just as the chief has all the totems tattooed on his person, so the posts erected in front of the houses often exhibit a

¹ *Tribes of California*, p. 109.

² *Asiatic Researches*, xvi. p. 268; Dalton, *op. cit.* p. 114.

³ J. Roscoe, 'Further Notes on the Manners and Customs of the Baganda' (*Jour. Anthr. Inst.* xxxii. p. 79).

number of totems carved one above the other. Similarly the Delawares painted their totems on their houses, the Turkey clan painting only one foot of the turkey, the Wolf clan only one foot of a wolf, though they sometimes added an outline of the whole animal, but the Turtles painting the whole turtle. Among the Iroquois, at least in some cases, the totem-sign was the skin of the totem animal¹.

(12) Finally, sometimes the stuffed skin of the totem is hung over the grave of the dead clansman, or placed at the dead man's side (cf. vol. I. fig. 102); or it was painted or carved on the tomb or grave-post, the figure being sometimes reversed to denote death.

Much has been written in recent years about the survivals of totemism in early Greece. The students of anthropology have done invaluable work in exorcising the solar demon, but there is some risk that totemism itself may become almost as dangerous as its predecessor. Some men, says Shakespeare, when they see a bush, mistake it for a bear; and so some of the anthropologists, whenever they find either a bush or bear in the legends of early Greece, at once take it for a totem. As it has been pointed out above that no trace of totemism can be discovered in Homer, it will be of great importance if on the contrary any genuine instances of totems or plausible survivals of such can be found in the customs, cults, or legends of Greece. If such can be brought to light, we shall have another argument in favour of the doctrine that the Achæans were essentially different in race from the aboriginal population. Let us shortly review the data.

There is certainly a considerable number of practices which, if not genuine survivals of totemism, have a *prima facie* appearance of being such. Mr Andrew Lang well remarks "that Greeks in certain districts regarded with religious reverence certain plants and animals is beyond dispute. That some stocks even traced their lineage to beasts will be shown...and the presumption is that these creatures, though explained as incarnations and disguises of various gods, were once totems *sans phrase*²."

¹ Frazer, *Totemism*, pp. 31-2.

² *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, [1887] vol. I. 276.

At Parium on the coast of Asia Minor, there was a clan of Ophiogenes; "the story goes that the Ophiogenes were related to the serpents (*ὄφεις*), and it is alleged that the males of the clan are a remedy for those who have been bitten by snakes if they keep touching them without intermission after the manner of enchanters. They first transfer to themselves the livid colour occasioned by the bite, and then cause the inflammation and pain to subside. Legend states that the founder of the race was transformed from a serpent into a hero. He was perhaps one of the African Psylli. The power continued in the clan for a considerable time. Parium was founded by Milesians, Erythraeans, and Parians¹,"—whose Pelasgian ancestry has been already proved (vol. I. pp. 649-651).

Aelian² refers to this same clan when he relates that when Halia the daughter of Sybaris went into the sacred grove of Artemis in Phrygia, a god appeared to her in the form of a huge serpent and had intercourse with her, and from this union first sprang the Ophiogenes.

This clan submitted the claims of any man who was suspected of not being a genuine clansman to the decision of a serpent, making the creature bite the suspect; if he survived, he was a true clansman, if he died, he was plainly not³. This closely resembles the method employed by the Peruvian Moxos for testing a medicine man by exposing him to the bite of a jaguar (p. 450).

In Cyprus there was also a clan called Ophiogenes ('Snakes') on whose bodies serpents wrought no harm, just as the Scorpion clan of Senegambia believe that their totem, a very deadly kind of scorpion, may crawl over them and do them no hurt (p. 450). Pliny⁴ relates that a crucial experiment was made on one of the Ophiogenes by a Roman consul, who had him thrown into a cask full of serpents, but the latter respected their namesake, simply licking him with their tongues.

¹ Strabo, XIII. 588; cf. Pliny, *N.H.* VII. 13. Pliny also asserts (VII. 15) that there survived in Italy in his own time a remnant of the Marsian tribe, who were said to be sprung from a son of Circe, and were therefore endowed with the power of curing snake bites.

² *Nat. An.* XII. 39.

³ Varro in Priscian, x. 32 (*Gramm. Lat.* ed. Keil, vol. II. p. 524).

⁴ *N.H.* XXVIII. 30.

Pliny¹ (citing Agatharchides) states that there was a similar clan (*gens*) in Africa of the Psylli, so named after a king Psyllus, whose tomb is in the region of the Greater Syrtes. Their bodies were endowed with the power to counteract the deadly poison of serpents. It was their practice to expose their newly born children to the most venomous serpents, and in that way to test the chastity of their wives, as the reptiles do not avoid adulterine bastards. This tribe, he says, was almost swept away by the Nasamones, who now occupy their former homes. Yet a tribe composed of those who were not present at the battle survived in a few places.

The statement of Agatharchides is strikingly confirmed by the fact that at the present day the Python clan of Senegambia believe that if one of them is bitten by an adder, they have only to put a snake to the wound and their totem would suck out the poison and assuage the inflammation, and that every child of the clan is visited by a python within eight days after birth, if it is legitimate (p. 450).

But the evidence for the existence of totemism amongst the ancient Libyans does not depend solely on the story of the Psylli just cited, for it is corroborated by testimony of very considerable weight.

We learn from Diodorus² that Eumachus, the general of Agathocles, reduced a region "abounding in apes (*πιθήκων*) and three cities deriving from these animals a name translated into Greek as Pithecusae. Not a few of the customs in these cities differ from ours. For the apes lived in the same houses as the people, as they are held to be gods, like the jackals (*κύνες*) in Egypt, and from victuals provided in the cells the apes got food unmolested whenever they pleased. Parents too as a general rule gave their sons names derived from the apes, just as with us they give them those derived from the gods. Death is the penalty ordained for those who have slain this animal as they are held guilty of the highest impiety." The use of names derived from apes points to a belief in an ape ancestor.

From the ape totem of the cities of Pithecusae we are naturally led to think of the island of the same name lying off

¹ N.H. vii. 14.

² xx. 58.

Etruria. There can be little doubt that the Greeks called it "Ape-island" because it was inhabited by these animals when it was first discovered. Legend said that it had been inhabited by people called Cercopes, who for their thievish propensities had been turned into monkeys. In this story of metamorphosis there may be a last echo not only of a time when apes still dwelt on Pithecusa, but of one when its human inhabitants may likewise have identified themselves with the apes and called themselves after them, as did the people of the Libyan Pithecusae. The survival of apes on the rock of Gibraltar makes it not at all improbable that some of their relations may have lingered in other parts of the Mediterranean long after the disruption of the great land-bridges had cut them off from their kindred in Libya.

Again, Herodotus¹ tells us that "from Egypt as far as Lake Tritonis, Libya is inhabited by wandering tribes, whose drink is milk and their food the flesh of animals. Cow's flesh however none of these tribes ever taste, but abstain from it for the same reason as the Egyptians, neither do any of them breed swine. Even at Cyrene the women think it wrong to eat the flesh of a cow, honouring in this Isis, the Egyptian goddess, whom they worship both with feasts and festivals. The Barcaean women abstain, not from cow's flesh only, but also from the flesh of swine."

As the Ionians who settled in Asia Minor married Carian wives, who transmitted to their daughters the peculiar customs of their race, so it is probable that the peculiar practices of the women of Cyrene and Barca were due to a similar intermarriage between the Greek immigrants and native Libyan women, such as those whose beauty was sung by Callimachus, the poet of Cyrene (vol. I. p. 285). That such unions took place is put beyond doubt by the evidence of Pindar (already cited, vol. I. p. 231).

Passing into Egypt we are confronted with the most elaborate system of animal worship known from the ancient world, and one which has been thought to exhibit many indications that it was developed out of an earlier totemism. There are

¹ IV. 186.

certainly *prima facie* indications that there had been a number of tribes each of which had its own sacred animal, for each *nome* had its own sacred beast, and as the inhabitants of such a *nome*, even though living in another, nevertheless continued to hold sacred the particular animal of their own original *nome*, it would seem that the *nome* really represented an older tribal unit. Furthermore, there are not wanting indications of the transition from 'totem beasts' pure and simple to 'incarnation beasts.'

Let us hear Herodotus¹ on the subject. "Egypt, though it borders upon Libya, is not a region abounding in wild animals. The animals that do exist in the country, whether domesticated or otherwise, are all regarded as sacred." But why they are consecrated to the several gods, the historian abstained from telling us, as in that case he would have been led to speak of religious matters which he particularly shrank from mentioning. "Their custom with respect to animals is as follows:—For every kind there are appointed certain guardians, some male, some female, whose business is to look after them; and this honour is made to descend from father to son. The inhabitants of the various cities pay their vows as follows. They pray to the God to whom the animal belongs, and, shaving either all or a half or a third of their children's heads, weigh the hair against silver. And whatever sum the hair weighs is presented to the keeper of the animals, who thereupon cuts up some fish, and gives it to them for food. Thus are the animals supported. When a man kills one of the sacred animals, if he did it with malice prepense, he is punished with death; if unwittingly, he has to pay such a fine as the priests choose to impose. When an ibis, however, or a hawk is killed, whether it was done by accident or on purpose, the man must needs die."

Bulls were held to belong to Epaphus (Apis, see vol. I. p. 218). They were carefully examined by a priest, to see if there was a single black hair on the whole body, if the tongue were clean "in respect of the prescribed marks," and if the hairs of the tail grew naturally. If the animal was pronounced clean, the priest

¹ II. 65.

marked him by twisting a piece of papyrus round his horns, and attaching thereto some sealing clay, which he then stamped with his own signet. It was forbidden under the penalty of death to sacrifice an animal which had not been marked in this way¹. As it will be remembered that Epaphus (Apis) was *black*, the examination of the animal was not so much a precaution against the sacrifice of an unclean animal, but rather in order not to slay an animal with any black hairs, lest it might be an incarnation of Epaphus.

"The bulls, if clean, and the male calves, are used for sacrifice by the Egyptians universally; but the females they are not allowed to sacrifice, since they are sacred to Isis. The statue of this goddess has the form of a woman, but with horns like a cow, resembling thus the Greek representations of Io; and the Egyptians one and all venerate cows much more highly than any other animal...When cows die, they are thrown into the river, but the males are buried in the suburbs of each city with one or more horns over the ground to mark the spot²."

"The Egyptians who have a temple of the Theban Zeus, or live in the Thebaic *nome*, offer no sheep in sacrifice, but only goats, for the Egyptians do not all worship the same gods excepting Isis and Osiris, the latter of whom they say is the Greek Dionysus. Those on the contrary who possess a temple dedicated to Mendes, or belong to the Mendesian *nome*, abstain from offering goats, but sacrifice sheep instead. The Thebans and such as imitate them in their practices give the following account of the origin of the custom. Heracles, they say, wished of all things to see Zeus, but Zeus did not choose to be seen of him. At length when Heracles persisted, Zeus hit on a device—to slay a ram, and cutting off his head, hold the head before him, and cover himself with the fleece. In this guise he showed himself to Heracles. Therefore the Egyptians give their statues of Zeus the face of a ram, and from them the practice has passed to the Ammonians, who are a joint colony of Egyptians and Ethiopians, speaking a language between the two. Hence also in my opinion the latter people took their name of

¹ II. 38.

² II. 41.

Ammonians since the Egyptian name for Zeus is Amun. Such then is the reason why the Thebans do not sacrifice rams, but consider them sacred animals. Upon one day in the year however, at the festival of Zeus, they slay a single ram, and stripping off the fleece, cover with it the statue of that god, as he once covered himself, and then bring up to the statue of Zeus an image of Heracles. When this has been done, the whole assembly beat their breasts in mourning for the ram, and afterwards bury him in a holy sepulchre¹. Some of the Egyptians abstain from sacrificing goats either male or female. The reason is the following:—"The Mendesians consider Pan to be one of the eight gods, who existed before the twelve, and Pan is represented in Egypt by the painters and the sculptors, just as he is in Greece, with the face and legs of a goat. They do not, however, believe this to be his shape or consider him unlike the other gods; but they represent him thus for a reason which I prefer not to relate. The Mendesians hold all goats in veneration, but the male more than the female, giving the goatherds of the males special honour. One is venerated more highly than all the rest, and when he dies, there is a great mourning throughout all the Mendesian nome. In Egyptian the goat and Pan are both called Mendes²." As *mendes* was the Egyptian term for a goat, it follows that the *Mendesians* (*οἱ Μενδησῖοι*) were simply a goat tribe.

The cat and the dog were venerated very widely, though the real home of the former cult was at Bubastis. "If a cat died in a private house by a natural death, all the inmates of the house shaved their eyebrows; and on the death of a dog, they shaved the head and the whole of the body³." "The cats on their decease are taken to the city of Bubastis, where they are embalmed, after which they are buried in certain sacred repositories. The dogs are interred in the cities to which they belong, also in sacred burial places. The same practice obtains with respect to the ichneumons; the hawks and shrew-mice, on the contrary, are conveyed to the city of Buto for burial, and the ibises to Hermopolis. The bears, which are scarce in Egypt, and the wolves, which are not much bigger than foxes, they

¹ II. 42.² II. 46.³ II. 66.

bury wherever they happen to find them lying¹." The goddess of Bubastis was Bast, who has properly the head of a cat, though often that of a lion. Large numbers of the mummies of dogs have been found in the Cynopolis (Dog town) *nome*, and many wolf mummies at Lycopolis (Wolf town).

"Crocodiles are esteemed sacred by some of the Egyptians; by others they are treated as enemies. Those who live near Thebes, and those who dwell around Lake Moeris, regard them with especial veneration. In each of these places they keep one crocodile in particular, who is taught to be tractable. They adorn his ears with earrings of molten stone or gold, and put bracelets on his forepaws, giving him daily a set portion of bread, with a certain number of victims (*ipήια*); and after having thus treated him with the greatest possible attention while alive, they embalm him when he dies, and bury him in a sacred repository. The people of Elephantine on the other hand are so far from considering these animals as sacred, that they even eat their flesh²."

"In the *nome* of Papremis the hippopotamus is a sacred animal, but not in any other part of Egypt. Otters also are found in the Nile and are considered sacred. Only two sorts of fish are venerated, that called the lepidotus and the eel. They are regarded as sacred to the Nile, as likewise among birds is the vulpanser, or fox-goose³." "In the neighbourhood of Thebes there are some sacred serpents, which are perfectly harmless. They are of small size and have two horns growing out of the top of the head. These snakes when they die are buried in the temple of Zeus, the god to whom they are sacred⁴."

As Strabo long resided in Egypt and accompanied Aelius Gallus in his ill-starred expedition up the Nile, it may be worth while to cite his remarks on the Egyptian animal cults of his own day.

"The Momemphitae worship Aphrodite, and a sacred cow is kept there, as Apis is maintained at Memphis, and Mneyis at Heliopolis. These animals are regarded as gods, but there are

¹ II. 67. Herodotus says also (II. 75) that the Egyptians venerated the ibis because of its great services in killing serpents.

² II. 69.

³ II. 71, 72.

⁴ II. 74.

other places, and they are numerous, both in the Delta and beyond it, in which a bull or a cow is maintained, which are not regarded as gods, but only as sacred¹."

Strabo² saw the sacred crocodile, in a lake near Arsinoe (Crocodilopolis); "it was tame and gentle to the priests, and was called Suchus." "At the city of Heracles the ichneumon is worshipped in opposition to the Arsinoites, who worship crocodiles; hence the canal and the lake Moeris are full of these animals; for they venerate them and are careful to do them no harm. But the Heracleotes worship the ichneumon, which is most destructive both to crocodiles and asps....Next follow the Cynopolite *nome* and Cynopolis, where they worship the dog Anubis, and pay certain honours to dogs; a subsistence is there provided for them as sacred animals. On the other side of the river is the city Oxyrynchus, and a *nome* of the same name. They worship the oxyrynchus, and have a temple dedicated to this creature; and all the other Egyptians likewise worship the oxyrynchus. For the Egyptians worship in common certain animals; three land animals—the ox, the dog, and the cat; two winged—the hawk and the ibis; and two aquatic—the lepidotus and the oxyrynchus. There are also other animals, which each people worships independently: thus the Saïtes and Thebaïtes, the sheep; the Latopolites, the *latus*, a fish inhabiting the Nile; the Lycopolites a wolf, the Hermopolites the dog-headed ape, the Babylonians near Memphis a *cebus*, which has the face of a satyr, but in other respects is between a dog and a bear; it is bred in Ethiopia. The inhabitants of Thebes worship the eagle; the Leontopolites a lion; the Mendesians a male and female goat; the Athribites a shrew-mouse. Different people worship different animals; but they do not assign the same reasons for this difference in cult³."

From the statement set before him the reader will observe that the Egyptian animal worship exhibits phenomena characteristic of totemism. Thus each *nome* had its own peculiar animal, from which in at least one case (Mendes) the members of the *nome* took their name; though one particular individual

¹ Strabo xvii. 803.

² xvii. 811.

³ xvii. 812.

of the sacred species was especially venerated, apparently as the incarnation of the god, yet, as among modern totemist tribes, every individual of the species was treated as sacred; as among modern totemists one clan views with hostility, kills and eats the sacred beast of another clan, so the Egyptians of one *nome* regarded with hatred the sacred creature of another, e.g. the crocodile and the hippopotamus; as modern totem tribes bury the dead totem animal and mourn for it as a kinsman, so the Egyptians embalmed and made lamentation for their sacred animals as if they were their own kindred.

On the other hand, Egypt teaches us to be very careful not to argue that because a people abstain from eating any particular animal or plant, therefore that particular animal or plant was once venerated as their totem.

The swine is regarded among them as an unclean animal,—so much so that, if a man in passing accidentally touch a pig, he instantly hurries to the river, and plunges in with all his clothes on. Hence too the swineherds, notwithstanding that they are of pure Egyptian blood, are forbidden to enter into any of the temples, which are open to all other Egyptians; and further, no one will give his daughter in marriage to a swineherd or take a wife from among them, so that the swineherds are forced to intermarry among themselves. They do not offer swine in sacrifice to any of their gods, excepting Dionysus and the Moon, whom they honour in this way at the same time, sacrificing pigs to both of them at the same full moon, and afterwards eating of the flesh. Though Herodotus knew the reason alleged for their detestation of swine and their use of them at this festival, he did not think it proper to mention it¹.

There was no *nome* in which the swine was honoured in life, and embalmed and bewailed in death, nor was there any deity whose head was that of a pig. It must be carefully borne in mind that food taboos do not at all presuppose that the interdicted animal or plant was ever a totem. Thus no Egyptian ever ate beans, whilst the priests were forbidden to eat fish², mutton and pork, and most kinds of vegetables³. According to

¹ II. 47.

² Herod. II. 37.

³ Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 5.

Herodotus the priests could not even endure to look on beans, since they considered them an unclean kind of pulse¹. In their more solemn purifications even salt was excluded from the priestly fare². These circumstances must be carefully borne in mind when we come to the thorny question of totemism in Israel.

The late Prof. Robertson Smith³ argued vigorously that "at the stage which even the rudest Semitic peoples had reached when they first become known to us, it would be absurd to expect to find examples of totemism pure and simple," but that "what we may expect to find is the fragmentary survival of totem ideas, in the shape of special associations between certain kinds of animals on the one hand, and certain tribes or religious communities and their gods on the other hand," and he held that there was no lack of such evidence in Semitic antiquity. As direct evidence of kinship between human communities and animal kinds he cites the statement of Ibn al-Mojāwir that "when the B. Hārith, a tribe of South Arabia, find a dead gazelle, they wash it, wrap it in cerecloths and bury it, and the whole tribe mourns for it seven days....The animal is buried like a man and mourned for as a kinsman. Among the Arabs of Sinai the *wabr* (the coney of the Bible) is the brother of man, and it is said that he who eats his flesh will never see father and mother again. In the Harranian mysteries the worshippers acknowledged dogs, ravens, and ants as their brothers....At Baalbek, the *γυναιος*, or ancestral god of the town, was worshipped in the form of a lion....On the banks of the Euphrates...there was found a species of small serpents that attacked foreigners, but did not molest natives, which is just what a totem animal is supposed to do." Moreover, "many Semitic sanctuaries gave shelter to various species of sacred animals—the dogs of Adranus, the doves of Astarte, the gazelles of Tabala and Mecca, and so forth." As in Greek mythology there are numerous instances of maidens impregnated by gods, so in Genesis we hear how the "sons of God went in unto the daughters of men."

¹ Herod. ii. 37.

² Plutarch, *De Iside et Osiride*, 5.

³ *Religion of the Semites* (1889), p. 425.

An argument in favour of a once prevailing totemism has been drawn from the food taboos of the Hebrews, but as such taboos may arise perfectly independently of totemism, it is not desirable to draw any conclusion from the list of unclean animals in Leviticus. The views of Robertson Smith have been combated by Zapletal¹, whose main thesis is that the Hebrews, and incidentally all Semites, were never totemists. But though "the question of Semitic totemism must still be confessed to be *sub judice* until the whole of the available evidence from the entire Semitic field has been studied in the light of our growing knowledge of totemism in other parts of the world²," we are at least justified in saying that several of the facts above adduced have a very close resemblance to practices existing at the present time amongst admitted totemists.

We have now seen what appear to be traces of totem clans among the Ionians of Parium, in Cyprus, in Libya, in Egypt, and amongst the Semites. Let us next examine certain cases of animal worship which, although unaccompanied by any mention of a tribe or clan, nevertheless resemble the practices of totem clans.

According to Aelian³ the mass of the Greeks in his day did not eat the lobster (*τέττιξ ἐνάλιος*), as they considered it sacred. And the people of Seriphus, if they caught a living lobster in their nets, straightway put it back into the sea, and if they found one dead, they even buried it. And they mourned them if they got killed, alleging that they were the playthings of Perseus the son of Zeus. So, as we have seen (p. 449), the Wanika in eastern Africa mourn the death of a hyaena.

But the respect shown by the people of Seriphus for the lobster was not an exceptional phenomenon in Greece. According to Aelian⁴ the Delphians honoured the wolf, because when some sacred gold had been stolen and buried on Parnassus, a

¹ *Der Totemismus und die Religion Israels* (Freiburg, 1901).

² S. A. Cook, "Israel and Totemism" (*Jewish Quarterly Review*, April, 1902, pp. 413-448). In this paper, Mr Cook reviews Prof. Zapletal's book and discusses very judiciously the evidence for and against Semitic totemism.

³ *Nat. An.* xiii. 26.

⁴ *Ibid.* xii. 40.

wolf had scratched it up; the Samians honoured the sheep because that animal also had discovered stolen gold, for which reason Mandrobulus the Samian attached the sheep to Hera as her proper offering; Polemon is Aelian's authority for the former story, Aristotle for the latter. The Ambraciots honoured the lioness, because a lioness had torn in pieces their tyrant Phaylus, and had thus brought them freedom.

Again, Clement¹ of Alexandria after describing the animal worship of Egypt enumerates instances of a similar practice in Greece. He states that the Thessalians revered storks, the Thebans weasels, alleging that the weasel had come to aid Alcmena when in labour of Heracles, though according to another account the weasel was the hero's foster-mother; the Myrmidons of Thessaly claimed descent from the ant (*μύρμηξ*) and honoured that insect.

It has been averred² on the authority of Aelian³, "that flies were adored with the sacrifice of an ox near the temple of Apollo in Leucas," but that writer makes it clear that the ox was sacrificed near the temple of Apollo at the time of the festival of that god, not because the people adored them, but in order that they might get rid of an intolerable nuisance, since the Leucadian flies lacked that sense of the fitness of things which made their kindred of Pisa at the time of the Olympic festival withdraw without being bribed "along with the women to the opposite bank of the Alpheus⁴."

Mr Lang⁵ has quoted as possible evidence for the survival of totemism in Greece the fact that "Plutarch⁶ mentions a Carian *γένος*, the Ioxidae, of Attic descent, which revered asparagus." But there is really no more reason to assume that the Ioxidae believed that they had a totemistic connection with the plant from which they took their name, than there is for believing that the Plantagenets, who certainly respected

¹ *Protrept.* i. 34 (p. 349 F) Schol. II. XIX. 119 (cited by A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, [1887] i. 276).

² A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, i. p. 277.

³ *Nat. An.* xi. 8.

⁴ Aelian, *loc. cit.*

⁵ A. Lang, *Custom and Myth*, p. 119 n.

⁶ *Theseus*, 8.

the *planta genista*, took a similar view of that shrub. Inferences of the same sort have been drawn from the story told by Pausanias¹ that when the people of three ancient towns of Laconia "went forth into the world they sought to know where it was the will of heaven that they should dwell. And it was foretold them that Artemis would show them where they should abide. So when they were gone ashore, and a hare appeared to them, they took the hare as their guide. And when it dived into a myrtle tree, they built a city where the myrtle stood. And they worship that very myrtle tree till this day, and they call Artemis by the name of Saviour." But, if there was any totem element in this story of the founding of Boeae, it ought certainly to have been the hare and not the myrtle tree which would have been revered, for it was the hare that was sent as a means of deliverance by Artemis the Saviour. Yet there is not a word of the hare being honoured by the Boeans. The myrtle which they worshipped was but one of the fetish trees which abounded in Greece, of which we have already spoken, and to which we shall revert; the hare was simply an omen sent by a divinity. And though among totemist tribes, as in Australia, the totem animal often gives omens to his clansman, we shall soon see that omen-birds and omen-beasts may abound in regions where there is not a trace of Totemism in the proper sense of the term.

According to Athenaeus² all the Cretans regarded the sow as a sacred animal, assigning as their reason that a sow had suckled Zeus, and by her gruntings had drowned the infant's wails. The Cretans did not merely honour the sow, but regarded her as very worthy of worship (*περίσπετος*), and Agathocles (Athenaeus' authority) adds that "the people of Praesus even

¹ III. 22. 12 (Frazer's trans.).

² IX. 375 F. : *περὶ δὲ τῶν ὅτι ἱερὸν ἐστὶ τὸ ἕρπον παρὰ Κρησὶν Ἀγαθοκλῆς ὁ Βαθυλάνιος ἐν πρώτῳ περὶ Κυζίκου φησὶν οὕτως· 'μυθεύουσι ἐν Κρήτῃ γενέσθαι τὴν Διὸς τέκνωσιν ἐπὶ τῆς Δίκτης, ἐν ᾗ καὶ ἀπόρρητος γίνεταί θυσία. λέγεται γὰρ ὡς ἄρα Διὶ θηλὴν ὑπέσχετο ὕς, καὶ τῷ σφετέρῳ γρυσμῷ περιουχέουσα τὸν κνύσηθμόν τοῦ βρέφους ἀνεπάιστον τοῖς παριοῦσιν τίθει. διὰ πάντες τὸ ἕρπον τοῦτο περισπετον ἡγεύνται, καὶ οὗς, φησί, τῶν κρεῶν (οὐκ ἂν) δαΐσαντο. Πραῖσι δὲ καὶ ἱρὰ μέζουσι οὗ, καὶ αὕτη προτελής αὐτοῖς ἡ θυσία νερόμεται.'*

offer sacrifice to a sow." This information has a special importance in view of the fact that Praesus was the chief town of the Eteocretans, the aborigines of Crete (vol. I. p. 202).

The offering of sacrifice to swine at Praesus need cause no astonishment, for the position of that animal in Crete is exactly parallel to that of the cow in Egypt. Thus Strabo has already told us that there were many places in Egypt where a bull or a cow was maintained which was not regarded as a god but only as sacred, whereas at Momemphis, Memphis and Heliopolis they were worshipped as gods. Thus whilst all the Cretans revered the swine, the Praesians alone worshipped it as a god.

It has also been suggested that "just as the Iroquois, when they signed treaties with the Europeans, used their totems—bear, wolf, and turtle—as seals, so the animals upon archaic city coins represented crests or badges which, at some far more remote period, had been totems¹."

Let us now sum up the results of the facts here given. We have found not only that certain animals were honoured or revered in certain parts of Greece, but that in Crete the swine was held worthy of worship. It seems certain then that animal worship existed in certain parts of Greece down to the Christian era. Can we go a step further and declare that the evidence in some cases is such as to justify us in concluding that totemism in the full sense of the word once existed in Greece? The statements respecting the Ophiogenes of Parium give us a clan which considered itself sprung from a beast ancestor which had become a man, or from a god which had become incarnate in a snake, whilst they and the Ophiogenes of Cyprus put forward such claims to immunity from snake-bites as are asserted at the present hour by the Python and Scorpion clans of Senegambia. Furthermore, although we have no evidence for the existence on Seriphus of a clan which claimed descent from a lobster, we must not assume that because our information about one of the most insignificant of islands is extremely scanty, such a clan did not exist. On the other hand, it seems

¹ A. Lang, *Custom and Myth* (1885), p. 110.

clear that the Seriphians behaved towards the lobster, both alive and dead, exactly as the modern totemist tribes act towards their totem animals.

But it is significant that the survivals of which we have even this scanty information existed amongst the people of Parium, who were the descendants of a colony of Milesians, Erythraeans, and Parians. The Pelasgian origin of all three bodies of settlers has been made clear (vol. I. pp. 182, 649—51), and the same holds true for Seriphus and Cyprus. All the Cretans worshipped the sow, but as the Eteocretans surpassed all others in this respect, it is clear that the reverence paid to the sow was indigenous and not introduced.

We have seen that totemism is very often associated with female succession and almost invariably with the rule of exogamy. It may therefore be objected that although phenomena resembling those of modern totemism certainly existed in Asia Minor, Cyprus, Crete, and Seriphus, we have not been able to adduce any evidence for the prevalence of female descent and exogamy amongst them. But not only is it clear that the myth respecting the origin of the Ophiogenes from the woman Halia who was embraced by a god in the guise of a serpent implies that the clan traced its descent from a woman, but we have already made it clear in a preceding chapter that succession through females was the rule in Pelasgian Greece and that exogamy had also once prevailed. Since then these two practices were characteristic of the indigenous race of Greece, and as the most characteristic features of totemism likewise survived among the aboriginal tribes, the absence of explicit statements that the Ophiogenes had the rule of female succession and exogamy does not lessen in any degree the probability that these clans were totemic in the fullest sense of the word. The instances here given so closely coincide with what we know of totemism in modern times, and are so difficult to explain on any other hypothesis, that, if we take them in combination with a large body of phenomena which wear a *prima facie* appearance of totemic survivals, we may conclude that totemism once existed amongst the indigenous people of the mainland and isles of Greece.

At the same time it is most important that we should not see totems in every story or cult in which there may be an allusion to a plant or animal, and I think I can show that certain cases which have been regarded as totemistic admit of a very different explanation.

Let us now turn to Arcadia and Attica, the two principal strongholds of the Pelasgian race, and see if they afford any evidence of the prevalence of totemism or at least animal worship in early times. In the story of Callisto the mother of Arcas, the eponymous hero of the Arcadians, Mr Lang and others have recognized a case of a beast ancestor from whom a tribe derived its name. Callisto was daughter of Lycaon son of Pelasgus; and according to the legend she bore a child to Zeus, and Artemis, to please Hera, shot the bear down. Callisto herself was changed by Zeus into the Great Bear, but the Arcadians show the grave¹. In favour of its totemic origin the supporters of this view adduce the fact that the Arcadians bore as their device the bear.

There are several points in the story which look as if we had here a genuine survival, but all the same we must not be too precipitate in assuming that we have a totem in every legend of the metamorphosis of human beings into animals. Even if the bear (*arktos*) was the device of all the Arcadians, it might very well be explained as a *type parlant*, a heraldic pun on the name Arcas. The Greek coin types supply many examples, such as the rose (*ρόδον*), the apple (*μήλον*), seal (*φάκη*), bee (*μέλιττα*), on the coins of Rhodes, Melos, Phocaea and Melitaea respectively. It must be pointed out that the bear is never found as a type on "the extensive series of the archaic federal money of Arcadia ranging from about the middle of the sixth to the latter part of the fifth century", for the device seems entirely confined to the local coinage of Mantinea, which struck triobols with the bear on obverse and various devices, such as three acorns, on the reverse, and obols with the head of bear on one side and one acorn on the other². Yet if it

¹ Paus. viii. 3. 6.

² Head, *Hist. Num.* p. 372 [ed. 2. p. 444, 'from circ. B.C. 490-417'].

³ *ibid.* p. 376 [449].

was really the badge of all Arcadians, and they considered themselves 'Bears,' we might naturally expect to find it as the badge of the federal mintage. The acorns without doubt refer to the great oak woods, from which the 'acorn-eating' (*Βαλανηφάγοι*) Arcadians derived a large part of their subsistence in early times, and one of which lay hard by the shrine of Poseidon close to Mantinea¹. As the oak woods abounded with bears, the bear type may have simply alluded to the most characteristic denizen of the forest, or it may have referred to the legend of Callisto.

We have already referred (vol. I. p. 327) to the well-known passage in which Thucydides describes how down to his own time the Athenian Eupatridae wore their long hair in a *krobylos* bound with a clasp of golden grasshoppers. These Attic nobles traced their lineage from the ancient royal house and delighted in being called Cecropidae—'sons of Cecrops.' Now it happens that one species of grasshopper (*τέττιξ*) was also called *Cercope* (*κερκώπη*)². It might therefore be suggested that the Cecropidae were simply 'Grasshoppers,' and that the golden grasshopper worn as a badge was the survival of their totem. But it may be that the grasshopper was merely adopted as a badge by the Cecropidae because of the close resemblance of its name to their own. Certainly it cannot be maintained that Cecrops was originally a grasshopper, for it so happens that, although he is indeed assigned a semibestial shape in legend, his form was that of a snake and not of a tettix.

If it is thus impossible to maintain that the Cecropidae were once a totem clan who traced their descent from Cecrops it is still more difficult to follow those who have pointed out "that several *γένη*, or stocks, had eponymous heroes, in whose names the names of the ancestral beast apparently survived. In Attica the Cricoeis have their hero (Crio, 'Ram'), the Butadae have Butas ('Bullman'), the Aegidae have Aegeus ('Goat'), and the Cynadae, Cynus ('Dog')³." It is probable that these eponymi are of comparatively recent date, since it

¹ PAUS. VIII. 11, 1.

² Aristoph. *Fr.* 51 κ; Athen. iv. 133 B; Aelian, *Nat. An.* x. 44.

³ A. Lang, *Myth, Ritual and Religion* [1887], I. p. 280.

has been shown on an earlier page (96) that eponymous heroes, such as Myceneus, are always later than eponymous heroines, such as Mycene. In face of these considerations it would be unwise to assign any weight to these stories as evidence of the existence of totem clans in Attica, and the same must be said with respect to the Arcades and their supposed bear ancestor Arcas.

Yet many parallels to the story of Arcas can be found among savage tribes of modern days, who are either admittedly totemists or are in a phase of culture closely akin to totemism. The Ainos of Japan say that their first ancestor was suckled by a bear, and that is why they are so hairy. It has been supposed that they have replaced a bear ancestor by a bear foster-mother. But the legends of Arcadia furnish several examples of the same type as the tale told by the Ainos. Thus the hero Telephus is said by Diodorus and others to have been suckled by a deer. Cydon, the founder of Cydonia in Crete, is represented on coins of that city as an infant suckled by a bitch, whilst his brother Miletus was said to have been suckled by a wolf (vol. I. p. 200). The strange fostering of Cydon and his brother naturally reminds us of the Roman story of Romulus and Remus, and this coincidence is not the less striking when we remember the story that Evander had led to Latium a colony from Arcadia (vol. I. p. 256). The occurrence of the same legend in Crete and Latium can be readily explained if Arcadia was the mother of both the colonies and legends.

If it were certain that the Ainos had once been totemists and that beast-suckled ancestors are the shadows of outworn beast ancestors, the legends of Arcadia would confirm the evidence already adduced for the former existence of totemism in Greek lands. Again, if Arcas was really once a bear ancestor represented as sprung from a human mother, we should find analogies for him among the totem clans of North America, who not infrequently trace their descent from a totem ancestor who was himself born of a woman from the embraces of the totem animal. For, though most tribes believe that they were descended from the animals from which they took their name,

nevertheless there are distinct variants from this. Thus though the Moquis say that long ago the Great Mother brought from the west nine clans in the form of deer, sand, water, bears, hares, tobacco plants and reed grass, yet the Snake clan among the Moquis of Arizona are descended from a woman who gave birth to snakes. The Bakalai in western equatorial Africa believe that their women once gave birth to the totem animals; one woman brought forth a calf, others a crocodile, hippopotamus, monkey, boar, and wild pig.

Arcadia has been supposed to furnish traces not only of a Bear, but also of a Wolf clan, for in the name of Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, and in the dread being named, in later times at least, Zeus Lycaeus, Prof. Robertson Smith saw the remains of a wolf totem. On Mount Lycaeus was a precinct which people were not allowed to enter; "but if any one disregards the rule and enters he cannot possibly live more than a year. It is also said that inside the precinct all creatures, whether man or beast, cast no shadows; and therefore, if his quarry takes refuge in the precinct, the huntsman will not follow it, but waits outside, and looking at the beast he sees that it casts no shadow. On the topmost peak of the mountain there was an altar of Lycaean Zeus in the shape of a mound of earth. On this altar they offer secret sacrifices to Lycaean Zeus, but I did not care (says Pausanias¹) to pry into the details of the sacrifice. Be it as it is, and has been from the beginning." Very evil was its beginning, for Lycaon, son of Pelasgus, "brought a human babe to the altar of Lycaean Zeus, and sacrificed it, and poured out the blood on the altar; and they say that immediately after the sacrifice he was turned into a wolf²." "I can well believe," adds Pausanias, "that Lycaon was turned into a wild beast," but he viewed with scepticism the Arcadian story "that from the time of Lycaon downwards a man has always been turned into a wolf at the sacrifice of Lycaean Zeus, but that the transformation is not for life; for if, while he is a wolf, he abstains from human flesh, in the ninth year afterwards he changes back into a man, but if he has tasted human flesh, he remains a beast for ever."

¹ PAUS. VIII. 38. 7.

² VIII. 2. 3.

Robertson Smith thought that this was the cult of a Wolf clan and Zeus Lycaeus himself was the god of the clan. Lycaon who sacrificed his son and was transformed into a wolf "may darkly figure the god himself." It is possible that the story of the transformation of some one of those present into a wolf may have arisen from the circumstance that as the medicine-men of modern totem clans often get themselves up like their totem animal, so the priest who officiated at the Lycaean rite may have arrayed himself in a wolf-skin.

But it is not among the Arcadians only that what may be traces of a wolf totem have been detected. In Dorian times the Argives worshipped Apollo Lyceus (Λύκειος). In the title of the god the anthropologists have seen the survival of a wolf totem, and although they may not be able to retain the possession of Apollo, they have certainly a stronger case than the solar mythologists, who thought they had found in the epithet *Lyceus* irrefragable proof that Apollo was the god of light, and therefore the Sun-god. The totemists can at least point to the wolf as the regular blazon on the coins of Argos, and also the well-known line of Aeschylus in which Apollo is entreated to be "a very wolf to the host of the enemy¹."

But here again the student must be careful lest whilst he is avoiding the Scylla of solar mythology, he may be swallowed up in the Charybdis of totemism. As Apollo Lyceus is but one out of a large class of local divinities, we must not form any hasty judgment about his primary nature.

In support of the theory that Apollo was once a wolf totem, it may be pointed out that according to Clement of Alexandria the people of Delphi adored the wolf. Again it is stated by the Scholiast on Apollonius Rhodius² that "the wolf was a beast held in honour by the Athenians, and whosoever slays a wolf collects what is needful for its burial." In connection with this the Lyceum is not without importance. It took "its name from Lycus, son of Pandion; but from the first and down to our times it has been deemed sacred to Apollo, and here the god was first named Lyceus³." Over the grave of this hero

¹ Septem 145: Λύκει' ἀναξ, λύκειος γενοῦ στρατῷ δαίτηρ.

² II. 124.

³ Paus. I. 19. 3.

Lycus stood an image of a wolf¹. It can be also shown by the totemists that wolves were dear to Apollo². These animals certainly often appear in myths about him. The most striking of these is the story that Latona was in the form of a wolf when she gave birth to the god³. Apollo assumed the form of a wolf on more than one occasion⁴.

Such then briefly is the evidence in favour of the totem origin of Apollo. His birth from a mother who had the form of a wolf is closely analogous to that of Arcas from a bear mother. But there is an important body of testimony which points to a totally different explanation of his epithet *wolfish*.

An Attic legend said that he was called Lyceus either because when he served Admetus it had been his office to kill the wolves which devoured the herds; or because once on a time, when Athens was infested by wolves, Apollo commanded the people to sacrifice on the site of the Lyceum, and the smell of the sacrifice proved a bane to the wolves, whence the Athenians founded a shrine to Apollo on the spot⁵.

At Sicyon also there was a shrine of Apollo Lyceus. It owed its foundation to the circumstance that "when the flocks of the Sicyonians were so infested by wolves that they got no return from them, the god told them of a place where lay a dry trunk of a tree, and bade them take the bark of this tree, mix it with flesh, and set it out for the wolves. As soon as the wolves tasted it, they were poisoned by the bark. This trunk lay in the sanctuary of the Wolfish God, but even the Sicyonian guides did not know what kind of tree it was⁶."

The shrine of Apollo Lyceus at Argos was said to have been founded by Danaus, who on his return from Egypt claimed the throne from Gelanor. Whilst the people were in doubt about the succession, a wolf attacked a bull, and as the wolf killed the bull, the people took it as an omen that the stranger should prevail over the native⁷.

¹ Pollux viii. 121.

² Plutarch, *De Pythiae oraculis*, 12.

³ Aristotle, *Hist. Animal.* vi. 35. Cf. the other passages cited in Frazer's masterly note on Paus. i. 19, 3.

⁴ Servius ad *Aen.* iv. 377.

⁵ Schol. Demosth. xxiv. 114.

⁶ Paus. ii. 9. 7 (Frazer).

⁷ *id.* ii. 19. 3.

These legends just cited, which ascribe the origin of the epithet *Lyceius* to the god's potency in destroying wolves, are confirmed not only by the fact that the term 'wolf-slaying' (λυκοκτόνος) was applied by Sophocles¹ to Apollo Lyceius of Argos but by the far weightier testimony of Attic legal antiquities, which demonstrate that the killing of wolves was regarded as a matter of very great importance in Attica down to the time of Solon. For he who slew a wolf was rewarded with a cow, the slayer of a wolf cub with a sheep. Solon commuted the payments in kind for five drachms and one drachm respectively².

Not only has Apollo been regarded as evolved from an original wolf totem, but according to Mr Lang³ Apollo Smintheus was developed out of an original mouse totem. The famous shrine of Apollo called the Sminthium stood in the territory of Hamaxitus⁴ in the Troad, a district famous for its rich wheat-bearing plains ever exposed to the ravages of vermin. Apollo derived his special title of *Smintheus* from *sminthos*, a mouse, and the deity is represented with one of those creatures under his foot. Tame mice were fed in the Sminthium. All this certainly wears a *prima facie* aspect of a totemic survival, but nevertheless the ancients held that Apollo got his title for his efficiency in keeping off these little marauders from the crops. Fortunately in dealing with this epithet we can gain powerful aid from another cult of the god which sprang up in Athens in classical times, and which is so closely analogous to that of Apollo Smintheus and Apollo Lyceius that the same explanation must apply to all three.

Attica was visited by a plague of locusts, and, as usual, the god of Delphi was asked for a remedy. "The god said he would drive them out of the country, and they know that he drove them out, but how he did it, they do not say." In thankfulness for this the Athenians set up a bronze statue of Apollo

¹ *El.* 6: αἴτη δ', Ὀρέστω, τοῦ λυκοκτόνου θεοῦ ἀγορὰ Λύκειος.

² Plutarch, *Solon* 23: λόκον δὲ τῷ κομισάντι πέντε δραχμὰς ἔδωκε, λυκιδεὰ δὲ μίαν, ὡς φησὶν ὁ Φαληρεὺς Δημήτριος τὸ μὲν βοὸς εἶναι, τὸ δὲ προβάτου τιμὴν.

³ *Myth, Ritual and Religion*, (1887) II. pp. 201 sqq.

⁴ Strabo x. 473, XIII. 605, 612.

Parnopius which was said to be the work of Pheidias, and which Pausanias saw¹.

Now, if we did not know the circumstances under which Apollo won the title Parnopian, it could be argued that in this phase the god was developed from a locust totem just like Apollo the Wolf and Apollo the Mouse. Not only did Athenians venerate Apollo Parnopius, but the Aeolians of Asia Minor sacrificed to him, and as we know that the region round Mount Sipylus² was subject to this insect scourge, we must conclude that the epithets Lyceius and Smintheus refer to Apollo as the averter of wolves and mice.

Strabo³ points out that the Oetaeans venerated Heracles called Cornopion from the locusts which are termed *cornopes* by the Oetaeans, but *parnopes* by other Greeks, because he rid them of a plague of locusts. So too the Erythraeans worshipped Heracles under the name of Ipoctonus because he protected their vines from the moths (*ἱπρες*). Indeed it was popularly reported that the Erythraean vines alone were immune from this pest. The Rhodians had a temple of Apollo Erythibius, so named because he kept off the rust (which they called *ἐρυθίβη*, but others *ἐρυσίβη*). Again the Aeolians of Asia had a month called Pornopion (since the Boeotian said *pornopes* instead of *parnopes*), and sacrificed to Apollo Pornopion.

Are we to regard Apollo Erythibius and Heracles Ipoctonus as evolved from a rust totem and a phylloxera totem respectively? Is it not better to regard Heracles Ipoctonus as only a local form of Heracles Soter, one of the favourite divinities in the centuries immediately before our era? What greater boon could Heracles the Saviour confer on his worshippers, if they were vine-growers, than to avert a ruinous blight from their vineyards? May we not conclude that just as Apollo under the names of Parnopius and Erythibius kept off locust and rust from the cornfields of his votaries, so likewise in the capacity of Lycoctonus and Lyceius he repelled the wolves from their flocks and herds? Later on⁴ we shall find grounds for believing that the epithet Bassareus, derived

¹ Paus. I. 24. 8.

² *Ibid.*

³ Strabo XIII. 618.

⁴ [The subject is not treated in this volume.]

from *bassara*, the Lydian name for a fox, was applied to Dionysus because he kept away "the little foxes that spoil the grapes."

If it be said that Apollo's fondness for the wolf and the mouse show that he had once worn their shape, and that he could not have been hostile to them, it might equally well be argued that William the Conqueror was a deer, because the chronicler relates that "William loved the tall deer as though he had been their father," and that the master of a pack of foxhounds was a fox because of his affection and care for that animal. The huntsman has a certain affection for the animal which is his favourite quarry, and as Apollo will be seen as the especial guardian of herds, his chief duty will be to keep off the wolf. Similar arguments will apply to the case of Artemis, who, on account of her connection with Callisto, has been supposed to have once been a bear totem.

An argument for the existence of totemism in early Greece has been drawn from the numerous class of Greek legends in which maidens are impregnated by gods, who appear to them in the guise of animals. Thus Zeus in the form of a bull beguiled Europa, who became the mother of Minos; as a swan Leda, the mother of the Dioscuri; and as an ant the daughter of Clitor; whilst as a cuckoo he first appeared to Hera on Mount Cuckoo close to the Heraeum of Argos. It has been held by eminent scholars that in those tales we get traces of ancient totems which in the later developments of Hellenic religion all merged into Zeus. It is thus argued that the royal houses of Sparta and Cnossus were once totem clans, who had the swan and the bull as their totems.

A further argument is drawn from the various stories respecting the infancy of Zeus in Crete, for whilst one legend made the sow his foster-mother, the common tale made the goat Amalthea his wet-nurse, whilst still another story gave this honour to the cow. It is therefore quite possible that in all these versions of the suckling of Zeus we have the survivals of three totems.

Thus in Samoa, where it cannot be said that totems or totem clans in the proper sense of the terms exist, "there were

general village gods as well as gods of particular families; and the same deity is incarnate in the form of different animals. One god, for example, is incarnate in the lizard, the owl, and the centipede; another in the bat, domestic fowl, pigeon, and prickly sea-urchin¹. With reference to these Samoan divinities Prof. Tylor remarks that "the doctrine of totem animals and the doctrine of incarnation animals no doubt both belong to the general theory of animal worship, but it does not follow that a species of animals allied to a clan of men is to be regarded as the same as a species of animals inhabited by a god. Yet the theory of the development of gods from totems has its chief support in the Fijian and Samoan gods, who, it is taken for granted, were thus invented out of their own sacred animals²."

But without for one moment accepting the doctrine that all gods are evolved from totems it may be argued that the incarnations of Zeus represent the totems of clans which, when they adopted the cult of Zeus from without, harmonized it with their own ancient beliefs by representing themselves not as sprung from a human ancestress and an animal, but from a human ancestress embraced by a god in the guise of the totem animal. In this way totem animals can easily pass into incarnation animals. Nor indeed is this mere conjecture, for one of the Greek legends cited above shows us the process of transition. Thus the Ophiogenes of Asia Minor by one legend were sprung from a snake who became a man, that is from a totem snake, while another legend made them spring from a human ancestress impregnated by a god in the guise of a snake, that is an incarnation snake.

It has been conjectured³ "that such multiform deities are tribal or phratric totems, with the totems of the tribal or phratric subdivisions tacked on as incarnations. As the attribution of human qualities to the totem is of the essence of totemism, it is plain that a deity generalized from or including under him a number of distinct animals and plants must, as his animal and vegetable attributes contradict and cancel each

¹ Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 88.

² *Journ. Anthr. Inst.* vol. xxviii. pp. 142 sqq.

³ Frazer, *op. cit.* pp. 88-9.

other, tend more and more to throw them off and to retain only those human qualities which to the savage apprehension are the common element of all the totems whereof he is the composite product. In short, the tribal totem tends to pass into an anthropomorphic god."

But it was not only Zeus who took upon himself the forms of animals in order to prosecute his amours. Cronus himself had taken the form of a horse when he appeared to the nymph Philyra in the dells of Pelion and begat on her Chiron the centaur¹. On the coins of the non-Greek city of Segesta in Sicily is seen a dog. This is the river Crimisus, who appeared in that form to a Trojan maiden, who by him became the mother of Egestus, the eponymous hero of the place².

Arcadia not only furnishes examples of a deity temporarily taking the form of an animal, but even at least one deity who was permanently worshipped under semi-bestial form. This was the 'black Demeter' of Phigalea, whose ancient xoanon represented the goddess with a horse's head. It was said that Poseidon in the shape of a stallion had intercourse with her, and from this union sprang the Mistress. A gem actually found at Phigalea shows two figures, whose upper portions are either equine or covered with the heads and skins of horses³.

Onceum⁴, another great shrine of Demeter, had a similar tale that when Demeter was seeking her daughter, "she was followed by Poseidon, who desired to gain her favours. So she turned herself into a mare, and grazed with the mares of Onceus; but Poseidon, detecting the deception, likewise took the form of a horse, and so enjoyed Demeter." The horse Arion was the fruit of their loves. But the horse-headed Demeter of Phigalea did not stand alone, for about 12 furlongs above that town at the spot where the Lymax falls into the Neda was the sanctuary of Eurynome, 'hallowed from of old,' not easily accessible on account of the rugged nature of the place, which was surrounded by a dense cypress grove. The

¹ Schol. ad Apollon. Rhod. i. 554, ii. 1281.

² Servius ad *Aen.* i. 550, v. 30.

³ Milchhöfer, *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, p. 55.

⁴ Paus. viii. 25. 5.

Phigaleans were persuaded that Eurynome was a surname of Artemis. The image of wood, bound fast by golden chains, represented a woman to the hips, but below that a fish. Pausanias¹ did not conceive it possible that Artemis could be represented by such a figure.

Of course it has been plausibly suggested that in these various bestial and semi-bestial forms of the gods, and in the corresponding legends, we have evidence of deities evolved out of totem animals, but in some cases at least other explanations are equally possible. It may however be pointed out that Pelasgian Arcadia, which down to the Christian era cherished the old fetish representations of the gods, also preserved in an especial degree survivals of animal worship, if not of totems.

An argument in support of the view that the Greek deities were developed out of totems has been put forward on the ground that the facts "that certain animals might not be sacrificed to certain gods, while on the other hand each deity demanded particular victims, explained by the ancients themselves in certain cases to be hostile animals, find their natural explanation in totemism."

Thus it has been argued that the Aegidae introduced Athena into Athens, to whom no goat might be offered on the Acropolis, while she herself wore the goat skin, *aegis*. But there is no valid proof that the cult of Athena was introduced by the Aegidae, and I have offered elsewhere² a much more natural explanation of the *aegis*. It has also been suggested that because a bear was formerly offered to Artemis at Munychia, the goddess had been evolved out of a bear totem, but very serious, if not fatal, objections will be raised against that view in a later section.

Some totem clans, as we saw, are careful not to speak of their totem by its proper name, but use descriptive epithets instead, whilst others again avoid looking at them. With the first mentioned practice certain epithets applied in early Greek literature to certain animals have been well compared³. Thus Hesiod calls the squirrel not *skiouros*, but *dendrobates*,

¹ Paus. viii. 41. 6.

² *Origin of Tragedy*, p. 89.

³ A. B. Cook, *J.H.S.* vol. xiv. (1894), p. 157.

'tree-walker,' and the snail *phereoikos*, 'house-carrier.' The statement of Herodotus that the Pelasgians had no names for their gods is probably based on the fact that the oldest population of Greece had like many modern savages an intense objection to mentioning the names of their deities. Thus the Arcadians would not divulge except to the initiated the true name of the goddess known as the 'Mistress,' and Pausanias² likewise tells us that at Pallantium "on the top of the hill there remains to this day a sanctuary of certain gods. Their surname is Pure, and here it is customary to take the most solemn oaths. The people either do not know or will not divulge the names of those gods."

Similarly the Pelasgians of Attica would only speak of the Erinyes as the Eumenides ('Kindly'), and passed by the goddesses' sacred grove in complete silence and with averted eyes³.

We saw that among modern totemists the clansman is in the habit of assimilating himself to the totem by wearing its skin or the like. This is especially done in their solemn dances, which often derive their names from the animals imitated. There is no better example of this than the great Snake dance of the Pueblo Indians. One Attic festival at least wears the *prima facie* appearance of being a survival of such a dance. At the annual festival of Artemis Brauronia young girls were dressed up to resemble bears, and were denominated 'Bears' (*Arktoi*)⁴, and no man would marry any girl who had not

¹ Paus. VIII. 37. 9.

² VIII. 44. 5.

³ Soph. O. C. 125 sqq.:

προσέβα γὰρ οὐκ
 ἂν ποτ' ἀστιβὲς ἄλσος ἐς
 τᾶνδ' ἀμαιομακῆτᾶν κορᾶν,
 ἃς τρέμωμεν λέγειν,
 καὶ παραμειβόμεσθ' ἀδέρκτως,
 ἀφώνως, ἀλόγως τὸ τᾶς
 εὐφάμου στόμα φροντίδος
 λέντες.

⁴ Ar. Lys. 641-5:

ἐπὶ μὲν ἔτη γεγῶσ' εὐθύς ἡρρηφόρου
 εἴτ' ἀλετρὶς ἢ δεκέτις οἷσα τάρχηγένι
 κῆτ' ἔχουσα τὸν κροκωτὸν ἄρκτος ἢ Βραυρωνίσις.

been a 'Bear'.¹ From the latter circumstance it has been argued that it was a survival of a time when exogamy was the rule in Attica and no man could marry a woman of his own clan.

Milchhöfer² already in 1883, in treating of the devices seen on Mycenaean gems, had called attention to the evidence of animal worship which they afforded, and he sought to prove that many of the subordinate Greek divinities—Demeter, Erinyes, Pegasus, Arion, Iris, Dioscuri, Harpies, Winds, Gorgons, Centaurs, Sileni, Satyrs, not to speak of the Minotaur—all grouped themselves round the central figure of the Horse, and were in fact differentiations of the same primitive cult.

In 1894 Mr A. B. Cook, in a remarkable essay on *Animal Worship in the Mycenaean Age*³, collected a large body of evidence from the monuments of the Mycenaean period—frescoes, gems, and bas-reliefs—to show that "in the centuries immediately preceding the Dorian invasion (roughly from B.C. 1500 to 1000) there existed throughout the Aegean Archipelago and the eastern coasts of the Greek peninsula a wide and varied worship of animals both wild and tame. Among the former were the lion, the wild bull, and the stag; while the latter comprised the ass, ox, horse, goat, and pig⁴."

Though we need not accept his conclusions that "the ass and the lion were held to be embodiments of a Chthonian daemon, whose special prerogative was to guard the waters of the underworld, whose worshippers were wont to disguise themselves in asinine and leonine skins of an artificial sort⁵," yet it must be admitted that the Mycenaean gems and cognate monuments present us with what appear to be cult-scenes which exhibit either human beings wearing the *protome* of an animal over the upper part of the body, to which it is secured by a girdle round the waist, or an animal wearing its own *protome* in the same fashion, or an animal wearing the *protome* of another⁶. A few examples will suffice, such as the fresco

¹ Schol. ad Ar. loc. cit.

² *Die Anfänge der Kunst in Griechenland*, pp. 39-90.

³ *J.H.S.* vol. xiv. (1894), pp. 81-169.

⁴ loc. cit. p. 155.

⁵ *ibid.*

⁶ *ibid.* 156.

showing three figures with asses' heads found at Mycenae by Tsountas in 1886, the gem from Phigalea already cited which shows two upright figures with human arms, facing each other, dressed apparently in the skins and heads of horses, with girdles and seemingly with birds' legs, and a gem (fig. 19) showing a winged figure resting on one knee, with the head of a swine, its lower parts being human¹.



Fig. 19. 'Island Gem.'

Hydra² has furnished a cornelian triangular gem, on which is portrayed a figure wearing a horse-skin over the head and body, tied in at the waist and hanging down to the feet behind. A ridge of upright hair extends down the back. On either side is a man clad with the drawers of the Mycenaean period. On the floor of the beehive tomb excavated at Mycenae in 1897 were found some tablets of glass paste adorned with reliefs which represent animal-headed figures standing on either side of a tripod or an altar, and carrying vessels in their hands. A Mycenaean gem found at Orvieto represents a couple of bulls, clad in coats of hide and having girdles about their waists, facing one another, and carrying vessels in hands which seem to be human.

The evidence derived from the works of art, taken in combination with the literary testimony already cited for the reverence for, and even worship of, animals amongst the Greeks of the mainland and islands in classical times, makes it not at all unlikely that animal cults played a considerable part in the religion of Mycenaean Greece.

We have just seen that in Crete the sow was not only revered, but even worshipped with sacrifices, as was the case with the cow in Egypt, but as in the latter country not only are the divinities represented in semi-bestial shapes, but there is also a considerable body of evidence that the animal deity of each *nome* was once a true clan totem, it is all the more probable that the half-human, half-animal shapes

¹ This gem (now published for the first time), formerly in the possession of Miss Brock, is now in Brit. Mus.

² H. B. Walters, *J.H.S.* vol. xvii. Pl. III. 5.

seen on Mycenaean gems had at least a magical, if not a religious intention.

I have already argued on other grounds that the primary use of Mycenaean gems was amuletic and that the designs engraved on them were intended to heighten the natural magic of the stones. This renders it still more likely that the strange half-bestial forms on the works of art, such as the horse-headed creatures on the gem from Phigalea, where there was certainly a cult of the horse-headed Demeter, were essentially religious in character.

The same explanation may be suggested for the scenes on two cylinders from Crete¹, one of which (fig. 20) shows two human figures with grotesque heads (goats and an ape?) and the other four rude human figures each holding a deer by the horn, the two central figures holding also some other creature (fig. 21). Similar are also two cylinders from Cyprus (vol. I. figs. 34—5), one of which shows five human figures (one with a grotesque head), accompanied by birds and an ape; the other a human(?) figure crouching, with horses, birds, and other symbols.

The animal-headed creatures on the works of art seem occasionally to be engaged in dances probably of a mimetic character, which is rendered all the more likely by the existence in Attica in later times of the famous Bear dance in honour of Artemis Brauronia already mentioned (p. 483). That the latter was nothing exceptional is quite clear from the state-



Fig. 20. Cylinder; Crete.



Fig. 21. Cylinder; Crete.

¹ Both are in the Fitzwilliam Museum, Cambridge. They were procured in Crete by Mr J. H. Marshall, B.A., King's Coll., Camb., now Director-general of the Archaeological Survey of India.

ments of Athenaeus¹ and Pollux², for the former in an enumeration of dances speaks of the *Lion* and the *Owl*, while the latter mentions dances of *Caryatides* and *Sileni* held in honour of Artemis and Dionysus respectively.

We may accept Mr Cook's³ conclusion that "on the whole the Mycenaean worshippers were not totemists pure and simple, but that the mode of their worship points to its having been developed out of a still earlier totemism," and that "the Animal-worship of the Mycenaean age must be considered intermediate between Totemism and Anthropomorphism: its ritual relates it to the former; its conception of the animal-god to the latter."

We saw that it is customary with modern totemist tribes to tattoo or paint representations of their totems on their bodies. If the aboriginal people of the Aegean, the Semites, the Egyptians, and the Libyans, were totemists, we ought to be able to show that they practised tattooing. But it can be demonstrated that many, if not all, the peoples who lived around the eastern Mediterranean had this custom.

We have just had evidence of the existence of totemism amongst the ancient Libyans. The Berber women of to-day disfigure themselves with tattooing and painting. Thus the women of Tafilet "are a great deal tattooed, the nose, forehead, and chin being often highly decorated by this process⁴." Again, the women of Dads are distinctly pretty with very fair skins and clear complexions, but they spoil their appearance by painting their features with henna and kohl. "Usually five red streaks pass from the top of the forehead to the eyebrows, while each cheek contains a triangular patch of the same hue. The eyebrows and lashes are darkened with the *kohl*, a black patch is put on the tip of the nose, another at each point of the mouth,

¹ xiv. 629 ff. : ἔτι δὲ μορφασμὸς καὶ γλαυξ καὶ λέων ἀλφειῶν τε ἐκχύσεις καὶ χρεῶν ἀποκοπή καὶ στοιχεῖα καὶ πυρρίχη.

² iv. 104: ὁ δὲ λέων ὀρχήσεως φοβερᾶς εἶδος. ἦν δὲ τινα καὶ Λακωνικὰ ὀρχήματα, διὰ Μαλέας¹ Σειληνοὶ δ' ἦσαν, καὶ ὑπ' αὐτοῖς Σάτυροι ὑπότρομα ὀρχούμενοι. καὶ Ἰθυμβοὶ ἐπὶ Διονύσῳ, καὶ καρνατίδες ἐπ' Ἀρτέμιδι. καὶ βρυάλιχα, τὸ μὲν εὖρημα βρυαλίχον, προσωρχοῦντο δὲ γυναῖκες Ἀρτέμιδι καὶ Ἀπόλλωνι.

³ J.H.S. xiv. (1894) pp. 158-9.

⁴ Walter Harris, *Tafilet*, p. 289.

and still another on the chin. The neck is often slightly tattooed in a narrow design running from under the chin as far as the breasts¹."

It seems absolutely certain that with the Berbers tattooing is no modern innovation, but dates from a remote antiquity, like the lock worn in the centre of the back of the head and called *Gitava* by the Berbers of Riff and that grown on one side above the ear and termed *Kron* by the mountaineers of north Morocco, "both being thus distinguished from their Arab neighbours, who shave their heads." We have already seen (vol. I. p. 65) that in the Delta was found a figurine which both shows the Libyan lock of hair, and exhibits on the forehead marks which may be meant to represent tattooing.

It has been also pointed out (vol. I. pp. 66,*223) that female figurines of two distinct types were found in the graves at Naqada. One of the steatopygous class has four streaks in black paint down the side of the face, whilst the one of a slighter type shows marks apparently meant for tattooing. We know from Strabo that the women of the Troglodyte Ethiopians, who were the neighbours of the Libyans and were constantly harassed by them, adorned² themselves with black paint made of antimony, that is, the same pigment as the kohl now used by the Berber women.

We saw that animal worship of a kind closely resembling what is termed totemism was universal in Egypt. All the more interesting are the facts that tattooed Egyptian mummies are known³ and that the practice of tattooing still survives among the Egyptian fellaheen. These circumstances render it not unlikely that the markings on certain figurines found at Naqada were intended to indicate either tattooing or painting.

Again among the Arabs of the Euphrates region "the women are hopelessly disfigured by nose rings and tattooing⁴."

¹ Walter Harris, *Taflet*, p. 161.

² xvi. 775: στίβιζονται δὲ ἐπιμελῶς αἱ γυναῖκες, περικεῖνται δὲ τοῖς τραχήλοις κογχία ἀντιβασκανίων. στίβι, στίμι or στίμι, Lat. *stibium* = sesqui-sulphuret of antimony.

³ J. de Morgan, *Recherches sur les Origines de l'Égypte Ethnogr. Préhist.* 1897, p. 56.

⁴ J. P. Peters, *Nippur, or Explorations and Adventures on the Euphrates*, vol. I. p. 244.

The use of the *washm*, which "as described in the old poets and in the *hadith* is a sort of tattooing of the hands arms and gums, imprinted by women on others of their own sex by way of adornment, was forbidden by Mohammed along with the wearing of false hair and other attempts to disguise nature¹."



Fig. 22. Female Head; Mycenae.

That the Hebrews had, like the other Semites, once tattooed is rendered highly probable by the fact that it is forbidden in Leviticus². That the ancient inhabitants of Syria universally

¹ W. Robertson Smith, *Kinship and Marriage in Early Arabia* [1885], p. 214.

² xix. 28: Καὶ ἐντομίδας οὐ ποιήσετε ἐπὶ ψυχῇ ἐν τῷ σώματι ὑμῶν, καὶ γράμματα στικτὰ οὐ ποιήσετε ἐν ὑμῖν.

practised tattooing is rendered certain by the testimony of Lucian¹ that "all are tattooed, some on the wrists, some on their neck, and from this all the Assyrians bear tattoo marks." Among the peasants of Palestine at the present day, the women usually have their faces tattooed², but only in the case of Christians are men so marked who wish to avoid military service compulsory on all Moslems³. Lucian's statement gains further corroboration from the fact that the colossus from the Phoenician settlement of Amathus in Cyprus has tattoo marks on its arms⁴.

There are some reasons for believing that the people of the Mycenaean and pre-Mycenaean age of Greece practised tattooing. In 1896, Tsountas⁵ found in a heap of confused débris among house-ruins on the western side of the acropolis of Mycenae a female head (fig. 22) of a very remarkable character. The material is lime with threads of asbestos running through it like horsehair in modern wall plaster. The surface of the head is covered with a finer white slip of lime. The hair and eyes are coloured black, the lips red, whilst there is a reddish rosette on the chin, forehead, and each cheek, originally of the same bright red as the lips. A diadem round the top of the head is decorated with black vertical stripes on a light blue ground, and there are traces of a necklace. The break of the neck extends up the back of the head to a point level with the nostril, above which the head is complete in the round. Judging from the associated pottery Tsountas thinks that it belongs to the characteristic 'Mycenaean period' of Mycenae⁶.

¹ *De Syria dea*, 59: στίζονται δὲ πάντες οἱ μὲν ἐς καρπούς, οἱ δὲ ἐς ἀγκύνας, καὶ ἀπὸ τοῦδε ἅπαντες Ἀσσύριοι στιγματισφορέουσι.

² For this information I am indebted to my friend Mr R. A. S. Macalister, M.A. (St John's Coll., Camb.), Director of the excavations of the Palestine Exploration Fund.

³ W. Robertson Smith, *Religion of the Semites* [1889], p. 316 n.

⁴ Perrot and Chipiez, *Phoenicia and its Dependencies*, p. 165, Fig. 110.

⁵ Tsountas, *Πρακτικά*, 1896, p. 31; *Ephem. Archaiol.* 1902, pp. 1-10, Pl. I. I have to express my best thanks to Dr Tsountas for sending me an advance proof of his plate, from which the figure in my text is a reproduction (half-size).

⁶ My friend Mr R. C. Bosanquet, whom Dr Tsountas most kindly permitted to examine the head for me, thinks that it is 'post-Minoan,' as the pottery belongs to the Third Style of Furtwängler and Loeschke. The head is so short

A statuette from Seriphus (fig. 23) shows in its decoration certain marks which may indicate tattooing¹, and a fragment of a vase painting from Tiryns shows a figure adorned with what may be tattoo marks². As the people of Seriphus would not eat a lobster, and bewailed that creature when dead, as modern totemist tribes mourn over the totem animal, the discovery of this figurine on Seriphus is peculiarly interesting.



Fig. 23. Tattooed statuette; Seriphus.

We sought to show on an earlier page (vol. I. p. 353) that the aboriginal Thracian population was closely related to the Pelasgians of Greece. Very important therefore is the statement of Herodotus³ that among all the Thracians with the exception of the Getae, whom I have shown to be Celts, tattooing was held to be a mark of good birth, its absence the reverse. The accuracy of Herodotus is proved by Greek vases of the fifth century B.C. The figure of a Thracian woman so tattooed is here reproduced from the fragments of a vase, ascribed to Euphronius, on which was painted the slaying of Orpheus by the Thracian women. On the woman's left arm is seen a ladder-like band of tattooing, whilst on her right arm is seen a stag beautifully executed (fig. 24)⁴. This last is no doubt the woman's totem.

from back to front that he doubts if it was meant to be seen from the side. The modelling of the lips and chin is extremely flat in a side view. He thinks that it may be the head of a Sphinx, the body of which may have been in profile modelled in low relief on the wall, while the head was turned at right angles to the body, as in the archaic sixth-century sphinx of Sparta. He thinks that in any case it is directly derived from the paintings in relief, of which there are so many fragments at Knossos, though at the latter place the whole head was detached from the background. The material is that of the plaster on which the frescoes are painted, and with which the reliefs of Knossos are modelled. The colours used are those of the wall-paintings.

¹ C. Blinkenberg, *Antiquités Prémycéniennes*, in *Mém. Soc. Roy. Antiqu. du Nord*, 1896-1901, p. 48, fig. 13, from which my figure is copied.

² Schuchhardt, *Schliemann's Excavations*, p. 132.

³ v. 6.

⁴ These fragments were published by Miss Harrison, *Jour. Hell. Stud.* ix. pp. 143-6, pl. vi. My illustration is taken from her plate.

Herodotus was quite right in stating that tattoo marks indicated good birth, for they certainly showed that the wearer had a well-proved claim to membership in a clan. The Greeks of a later age, not understanding the true significance of tattooing, tried to explain it in various ways¹. "The most popular explanation was that given by Plutarch², that it was done to the honour of Orpheus as a punishment to the women," a statement which clearly proves that with the Thracians, as is so frequently the case, the women only were tattooed.



Fig. 24. Tattooed Thracian woman.

It is not unlikely that the stag and other patterns depicted on the Thracian woman are not merely the outcome of the vase-painter's fancy, who, knowing by hearsay that the practice prevailed in Thrace, wished thus to indicate clearly the nationality of the slayers of Orpheus, but that the marks were actually such as were commonly seen on Thracian women. At any rate every Athenian in the fifth and fourth centuries before our era must have been just as familiar with the appear-

¹ Miss J. E. Harrison, *loc. cit.*

² *De sera numinis vindicta*, 12: οὐδὲ γὰρ Ὀρῶκας ἐπαινοῦμεν, ὅτι στρίψουσιν ἀχρεῖς νῦν τιμωροῦντες τῷ Ὀρφέϊ τὰς αὐτῶν γυναῖκας.

ance and habits of Thracian women as any white person in the Southern States of America is with those of negroes, for a large proportion of the female slaves at Athens were Thracians, as is clear from the plays of Aristophanes¹ and a famous passage in Plato². Indeed *Thratta*, 'Thracian woman,' had



Fig. 25. Tattooed Bosnian girl.

become a generic name for a maidservant. The Athenian factories in Thrace afforded a ready market to the Thracian parents, with whom, as we have seen above, it was customary to sell their daughters into slavery.

We saw (vol. I. p. 346) that according to Strabo all the Illyrian and Thracian tribes tattooed themselves, and that the

¹ *Ach.* 273.

² *Theast.* 174 A.

geographer used the presence or absence of this custom as a criterion for distinguishing between these tribes and the Celts who had forced their way into the Balkan peninsula. He thus held that tattooing was not practised by the fair-haired peoples of upper Europe, amongst whom, as we have just seen, there is also no trace of totemism. This is confirmed by the fact that none of the ancient writers who described the Germans mention the existence of tattooing among them.

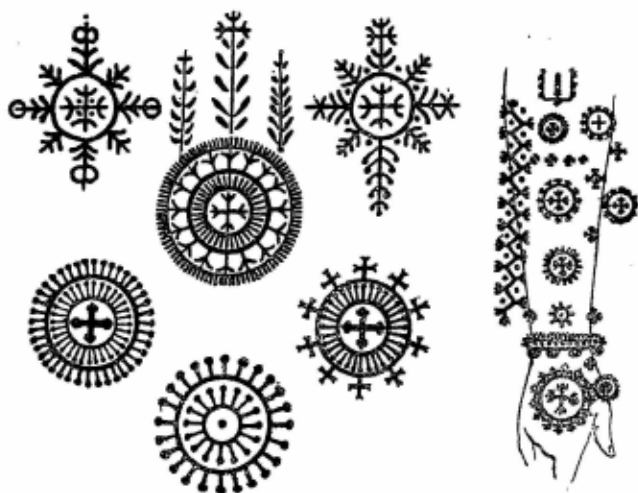


Fig. 26. Tattoo marks; Bosnia.

Whilst the Attic vase-paintings corroborate Herodotus, the veracity of Strabo can also be demonstrated from an unexpected source. Dr Truhelka,¹ the director of the Landes-Museum at Sarajevo, has called attention to the practice of tattooing in Bosnia and Herzegovina, and has pointed out that this custom is confined almost exclusively to the Roman Catholic population, as the Greek Catholics rarely practise it, and then only when living among and under the influence of the Roman Catholics. Truhelka gives reproductions of the patterns employed both by the men and by the women of different districts, for the sexes

¹ *Wiss. Mittheilungen aus Bosnien*, vol. iv. pp. 493 sqq. (from which figs. 25 and 26 are reproduced).

use different marks and each district has its own types. Dr Truhelka then discusses the origin of the custom and naturally enquires if it is Slavonic. As there is not a scrap of evidence to show that the ancient Slavs ever had the practice, he is led to conclude that it is not an ancient Slavonic survival. Now as there are some tattoo marks which are undoubtedly cruciform, Truhelka jumps to the conclusion that they are all of Christian origin, and he suggests, without however any proof, that the practice only came in since the Turkish conquest, and that it arose from the priests influencing their people to mark themselves indelibly with the sign of the Cross. This made it much more difficult for any one to turn renegade, for even if the tattoo mark was cut out the tell-tale scar remained. But two difficulties beset this suggestion. First, how is it that the Greek priests did not employ the same method for securing the fidelity of their flocks? Secondly, why do we find so many other non-Christian symbols, differing in different localities and in the two sexes? But Strabo has just given us the true solution. In his time the regions now called Bosnia and Herzegovina were occupied by Illyrians (vol. i. p. 346). The Illyrians had been conquered in some districts by Celtic tribes, such as the Scordisci and Carni, but, as we have seen, they remained the chief element in the population, often adopting the arms and costume of their Celtic masters, but always retaining their own practice of tattooing. We are therefore certain that tattooing was a distinctive feature of the oldest race in Bosnia and Herzegovina down to the Christian era.

St Paul¹ states that he had preached in Illyricum, and it is certain that from a very early date that province was converted to Christianity and formed part of the Latin Church. Later on came the conquest by the Slavs, who had adopted the Greek form of Christianity from their apostle Cyrillus, the inventor of the Slavonic alphabet. Thus the Roman Catholics of Bosnia and Herzegovina, among whom tattooing still survives, are the descendants of the old Illyrian population conquered by the Slavs. It seems quite certain that the Slavs never had the

¹ *Rom.* xv. 19.

practice of tattooing, and hence they were just as slow as the Celts had been to adopt the custom from the conquered race. Strabo's statement respecting the Illyrian practice of tattooing thus readily explains why it survives among the Latin Catholics of Bosnia and Herzegovina. We can now explain the non-Christian tattoo marks, and the variation of the marks according to sex and district. The cruciform marks may be survivals from pre-Christian times, but it is easy to understand how the sign of the cross would come into use among the tattooing Illyrians after their conversion to Christianity. The sacred symbol would not unnaturally be added to their other marks as a potent charm against evil. Crosses were commonly worn by people who did not tattoo, and those who did tattoo found it a safe way of attaching inseparably to the person the most powerful means of averting all bodily and spiritual harm.

We saw that among many totemist tribes only the women are tattooed, and it was suggested that, as among such tribes succession through females is or has been the rule, it is much more important to have accurate knowledge of the women's totems than of those of the men.

The results of our inquiries into the existence of tattooing in north Africa, Asia Minor, the islands and mainland of Greece, as well as among the Thracians and Illyrians, offer a curious parallel, for among the Thracians and Troglodyte Ethiopians, as we are expressly told, it was only the women who were tattooed, and among the Berbers of to-day the women only have paint and tattoo marks, and such too seems to be the rule among the Syrians and Arabs. It may not even be without significance that painted or tattooed figurines from Naqada, as well as the statuette from Seriphus and the head from Mycenae, are all female. But in another chapter I have shown that in Libya, Egypt, Asia Minor, as well as amongst the Pelasgians of Greece, succession through females and the rule of exogamy once prevailed.

We have seen that among modern totemists the totem is constantly placed as a badge on their shields, weapons, hut-posts and the like. Dr Tsountas¹ holds that "from the earliest times

¹ *The Mycenaean Age*, pp. 193-4.

the Mycenaean shield seems to have been distinguished by... devices, either in colours, inlaid, or rivetted on." For example the notched shield of one of the lion-hunters is distinguished by stars set in the silver field; Reichel held that some of the large double stars of gold from the royal graves had served the same purpose, whilst Schuchhardt has offered a like conjecture regarding the lion-mask and the great silver ox-head. Aeschylus is therefore faithfully reproducing the practice of pre-Achean times when he represents the Seven who fought against Thebes (Amphiaraus excepted) as bearing shields blazoned with devices and mottoes like those of mediaeval knights¹. The painters of the Attic black and red figured vases had beyond doubt a like tradition, as the shields of the numberless warriors depicted on their works are regularly adorned with heraldic blazons (vol. I. fig. 96).

On the other hand there is not a single mention of a device on the shield of any Achean warrior. But as the Achaeans had neither totem nor tattooing, the absence of the badge on the shield, which seems certainly to be the outcome of totemism, is exactly what might have been expected.

In this respect the Achaeans are in perfect agreement with the fairhaired folk of upper Europe, for the Teutonic and Scandinavian tribes bore no blazons on their shields until many centuries after they had overrun what once had been the Roman empire. Thus, though there are frequent and full descriptions of the colour and decorations of shields in the sagas, such as *Beowulf* and *Burnt Njal*, we never hear of any heraldic device, and this negative argument is completely corroborated by that indisputable witness, the Bayeux tapestry, for not a single shield, either Norman or Saxon, is adorned with any blazon. It was when the northern warrior went south to Micklegarth and took service with the emperor of the East, that he first became acquainted with heraldry, and it was only after the First Crusade that the practice of using devices and badges and coats-of-arms came into use in northern Europe. So the device of one of the greatest of mediaeval English houses was the five-

¹ *Septem 375 sqq.* The poet expressly tells us that Amphiaraus had no device—σῆμα δ' οὐκ ἐπὶ κέκλυ (591).

point star, which, when night sank upon the Christian host at the battle of Antioch in 1098, "to every man's sight did alight and arrest upon the standard of Aubrey de Vere, there shining excessively." Thus the use of the badge upon the shield has passed from the south into the north.

The statement of Herodotus¹ that the Carians were the first who had this practice and that the Hellenes borrowed it from them, is in the main true. For it is probable that under the Achean domination the ancient Mycenaean practice of adorning the shield with devices had fallen into desuetude in those parts of Greece which came under Achean influence, and that, later on, the custom came again into fashion under the influence of the people of the islands and the coast of Asia Minor, who had never abandoned the usage. But we have found evidence of totemism having once existed among the ancient Aegean population, as for example at Parium, in Seriphus, Cyprus, and Crete. We may therefore conclude that the common practice in historical times of placing a badge on the shield was a survival from the far-off days when totemism was an essential factor in the lives of the Mediterranean people.

We have already referred to the absence of all mention of engraved gems either as amulets, signets, or ornaments in the Homeric poems. But if the Achaeans were neither totemists nor practised any form of animal worship, there is a further reason why they should not have employed those stones upon which scenes possibly derived from animal worship were so frequently inscribed.

Among modern totemist tribes sometimes the totem animal is placed in the grave along with the dead, or a representation of it, or the stuffed skin, is hung over the grave or placed by the dead man's side, or the totem is painted or carved on the grave-post². Amongst the Black Shoulder (Buffalo) clan of the Omahas a dying clansman was wrapped in a buffalo robe with the hair out, his face was painted with the clan mark, and his friends said, "You are going to the animals (buffaloes). You are going

¹ I. 171: καὶ γὰρ ἐπὶ τὰ κρᾶνα λόφους ἐπιδέσθαι Κᾶρες εἰσι οἱ καταδέξαντες καὶ ἐπὶ τὰς ἀσπίδας τὰ σημεῖα ποιεῖσθαι, καὶ ὄχαρα ἀσπίσι οὗτοί εἰσι οἱ ποιησάμενοι πρῶτοι.

² Frazer, *Totemism*, pp. 31-2.

to rejoin your ancestors. You are going, or your four souls are going, to the four winds. Be strong¹." It has been suggested² that the great ox-head of silver from one of the shaft-graves of Mycenae (vol. I. p. 7), and the numerous smaller ox-heads cut out of gold plate found in the same tomb, are indications of a cult of the bull. Such a cult might have been the outcome of a prior stage of full totemism. It is not impossible that a survival of a similar feeling may be seen in the fact that on the Acropolis of Athens was a bronze lioness erected to the memory of a certain woman Leæna, and that there is extant a bas-relief of a lion with a legend which shows that it was erected to the memory of Leon of Sinope³.

As the dead Buffalo clansman was wrapped in the hide of a buffalo, Egyptian queens seem to have been sometimes buried in cow-shaped sarcophagi⁴.

The Omahas held that when they died, they returned to the totem animals from which they had sprung, in other words, they believed in the transmigration of souls, a doctrine likewise held in a most singular form by the Aruntas of central Australia. But even those who know nought else about Greek philosophy are familiar with the celebrated doctrine of Metempsychosis connected with the name of Pythagoras. Pythagoras, son of Mnesarchus, was a native of Samos, that ancient stronghold of the Pelasgians, famed for its rude fetish of Hera and its reverence for the sheep. We are naturally tempted to suggest that the philosopher simply put into philosophic form the totemistic ideas in which he had been reared, and simply modified the totem doctrine that each man when he died returned to his own totem animal by teaching that those who have spent lives of average goodness passed into animals of a superior and harmless kind, such as bees and ants, while those who had been lewd, greedy and rapacious passed into asses, and predatory beasts and birds⁵. This seems more reasonable than to assume

¹ Frazer, *Totemism*, p. 86.

² Cook, *J.H.S.* xiv. p. 122.

³ Paus. i. 23. 1; Cook, *J.H.S.* xiv. p. 105.

⁴ Lepsius, *Chronologie der Aegypter*, p. 309 n.; cf. Herod. ii. 129; Steph. Byz. s.v. Βούρπις (all cited by Frazer, *Tot.* p. 37).

⁵ Plato, *Phaed.* 82 A.

that Pythagoras borrowed the doctrine from the Egyptians¹. Yet, even if he had done so, and Pythagoreanism could be proved to be Egyptian in origin, the explanation for the doctrine of Transmigration which I have offered will hold equally, for, as we have just seen, Egypt shows in a still higher degree than the mainland and isles of Greece animal worship or totemism.

It is perfectly possible that from the same form of animal worship the closely-related peoples of Greece and Egypt may have independently evolved a higher doctrine of Metempsychosis. But whether Pythagoras borrowed it from the Egyptians, or developed it himself, the doctrine of transmigration seems to have sprung from some form of zoolatry. This is rendered all the more probable by the ascertained facts that certain totemistic tribes of West Africa and central Australia have developed for themselves a doctrine of transmigration.

The restriction which Pythagoras was said to have laid on the eating of animals², combined with the worship of the sheep in his native island, looks like a survival of totemism. Moreover the aphorisms ascribed to him wear the appearance of ancient taboos, for example the injunction to abstain from beans; this was also enjoined in the Orphic and Eleusinian mysteries, while at Pheneus³ in Arcadia the same vegetable was held to be unclean, just as it was by the Egyptians. It is beyond doubt that the Pythagorean custom of burying the dead in jars was a survival of the ancient usage (vol. I, p. 489).

His early environment may thus have suggested to Pythagoras more than one of the observances which he inculcated on his disciples. I have elsewhere tried to show that to the same cause may be attributed the second great doctrine attached to his name—that the World was built of Numbers⁴. It has also

¹ Isocrates (*Bus.* 28) is the first who states that Pythagoras went to Egypt.

² Later writers held that he forbade animal food altogether. This would be very parallel to what has taken place in India, where it seems probable that the gradual abandonment of animal food, which was beloved by the Aryans of the Rig-Veda, has arisen from the influence exercised on the conquering race by the non-Aryan totemist tribes.

³ Paus. viii. 15. 4.

⁴ *C.R.* vol. x. pp. 92 *seq.* Rock crystal, iron pyrites, galena, and garnet, all of which were known to the Greeks, would supply examples of the pyramid, double pyramid, cube, and dodecahedron.

been shown above (p. 423) that from the earliest times the inhabitants of the eastern Mediterranean held in peculiar veneration crystalline stones, such as the smaragdus, which represented Athena at Lindus, while it has been shown that rock crystal, beryl, garnet, agate, and various other stones were held by the Greeks of the classical age and long afterwards to be most powerful talismans, which it was held could have their virtue increased by having engraved on them sacred symbols. As his father Mnesarchus was a gem engraver (*δακτυλιολύφος*)¹, Pythagoras was probably brought up to his father's craft (just as Socrates the son of Sophroniscus the sculptor was bred to his father's art), or, if he did not take to the hereditary calling, above all men he would have had the geometrical shapes of crystalline stones forced upon his attention from his earliest days, for potent in magic as they were by nature, they were rendered still mightier by the devices cut on them by his father's graver. He was thus probably led to the conception that the world was built of solid numbers (*στερεοὶ ἀριθμοί*), in other words, of mathematical solids, a doctrine which, according to Aristotle², was adopted by Plato with a mere change of terminology, and thus became the latter philosopher's famous theory of Ideas.

The probability that the Pythagorean Metempsychosis sprang from out of a native Aegean animism, and was not borrowed from Egypt, is strengthened by the fact that Plato, who took over the Pythagorean doctrine of the Soul as well as that of Causation, also held that the soul was tripartite, or, in other words, that every man had three souls. But this doctrine did not originate, as is commonly believed, in the bold speculation of a great original mind, for a plurality of souls of different kinds is one of the most widespread characteristics of the lower animism. Thus the Chinese hold that there are at least three, and the Malagasy ascribe the same number to each individual, whilst the Algonquin tribes of North America had a strong belief in the duality of the soul, one soul going out and seeing dreams, whilst the other remained behind; at death

¹ Diog. Laert. viii. 1. 1.

² *Met.* A, 6 τὴν δὲ μέθεξιν τοῦνομα μόνον μετέβαλεν· οἱ μὲν γὰρ Πυθαγόρειοι μιμήσει τὰ ὄντα φασὶν εἶναι τῶν ἀριθμῶν, Πλάτων δὲ μετέχει, τοῦνομα μεταβαλὼν.

one of these abode with the body, and for this the relatives left offerings of food, while the other departed to the land of the dead; the tripartition of the soul was also known among some Indian tribes, whilst the Dacotas said that a man had four souls, one remaining with the corpse, one staying in the village, one going in the air, and one to the land of spirits¹. The Fijians hold that a man has two souls—his dark soul or shadow, which goes to Hades, and his 'light spirit,' or reflection in water or a mirror, which stays near where he dies¹. The West Africans, as we have seen (p. 418), consider that they have four souls—the human, that in an animal in the bush, the shadow on the path, and the dream soul². The Khonds likewise have four souls—one goes back to the deity, being capable of beatification, the second is attached to a Khond tribe and is re-born generation after generation, so that at the birth of each child the priest asks 'Who has returned?' The third goes to hold spiritual intercourse, leaving the body languid, and it is this soul which can pass into a tiger, and transmigrates for punishment after death; the fourth dies on the dissolution of the body³.

Now, although in the *Phaedrus*⁴ Plato divides the soul into three parts—the Intellectual (τὸ διανοητικόν) seated in the brain, the Passionate (τὸ θυμοειδές) in the chest, and the Appetitive (τὸ ἐπιθυμητικόν) in the abdomen, yet when he defends the immortality of the soul in the *Phaedo*, he treats it only as monopartite. Accordingly neither his ancient nor his modern commentators are agreed whether, when he vindicated the immortality of the soul in the latter dialogue, he meant the rational soul only, or the aggregate soul with its three parts as above described. The apparent contradiction between the two dialogues has been well explained by the suggestion that if the Passionate and Appetitive parts of the soul perished along with the dissolution of the body at death, Plato was only concerned with the Intellectual portion when discussing the question of immortality in the *Phaedo*.

¹ Tylor, *Primitive Culture*, vol. I. p. 434 sqq.

² M. Kingsley, *Travels in West Africa*, p. 459.

³ Tylor, *loc. cit.*

⁴ Cf. 271 A sqq.

But, as among the many races which believe in a duality or a plurality of souls it is commonly held that one or more of these die along with the body, we may conclude with high probability that Plato's doctrine of the tripartite soul, two of whose elements did not survive the body, was only a modification of a very primitive belief of the Aegean peoples.

CHAPTER IV.

IRELAND IN THE HEROIC AGE.

No one doubts that the blond element in Britain and also in Ireland was not in any sense indigenous, but had passed into these islands at a comparatively late period, and that these people on their coming found dark-complexioned tribes already in occupation. No less certain is it that the blond element did not come all at once, but that it entered these islands at many different epochs often separated by long intervals of time and from a variety of places in north-western Europe. Thus history tells us that the Normans who conquered England in 1066 were Norsemen who some generations earlier had settled in that part of north-western Gaul which later took from them its name of Normandy. Yet among the warriors who fought in William's host at Hastings there were probably not a few men of the blood of the Franks, who had in the last centuries of the Western Empire set forth from their homes on the Lower Rhine upon a career of conquest and had made themselves lords of Gaul, which then took from its conquerors the name that it still bears.

But prior to the Norman invasion England had been long harassed by the Northmen who under the name of Danes had not only succeeded in getting a firm footing, but actually grasped the sovereignty under Sweyn and Cnut. Yet long before the descents of these sea-rovers from Scandinavia in what is termed the Viking period, Britain had been successfully invaded by Germanic tribes, chief of whom were the Saxons, Angles and Jutes. The Saxons are first heard of in English or rather Roman history in A.D. 267, and so fierce and frequent were the depredations of the men from beyond the North Sea on the eastern side of Britain that the Romans appointed a special officer called the *comes litoris Saxonici*, whose province it was to hold in check these restless marauders. Yet some five

centuries before we first hear of Saxons from the Roman historians, the Belgic tribes of northern Gaul had made probably not one but many invasions of Britain, though as Caesar and Tacitus point out, they had naturally occupied most fully the south-eastern portion of the island which lay contiguous to Gaul. Caesar indeed states that these Belgic tribes had first made predatory incursions into the island, but adds that within his own recollection Divitiacus¹, king of the Suessiones (who have left their name in Soissons), was sovereign not only of almost all Gaul, but also of south-eastern Britain. To his reign therefore (*circa* 90 B.C.) the present writer² has assigned the earliest of the series of British gold coins, since specimens not only with the same types, but in some cases from the same dies, have been found both on the French and English sides of the Channel.

Caesar himself points out that the names of many of the Belgic tribes in Britain were the same as those of peoples in northern Gaul. If his information had been fuller, he might probably have added that in Ireland also there were settlements of the Menapii and Brigantes and other tribes of Gallia Belgica, as we know from Ptolemy's *Geography* (A.D. 120). Whence had these tribes, known to us as Belgae, come into Gaul? Fortunately Caesar leaves us in no doubt. He tells us that they were tribes of the Cimbri, whose ancient home was in the Cimbric Chersonesus (the modern Jutland) which lay between the Suevic and Germanic seas. We have already (vol. I. pp. 390—396) traced the history of many of those Cimbric tribes who age after age swept down through northern Europe and over the Alps to plunder or become the masters of the southern peninsulas. Caesar mentions their invasions of Gaul and Italy in conjunction with the Teutones³ and their overthrow by Gaius Marius⁴. By inquiry he learned that the great majority of the Belgae were Cimbri (German in origin) who, attracted by

¹ B.G. II. 4, 7: apud eos fuisse regem nostra etiam memoria Divitiacum totius Galliae potentissimum, qui cum magnae partis harum regionum, tum etiam Britanniae imperium obtinuerit.

² W. Ridgeway, "The Greek Trade Routes to Britain" (*Folklore*, March, 1890), pp. 103 *seqq.*

³ B.G. I. 33. 4.

⁴ *op. cit.* I. 40. 5.

the fertility of the soil, had crossed the Rhine into Gaul long before (*antiquitus*) and had settled there¹. One of these tribes, the Aduatuci, were descended from six thousand of their number left behind in charge of their heavy baggage and less portable property by the Cimbrians and Teutons when they set forth on their fatal march to Italy².

So far we are on the sure ground of written history fortified by innumerable archaeological remains. But although it is clear from the evidence of Tacitus that the blond element was especially prominent in the northern part of Britain which looks towards Germania, that is, the north and east of Scotland and north-eastern England, and it is therefore certain that large bodies of settlers from northern Europe had established themselves in that area before the Roman period, unfortunately we have no testimony, such as that of Caesar for the ethnology of Gallia Belgica, to tell us whence and at what period had these fair-haired immigrants first settled in our islands.

Though in the third and fourth centuries of our era, when the Saxons and their close kinsmen, the Angles and Jutes, were harassing the shores of Britain, there were almost certainly settlements of some of these peoples in what are now the south-eastern parts of Scotland, there is no evidence for any permanent occupation of north or north-eastern Scotland by any of these tribes, for they apparently found a richer and easier prey in the regions occupied by the degenerate Romanized Britons. On the other hand there is the strongest proof that within the historical period the northern and north-eastern parts of Scotland were occupied largely by settlers from Scandinavia. In the Viking period the Norsemen, under whom were comprised Norwegians, Danes and Swedes, had full possession not only of the Shetlands and Orkneys, but also of Caithness and other parts of the north-east as well as the Hebrides and various places on the mainland of the west of Scotland, whilst they had important settlements in Ireland at Dublin, Waterford, Limerick and other places.

But it is not impossible that long before the Saxons and Angles had first appeared on our coasts, or Julius Caesar had

¹ *op. cit.* II. 4. 1.

² *op. cit.* II. 29. 4.

landed at Pevensey (the ancient Anderida from which the great forest later known as the Weald took its name)¹, or the Cimbric tribes from Gallia Belgica had as yet crossed into Britain, parts of that island may already have been visited by adventurous pirates from Scandinavia. In the former part of this work (vol. I, pp. 501—2) it was pointed out that, although the researches into ancient barrows, such as those conducted by Canon Greenwell with signal success, have shown that, whilst inhumation was by far the more frequent practice on the Yorkshire wolds, yet in some groups of barrows, which had nothing to show that they were earlier or later than the general mass, cremation was the rule, as was the case in Denmark in the Bronze Age, it certainly cannot be maintained that in Yorkshire during the Bronze Age cremation was the normal practice, since, out of fourteen instances where Greenwell discovered objects of bronze associated with burials, it was only in two that the body had been burnt. But the proportion of burnt to unburnt bodies differed very considerably in different areas. In the Cleveland district of north-east Yorkshire very extensive investigations did not produce a single instance of an unburnt body, a fact of great significance in connection with certain antiquities found in that area. Similarly a large series of barrows near Castle Howard also contained nothing but burnt bodies. In Derbyshire the proportion is slightly in favour of

¹ In *Journal of Philology*, xix. (1891), pp. 141-5, I argued that (1) the *Portus Itius*, from which Caesar says he set out for Britain, was not Boulogne (*Gessoriacum*) but a harbour of far greater size situated behind a headland, since Strabo's neuter *τὸ Ἰτίον* can only mean a headland, (2) that this was probably Gris Nez, (3) that Strabo says that Caesar's crossing was 320 stades (=40 Roman miles, as he reckons 8 stades to a Roman mile), whilst some MSS. of Caesar give *xx*, not *xxx*, as is commonly read, (4) that this distance does not suit the Boulogne and Dover-Deal crossing (only 22 miles even in modern times) which is also beset with difficulties as regards tide, (5) that as Caesar had both tide and wind with him and the soldiers rowed hard for ten hours he must have gone more than forty miles before he anchored, and (6) that he anchored off the heights at Hastings and later landed on the beach at Pevensey. This view has been regarded favourably by such scholars as the late Prof. Pelham and Mr W. Warde Fowler, but Dr Rice Holmes (*Ancient Britain and the Invasions of Julius Caesar*, pp. 306, 552 *sqq.*) has made a desperate attempt to rehabilitate the Dover-Deal theory. I discuss this in App. A. [This Appendix was not written.]

unburnt bodies, but in Wiltshire burnt bodies are three times more numerous than unburnt, in Dorsetshire they are as four



FIG. 27. Angle Iron spear and shears; Tuddenham, Suffolk¹.

¹ In my own possession.

to one, whilst in Cornwall cremation seems to have been by far the more common. It is to be noted that in the counties of Denbigh, Merioneth, and Carnarvon cremation seems to have been almost universal. In Northumberland, the proportion of



FIG. 28. Angle Iron Knives ($14\frac{1}{2}$ and $6\frac{1}{2}$ inches); found together
Wicken Fen, Cambridgeshire, 1895¹.

burnt bodies is as two to one. The frequency of cremation in Northumberland, Cumberland, and the Cleveland district of Yorkshire, and in Denbigh, Carnarvon, and Merioneth, may not be without significance, when we recall the existence in

¹ In my own possession.

these areas of the Cymry. For though philologists may deny that the Cymry were Cimbri, this denial will have little value if evidence can be produced for Cimbric settlers from Denmark during the Bronze Age, the period when cremation was practically universal in that country. Such a theory of early settlements from north Germany or Scandinavia is demanded by the statement of Tacitus that already before the Roman conquest there was a large blond element in the population of Britain, especially in the northern part.



FIG. 29. Brooches (a and b) from a grave, Tuddenham¹, (c) Eriswell¹, (d and e) from Tuddenham¹.

What may seem to have been not only possible but actually the case for the north of England and south of Scotland was still more possible for Shetland, Orkney, and the north of Scotland, whilst it is by no means unlikely that if such sea-rovers had reached the northern islands and Caithness they would also have made their way to the Hebrides, down the west coast of Scotland to Man and even to Ireland, as was the case with the Norsemen of the eighth and following centuries.

¹ In my own possession.

All the traditional statements respecting the invasions of England, Scotland, and Ireland since the beginning of the Iron Age can be amply substantiated by archaeological evidence. The Normans have left sure witnesses of their conquest not only in their coins and countless small objects, but in their noble cathedrals and stately castles, as well as in our legal terminology, even the Royal Assent to Acts of Parliament being still given in Norman-French. The Danes too have left

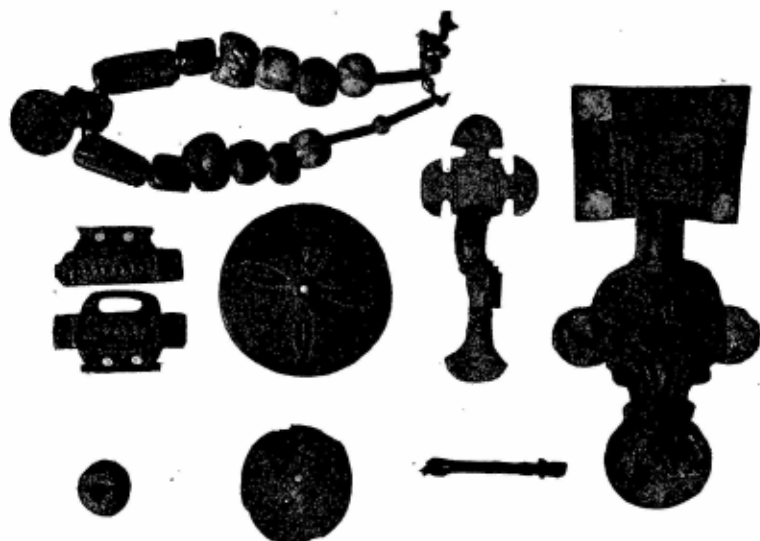


FIG. 30. Contents of an Anglo grave (brooches, girdle clasp, tweezers and beads with a Roman coin); Eriswell, Suffolk¹.

evidence of their presence in silver coins and other objects, and in the nomenclature of those parts of England wherein they planted settlements. The cemeteries of the Angles, the Saxons and the Jutes have yielded innumerable objects—iron bosses of round shields (vol. I. p. 464, Fig. 92), spears (Fig. 27), knives (Fig. 28), cruciform and round brooches (Figs. 29, 30 and vol. I. pp. 586—9, Figs. 141, 142, 145), girdle clasps (Fig. 31), beads (Figs. 30, 31, 32) and other relics—which, along with their stycas, sceattas (sometimes with Runic inscriptions) and silver

¹ In my own possession.

pennies, prove on the one hand their connection with the tribes of north-west Germany and on the other that they had entered into and destroyed the civilization of Romanized Britain.

The Wall of Hadrian, the gateway at Lincoln, the baths at Bath and Chollerford, the ruins of Silchester, Caerwent and the foundations of innumerable villas, not to mention hundreds of inscriptions and thousands of coins, all bear testimony to a Roman conquest and continuous occupation for some four centuries.

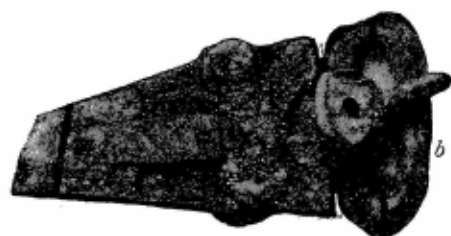


FIG. 31. (a) Amethyst (one of three) found in an Angle grave near Exning, Suffolk¹. (b) Silver buckle set with a garnet from an Angle grave; Burwell, Cambridgeshire¹.

Again the 'late Celtic' cemetery at Aylesford in Kent (vol. I. p. 503), the large series of British gold coins (Figs. 71, 73, 74) as well as some in silver and bronze, not infrequently bearing the legends of British chiefs, such as Tasciovanus, Cunobelinus (Fig. 77), the Cymbeline of Shakespeare, Antedrigus and Adde-domarus, and many objects of La Tène or 'late Celtic' art, such as shields, weapons, brooches (vol. I. p. 581, Figs. 131-2), horse-trappings, often decorated with enamel, and the remains of chariots found in Yorkshire barrows, such as those at

¹ In my own possession.

Driffild (Fig. 41), at Arras, and at Hessleskew¹, testify emphatically to the trustworthiness of Caesar's account of the Belgic tribes and their settlement in Britain, and to that of Dio Cassius (LXXVII. 12, *ex Xiph. epit.*) "that the Caledonians and the Maeatae, two chief tribes of northern Britain, went to war on chariots, as their horses were small and fleet."



FIG. 32. Amber-beads from Angle graves; Tuddenham, Suffolk².

Ireland.

Similar tests may be applied with hardly less signal results to the traditions of the Irish annalists. For the Norman invasion and settlement under the leadership of Richard de Clare, commonly known as Strongbow, there exists the same class of evidence as in England—churches and castles, the

¹ See p. 556 below.

² In my own possession.

wooden effigy of Strongbow himself in Christ Church Cathedral, and even coins struck by some of the bold Norman barons, such as the small silver pieces which bear the name of the famous John de Courcy (GOAN D QVRCI).

Behind the Norman period comes a series of relics left by the Danes at Dublin and elsewhere. These are chiefly swords with the typical Viking hilt (Fig. 33), bills or battle-axes (Fig. 34), such as those described in the Icelandic Sagas and preserved in Scandinavian museums; bronze brooches in shape like a tortoise (Fig. 35), and a series of silver coins struck by the Danish kings of Dublin:—Ifar I (870—2), Anlaf (Olaf) IV (962—81), Sihtric III (989—1029), Anlaf V (1029—34), Anlaf VI (1041—50), Ifar III (1050—4), Askel Mac Torquil (1159—71). This series thus comes down to the Norman invasion.

The first recorded descent of the Norsemen of this period was in 795, when they landed on the small island of Lambay off Dublin and sacked its monastery. But much the most formidable of their invasions and conquests was that which began in 840. "A fortress was erected by the foreigners at Linn-Duachail (Magheralin, Co. Down), out of which the territories and churches of Teathbha were plundered and preyed. Another fortress was erected by them at Dublin, out of which they plundered Leinster and the O'Neill, both territories and churches, as far as Sliabh-Bladhma¹,"—the Slieve Bloom mountains in Queen's and King's Cos., to which the country of the southern O'Neill or ancient Meath then extended. In 842 the foreigners appeared in far greater force at many points at once. Three fleets arrived, one at Magheralin, another in Lough Swilly, and a third anchored in the Boyne opposite Ros-na-Righ. All the foreigners combined under the leadership of Tuirgeis and with these three fleets attacked various parts of the country simultaneously. Armagh was captured and plundered, Forannan the primate making his escape with the relics and a small following, only to be captured later on. Tuirgeis established himself as *Coarb* or successor of St Patrick, both temporal and spiritual. The foreigners from Narrowwater (Cael-uisce) on Carlingford

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub A.D. 840.

Lough plundered Castledermot in Kildare, whilst the foreigners from the Boyne plundered Birr and Seirkiernan in King's Co. In the following year¹ Tuirgeis himself, 'the lord of the foreigners,' made an expedition upon Lough Ree (Ribh), the wide expanse of the Shannon near Athlone, plundered Connaught and Meath, burned Clonmacnoise with its oratories, Clonfert, Iniscaltra and many other shrines on the islands in the Shannon and in the vicinity of that river. According to MacFirbis, Tuirgeis took possession of Clonmacnoise and made it his residence, whilst his wife, by name Ota, was wont to issue her 'oracular answers' to the people from the high altar of the cathedral church there². In the destruction of the Christian sanctuaries the Norsemen seem to have been actuated by religious fury as well as by a thirst for plunder. But just as the sea-rovers seemed on the point of making a complete conquest of the whole island, some of the native kings made vigorous efforts to stem the tide of invasion. Niall, the Ard-Righ or paramount king, defeated the Northmen of Lough Swilly with great slaughter at Magh-Itha near that inlet, and put a great number to the sword. Tuirgeis himself was defeated, taken prisoner, and drowned in Lough Owel, near Mullingar in Westmeath, by Maelseachlainn, "through the miracle of God and St Kieran (the founder and patron saint of Clonmacnoise) and of the saints in general."

Meantime the Northmen at Dublin had been ravaging the surrounding country, apparently with little opposition, for in the year that Tuirgeis fell they slew the prior of Kildare, the seat of St Brigid and her holy fire, and many others as well; they captured and plundered the famous stronghold of Dunamase, near Maryborough, in the Queen's Co., and they 'burned the fold of Killeigh' in the King's Co., martyring the chief ecclesiastics captured at both places. In the same year Forannan, the hapless primate of Armagh, was taken prisoner by the Danes of Limerick, 'with his relics and people, and carried to their ships.'

In the following year the foreigners were again active at

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub A.D. 843 with O'Donovan's notes.

² Olden, *The Church of Ireland*, p. 169.

many points. They gained a victory over the men of Connaught, in which many fell; others of them, probably from Dublin, plundered and burned Coolcashin in Kilkenny, whilst a fresh body of invaders called Cailli appeared with a fleet on the west coast and plundered Colooney in Sligo. But a valiant chieftain named Cearbhall "laid siege to them for a fortnight, and they were afterwards dreadfully slaughtered."

As might have been expected, some of the native Irish tribes and chiefs took advantage of the general turmoil to glut their rapacity or revenge. Thus in this same year (844) Felim, king-bishop of Cashel, who, "notwithstanding his great irregularity and great desire of spoyle...was of sum numbered among the scribes and anchorites of Ireland, preyed and spoiled all the Tyrmyn lands belonging to St Kieran, without respect of place, saint or shrine." But according to the annalists he paid dear for his sacrilege. St Kieran himself saw to his own, as he had done in the case of Tuirgeis, and according to the annalists¹ "pursued him, as he thought, and gave him a thrust of his crozier, and he received an internal wound." He died of a "flux of the belly" in the following year "through the miracle of God and Kieran." In the same year (845) Maelseachlainn became Ard-Righ, and promptly proceeded to demolish the island of Lough Ramor, near Virginia, on the borders of Cavan and Meath, "where a great crowd of sons of death (i.e. malefactors) of the Luighni and Gaileanga were plundering the district at the instigation of the foreigners," and he destroyed them. This island stronghold in Lough Ramor was probably what is known as a *crannog*.

The Northmen of Dublin were still uncrushed, but their turn was to come next. In this same year (845) "was a slaughter made of the foreigners of Ath-cliaith at Carn-Brammit by Cearbhall, son of Dunghal lord of Ossory, where twelve hundred of them were slain." In the next year (846) a battle was gained by Maelseachlainn over the Danes at Farragh, near Skreen, in Co. Meath, where seven hundred of them were slain. Yet another battle was gained by Olchobhar, king

¹ *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub 844-5, and *Annals of Oronmacnoise* (trs. Mageoghagan), 843, 844.

of Munster, and by Lorcan, king of Leinster, with the men of Leinster and Munster, over the foreigners at Sciath-Neachtain (near Castledermot in the south of Kildare), where "Tomhrair, Earl, tanist of the king of Lochlainn, and twelve hundred along with him were slain." Of this chief we shall have more to say.

But the Danes still held Cork, and in the same year "a hosting was made by Olchobhar" (the Munster king) to demolish the fort at that place "against the foreigners." In the following year (847) the Danes of Dublin were no longer able to hold out, and Maelseachlainn with Tighearnach, lord of Lough Gower, near Dunshaughlin in Meath, was able to plunder Dublin. But just as the Danes seemed utterly crushed, "a fleet of seven score ships of the people of the king of the foreigners came to contend with the foreigners that were in Ireland before them, so that they disturbed Ireland between them." Who this king was who claimed authority over the foreigners already at Dublin we do not know. This much however is clear, that it was not the king of Norway, since it was only in 880 that Harold Fairhair (860—933) made himself sole king in Norway. At that time many turbulent Norse jarls preferred exile to submission. It was only thenceforward that Harold began to extend his authority over the Vikings of the Western Isles, and it was only after the fall of Thorstein the Red in Scotland that he was fully able to enforce his authority, and this led to a migration of Norsemen from the British Isles to Iceland.

The Tomhrair or Tomar, tanist or heir of the king of Lochlainn slain in 847, was probably the builder of the fortress at Dublin in 840, and founder of the royal Hiberno-Danish line that reigned there for nearly three centuries. *The Book of Rights (Leabhar na g-Ceart)*, a work to which we shall have to refer more than once in the following pages, gives both the dues of the Ard-Righ from the king of Dublin, the tributes paid by the chief of Dublin to the king of Leinster, and the customary presents made by the latter to the king of Dublin. The monarch of all Ireland was to receive a month's refecton from Tomar's chieftains, and the king of the bounteous ford (i.e. Ath-cliath) is to accompany him on his progress to visit

the king of Leinster¹. From another passage in the same work² it is clear that the Danish king was dependent on the king of Leinster, and had to pay him a very heavy tribute: "seven hundred tinnes (sides of bacon), seven hundred hogs, seven hundred oxen, seven hundred good wethers, seven hundred cloaks, and seven hundred cows from the territories of the Galls in one day." Though the prince Tomar is not mentioned in this, but only the Galls, it seems probable that it refers to the tribute paid by the Danish king. On the other hand the customary presents given to his sub-chiefs by the king of Leinster are also unusually large in the case of the Danish prince, and they are even termed 'tribute': "a hundred steeds from him to the Prince Tomar, a hundred cows as additional wages, thirty women of size and with offspring, a hundred swords, it is a severe tribute."

Now, although no Tomar appears in the list of the Danish kings of Dublin, the connection of this name with the principality of Ath-cliaith can be readily explained from what we have seen above. O'Donovan is probably right in holding that the Tomar killed in 846-7 was the founder of the Danish line of Ath-cliaith, and he suggests that he was the father of Anlaf I and his brother and successor Ifar I. As already pointed out, this Tomar was probably the builder of the 'fortress' at Dublin in 840. This suggestion gains confirmation from the fact that Tomar's ring or torque was preserved by the Danes at Dublin, whence it was carried off along with the sword of Carlus, another Viking chief, in 994, by Maelseachlainn II, king of all Ireland, the incident on which Moore built his famous lines,

"When Malachy wore the collar of gold
Which he took from her proud invader."

The poet, however, confounds Malachy II with Malachy I, the captor of Tuirgeis. In the *Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 942, the Danes of Dublin are called "the race of Tomar" (*muintir Thomair*). O'Donovan⁴ acutely pointed out that when *muintir*

¹ *Book of Rights* (ed. O'Donovan), p. 41. ² *ibid.* p. 219. ³ *ibid.* p. 207.

⁴ O'Donovan, *Introd. to Book of Rights*, pp. xxxvi sqq. and his note *ad Annals of the Four Masters*, A.D. 846.

forms the first element in Irish tribal names, the second part of the compound is the name of the progenitor of the tribe. Thus the phrase *muinntir Thomair* can only mean "the race of Tomar," and accordingly that chief was regarded as the founder of the royal house of Dublin.

A Danish chief of the same name arrived with a great fleet at Limerick sometime before 916, and he is mentioned also in the *Annals of Clonmacnoise* under A.D. 922, where the chronicler full of bitterness for all that Clonmacnoise had suffered from the Northmen writes: "Tormair m^cAlchi, king of Denmarck, is reported to goe to hell with his pains, as he deserved." But whether this Tormair or Tomar was actually king of Denmark in our acceptation of the term is very doubtful.

In addition to the general term 'foreigners' (*gaill*) or 'white foreigners' (*finngaill*) the Northmen are commonly known in the Irish documents as 'men of Lochloinn' or 'Lochlainn' (*Lochlannach*). It has been universally assumed by scholars that Lochloinn or Lochlainn is either Norway or Denmark, but for these assumptions there is practically no evidence. The name itself without doubt means simply Loch (Lake) Loinn. Such a term seems hardly suitable for a peninsula like Denmark or Norway and Sweden. Moreover, from the way in which Lochloinn is mentioned in connection with Alba (Scotland or southern Scotland) in various Irish writers, it seems as if it ought to be sought for much nearer Ireland than in Scandinavia, and that it may mean some early Norse settlement on one of the many great *lochs* on the west coast of Scotland. Ptolemy's *Geography*¹ (A.D. 120) supplies the name of an inlet in that region which may well represent the same native name and the same *loch* as that which appears in *Loch Loinn*, for he names *Longos* (Δόρυγος) as one of the great inlets on the west coast, but as this can hardly be Loch Long it has been identified by the best geographers with Loch Linnhe in Argyleshire, an area from which evidence of early contact with Scandinavia will presently be cited (p. 688). Nor is it only in the Viking period that we hear of Lochloinn and its people in the ancient Irish records. Thus Una, mother of the great king Conn of the Hundred

¹ 2. 3. 1.

Battles (A.D. 123-157), was daughter of the king of Lochloinn, whilst we shall presently have to mention a great invasion of north-east Ireland by the "Men of Lochloinn" headed by their king's son, somewhere about the beginning of the first century before Christ. It will of course be objected, that as the Scandinavian movements into the British Isles only began in the eighth century after Christ, no credence can be placed in those old traditions. Yet if solid archaeological evidence for communication between Scandinavia and Ireland in the Bronze Age, if not still earlier, can be produced, then such a sceptical position can no longer be reasonably maintained. But this material evidence will more fittingly be presented at a later stage in our discussion.

It must be borne in mind that people constantly name a whole race from the first of its members or tribes with which they come into contact. Thus the Romans gave to all Germans the appellation of a single tribe, Europeans in the Middle Ages gave the name Saracen to all Muhammadans, whilst the latter in turn to this day denominate all western Europeans as Franks or Feringhis. Accordingly, if Northmen settled at Loch Linnhe or elsewhere on the west coast of Scotland were the first Scandinavians with whom the Irish became acquainted, the term *Lochlannach* would not unnaturally be applied to all Scandinavians, even if they had come direct from Denmark or Norway, or elsewhere, and at a later date, when Norway itself became known, be extended in use even to that country.


The Scandinavian Eddas and Sagas have been searched in vain for such a king as Tuirgeis, and the 'king of the foreigners' who in 847 claimed lordship over 'the foreigners' already in Ireland could not have been the king of Norway, since at that date there was no sole king of that country¹, whilst there is no more evidence that Tomar of Dublin, "the tanist of the king of Lochlainn," was the heir of an actual king of Denmark than that his namesake who "went to hell with his pains" in 922 was actually king of Denmark or Norway.

On the other hand there is good reason for believing that by 870, and we know not how long before, there were in

¹ Harold Hairfair did not become sole king until 890.

Shetland, Orkney and Scotland powerful Norse jarls, such as 'earl Tomar' of Dublin, who owed allegiance to no monarch. The Danish kings of Dublin, though they apparently nominally acknowledged the suzerainty of the Irish Ard-Righ and of the king of Leinster, may be taken as typical representatives of these proud masterful jarls. No better picture of the life of these sea-kings in their new homes in the Northern Isles, Scotland and Ireland can be found than that given of Earl Sigurd of Orkney, Earl Gilli of the Southern Isles, and king Sigtrygg of Dublin, in the Saga of *Burnt Njal*, in which is related the burning of Njal and his family, in 1011, by Flosi and others¹. The Thing decided in 1012 that Flosi and his partners in the deed must leave Iceland for a season, and Flosi and his followers fitted out a ship to go southwards as so many of their countrymen had done before them, for the Saga makes it clear that there was constant communication between Iceland and Ireland. Flosi's ship was wrecked off Hrossey in the Orkneys in 1013. When he found where they were he said, "We might have made a better landing, for Grim and Helgi, Njal's sons, whom I slew, were both of them of Earl Sigurd Hlodver's son's body-guard." Then Flosi took the bold course of going straight to the Earl. The Earl had already heard of the burning of Njal, and he asked Flosi, "What hast thou to tell me about Helgi, Njal's son, my henchman?" "This," said Flosi, "that I hewed off his head." "Take them all," said the Earl. It chanced that at this point Thorstein, brother-in-law to Flosi, and one of the Earl's body-guard, came in. He interceded for Flosi, and by reason of the "prayer of good men and true" the Earl took an atonement from them and gave peace to Flosi and all the rest. "The Earl held to that custom of mighty men that Flosi took that place in his service which Helgi Njal's son had held." The summer and autumn of 1013 passed, and Earl Sigurd bade to his feast at Yule his sister and her husband, Earl Gilli, out of the Hebrides, and "then too came to see Earl Sigurd that king from Ireland whose name was Sigtrygg. He was a son of Olaf rattle, but his mother's name was

¹ trs. Dasent, pp. 317 sqq.; cf. Ridgeway, *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, pp. 419-20.



Kormlada, who once had been the wife of Brian king of Connaught." This Sigtrygg is of course the king of Dublin of that name, whilst Brian is none other than the good and famous Brian Boromhe. Sigtrygg had come to ask Earl Sigurd to aid him against king Brian. His men besought Earl Sigurd not to go to the war, but it was all no good. King Sigtrygg promised him his mother Kormlada and the kingdom of all Ireland, and Sigurd agreed to be at Dublin by Palm Sunday. He kept his word and came to Dublin by that date, and there came also a Viking force from Man under Brodir. According to the *Four Masters* (sub A.D. 1013) "the foreigners of the west of Europe assembled against Brian and Maelseachlainn, and they took with them ten hundred men with coats of mail." King Brian came with all his host to the Burgh, and on Good Friday, 1014, inflicted a defeat upon the Danes of Dublin and their allies from which they never fully recovered, though their domination of that district continued down to 1171 when the descendants of Rolf and his Northmen, who had settled in France several centuries earlier and who had there assimilated what was left of the ancient Roman culture, became the masters of their less fortunate kinsfolk who had found new homes in Ireland. It may be that this coming of the Normans only repeated events that had taken place a thousand years before.

The armature and ornaments of the Scandinavians in the Viking period are very distinctive and well known, as not only have we many examples of them in the museums of Denmark, Sweden, Norway, and Dublin, but there are innumerable references to them in the Sagas. The warriors of that epoch no longer depended solely or principally upon the spear, as the Teutonic and Scandinavian tribes seem to have done in

FIG. 33. Danish
Sword. Island
Bridge, Dublin.

the early centuries of the Christian era, and we know not how long before. They now used large iron swords with very characteristic blades, hilts, and pommels (Fig. 33) such as that with which Flosi boasted that he had hewed off Helgi's head¹. They likewise used great bills or battle-axes; that of Gunnar of Lithend, which plays so great a part in *Burnt Njal*, is perhaps the most famous in literature. Fig. 34 shows a fine example found at Kilmainham, near Dublin. They fastened their cloaks no longer with the T-shaped brooches of the



FIG. 34. Danish Bill or battle-axe: found at Kilmainham, Dublin, with a number of spear-heads, swords and other Danish objects. $7\frac{1}{2}$ in. long, cutting edge $5\frac{1}{2}$ in.

Anglo-Saxon type, but with those of the so-called 'tortoise' pattern (Fig. 35), which belong to a well-known series of the Carolingian period.

According to Dr Johs. Bøe, the latest authority on the subject², "On the woman's garment of the Viking period two

¹ For the photographs of the sword, the bill, and the brooch here reproduced I am indebted to my old friend Mr George Coffey, Keeper of the Royal Irish Academy Museum.

² 'An Ornamented Celtic Bronze Object, found in a Norwegian grave,' *Bergens Museums Aarbok*, 1924-5, p. 16.

oval brooches generally formed a constant set, together with a third brooch of different type, the shape of the latter altering according to the taste and fashion of each generation." In a rich grave found at Vinjum in Norway, of the woman's dress too little was left to allow of any conclusions with respect to the cut. But concerning the way in which the ornaments



FIG. 35. Danish 'tortoise' Brooch. Island Bridge, Dublin.

were carried, a few observations are of some interest. In the hollow of the oval brooches great lumps of cloth were preserved and the pins were fastened in the stuff in such a way that the brooches could not have been removed from the dress without much labour. Evidently they were constantly attached to a gown or some ceremonial dress, from which they were seldom

or never removed. It may be mentioned that certain brooches from the Migration period proved to have been directly sewn on to the cloth¹. Some oval brooches have 2 × 4 small holes in the under shell probably for this purpose. Further it is evident that the beads (found in the grave) had not formed a necklace in the strict sense of the word, but had hung down in a chain between the lower edges of the two oval brooches². In each end of the chain was a hook of fine bronze-wire with a heart-shaped hoop, to which the chains were attached.

Fine specimens of these three classes described above, as well as many other Danish relics, have been found at Dublin, near the River Liffey, in cemeteries in the area once occupied by the Danes³.

Of the history and culture of the centuries that lie immediately behind the Scandinavian invasions in the eighth and following centuries, there is ample evidence on the one hand in works of such recognized authority as the *Annals of Ulster*,

¹ Oldtiden, i. p. 90, Fig. 75, where the thread is still preserved round the neck of an animal-shaped brooch.

² There are possibly the same conditions in a grave from Veka, Voss, Hordaland; see H. Shetelig, *Vestlandske Graver fra Jernalderen*, p. 206. An arrangement of the same kind is to be seen—probably restored—in Montelius, *Kulturgeschichte Schwedens*, Fig. 492. (Cf. Morel, *Champagne Souterraine*, for La Tène brooches with a chain between. There are two silver fibulae from Olympia in Brit. Mus. connected by a chain. In type they closely resemble a specimen from Nauplia, in my possession.)

³ A complete account of these objects in the Royal Irish Academy Museum, obtained at various dates since 1848, has recently been published by Mr George Coffey and Mr E. C. B. Armstrong (*Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. xxviii (1910), sect. C, p. 107, 'Scandinavian Objects found at Island Bridge and Kilmahinham'). There are six single-edged and twenty-two double-edged (Norse type) swords, the hilts of some being richly inlaid with silver, and one hilt bearing on its guard the owner's name HARTOLFR (similar to one with HILTHFR on the same place, found in a barrow at Melhus, Norway); twenty-two iron spearheads, four round and eighteen pointed shield bosses of iron, battle-axes, four pairs of tortoise brooches, the type of which serves to date the finds to about A.D. 825; four pairs of bronze scales (in three of which the beam folds up for convenience of carriage), and a set of weights several of which are adorned with enamel—these weights appear to be the multiples and divisions of the old Norse öre (W. Ridgeway, *Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, App. C, p. 401)—some glass beads, and at Island Bridge some curious ones made of wood and thinly coated with glass, a needle-case, pins etc.

and on the other in the *Book of Rights* (*Leabhar na g-Ceart*). This document has no parallel in the early literature of any country ancient or modern, for it contains not only the various *geasa* or taboos of both the Ard-Righ or paramount king and the provincial monarchs, but also an account of the tributes paid to them by their underchiefs and clans, and the customary gifts made by the Ard-Righ to the other kings and by them to their underchiefs. It now stands much as it came from the revision of Cormac Mac Cullinan, the king-bishop of Cashel (901—13), and his two learned associates, whilst its latest portions with very few exceptions were added before 1172. This is the same Cormac who compiled the famous Glossary. The original of the *Book of Rights* was said to have been written out by St Benin or Benignus, the follower and successor of St Patrick at Armagh, and was preserved in the famous Psalter of Cashel. As regards the antiquity of the verse portions of this work there can be little doubt, and as many of the payments which it mentions went on in Norman times and are known to have been in force during the Middle Ages, there can be no question that the book is an authentic record of actual rights, tributes and customary presents. On the other hand there is equally little doubt that the record entered in the Psalter of Cashel simply embodied customary payments and tributes which had been in force we know not for how many generations before the coming of Patrick in 432. For example the taboos on the various kings are as primitive as anything to be found to-day in West Africa. Thus the Ard-Righ must never traverse Magh Cuillinn after sunset, never urge forward his horse at Fan-chomair, never go in a ship on the Monday after Beltaine (May-day); the king of Leinster must not go round Tuatha Laighean left-hand-wise on Wednesday, must never sleep between the river Dodder and Dublin with his head inclining to one side, and he must never ride on a dirty black-heeled horse across Magh Maistean; the king of Ulster must never listen to the fluttering of the flocks of birds of Linn Saileach (Lough Swilly) after sunset, nor must he drink of the water of Bo Neimhidh between two darknesses; the king of Connaught must never go in a speckled garment on a gray speckled steed

to the heath of Luchaid in Dal Cais, and must never sit in autumn on the sepulchral mounds of the wife of Maine, and never contend in running with the rider of a gray, one-eyed horse at Ath Gallta between two posts, and so on.

The tributes paid to the kings were all in kind—cows, sheep, swine, cloaks, and in the case of some tribes in Connaught pig-iron¹—and the presents made by the kings to their under-chiefs often comprised male and female slaves and horses (all of which are not infrequently described as from beyond the sea), greyhounds, draught-boards, drinking-horns, mantles and swords (apparently often of foreign manufacture), and various other articles. The *Book of Rights* thus presents a complete picture of the culture of the times anterior to the Danish period and extending back to pre-Christian days, whilst the mention of swords (in one case at least “imported from afar”) amongst the customary presents given by the kings to their sub-chiefs renders it highly probable that Cormac or someone later had brought the work up to date by including objects which had come more recently into use.

Probably the best existing example in Ireland of anything like the ancient Irish drinking-horns, such as those regarded as

¹ It is remarkable that it was only in Connaught that iron was paid in tribute: “The high tribute of the Corca without severity, to be given every time (year) to the king of Magh Aei (the plain of Roscommon, still famous for its fine horses) of steeds; seven score cows, no light award; seven times fifty masses of iron (*seacht g-caeca do chaeraibh iairn*); seven times fifty hogs of great battle, seven times fifty oxen, lawful the tribute, they shall give to the king of Connacht” (*Book of Rights*, O'Donovan, p. 105). O'Donovan with all his wonderful learning and topographical knowledge was not able to identify the territory of the Corca (see his note *ad loc.*). “The editor,” he writes, “knows no tribe of this name in Connacht except Corca Achlann and Corca Firtri...and Corca Mogha (in Ul Maine)...That district is now supposed to be coextensive with the parish of Kilkerrin, near Dunmore, in the north of Galway; but this small territory could not have paid the immense tribute mentioned in the text.” Coal exists in considerable quantities in the district of Arigna, situate in the counties of Sligo, Leitrim and Roscommon. In 1903 it was estimated by the Government expert that the amount of workable coal on the northern and southern sides of the Arigna river was 4,650,000 tons, whilst iron-stone also occurs in the neighbourhood of Arigna and in other districts. It is not too rash to suggest that the Corca, who worked and smelted iron and who were the subjects of the king of Connaught whose capital was at Croghan in Roscommon, lived somewhere in the Arigna district.

very valuable possessions both in the *Book of Rights* and in the Finn poems, is the famous Kavanagh horn (Fig. 36), though this beautiful specimen of ivory carving belongs to a far later period. It is an heirloom of the Kavanagh family, who are the lineal descendants of the kings of Leinster¹. Nearer in date to the time covered by the *Book of Rights* comes the horn given to the abbey of York by Ulphus (Fig. 37) and still preserved



FIG. 36. The Kavanagh Horn.

amongst the treasures of the Minster, whilst yet more famous is the silver-mounted drinking-horn of Corpus Christi College, Cambridge.

But for actual specimens of Irish horns of the Viking and pre-Viking period, we must go to Scandinavia, whither the

¹ For the photograph here reproduced I am indebted to the kindness of Count Plunkett, Director of the National Museum, Dublin.

Norsemen brought back such rich spoils from Ireland in the ninth century. Mr Bøe¹ has shown that Celtic objects, probably chiefly from Ireland, have been found in no less than 120 graves (mostly those of women) of the Viking period in Norway. Amongst these occur about a dozen mountings for drinking-horns. One of these² consists of a semi-cylindrical strip of bronze which has bordered the edge and the terminal mounting ending in a bird's head with protuberant eyes and a long curved beak. In the tube a bit of the horn is still held in its

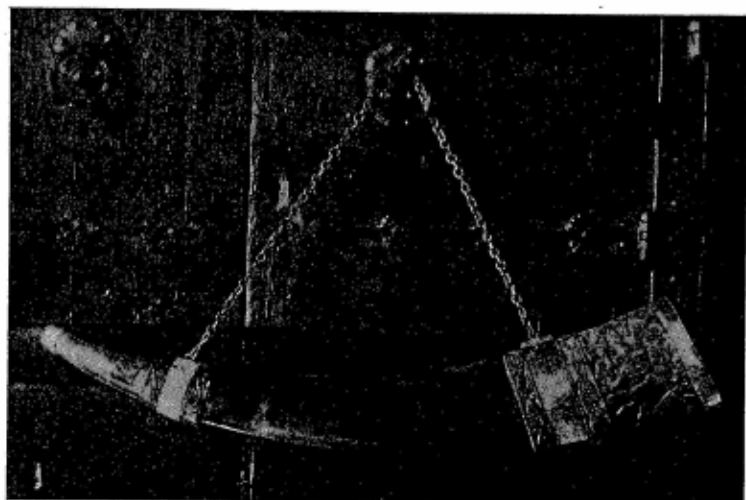


FIG. 37. Drinking-horn of king Ulphus; York Minster.

place by a bronze rivet through two corresponding holes in the bronze. It is more to our purpose that not only were two similar specimens found in the vicinity of Trondhjem, but in one of these the horn itself is almost intact, with edge mountings of the same type as in the Vinjum grave. Another small group is also well characterized as Irish, the terminal mounting being shaped as a dragon's head, with typical Celtic ornamentation. The specimens are tinned or silvered, a common mode in Celtic metalwork.

¹ 'An ornamented Celtic Bronze Object found in a Norwegian Grave,' *Bergens Museums Aarbok*, 1924, 5, pp. 15 and 25.

² *Bergens Museums Aarbok*, 1873, Fig. 36.

But besides the strictly chronological and historical records just cited, Ireland possesses a vast literature of great importance, for not merely is it by far the oldest in any country north of the Alps, but it grew up beyond the limits of the Roman empire, and was practically uninfluenced, especially in its earlier period, by either pagan or Christian Rome. It consists of ancient sagas or heroic stories, partly in prose, partly in verse, and in them we can see better than in any other early literature the conditions antecedent to the development of such finished Epic poetry as the Greek. Indeed, a scientific study of the Irish epics would probably save much foolish *a priori* speculation respecting the origin of Epic poetry in general and that of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* in particular. Of course a large mass of unscientific theorizing has grown around the Irish epic cycles, for, although they have only been studied by the few, these few have striven hard to rival their classical compeers who have directed their energies to the Homeric poems.

The Irish Epics fall into two great cycles. That which is by all admitted to be the oldest centres round Conchobar and the exploits of his nephew the great champion Cuchulainn, termed by Tighernach the annalist, "fortissimus heros Scotorum." These, as we shall soon see, were regarded by the Irish writers as real personages who flourished about the beginning of the first century before our era. But just as the school of Kuhn, Max Müller, and Sir George Coxe made Heracles, Agamemnon, and Achilles into sun-myths, so the late Professor d'Arbois de Jubainville, Sir John Rhys, and others maintain that Cuchulainn had never any human existence, but is purely a solar hero. With the evidence of a real historical background for the oldest epics in which Cuchulainn and Conchobar are enshrined, we shall presently deal at length (pp. 548 *sqq.*).

To this older epic, the scenes of which are laid in the century before Christ, succeeds a later cycle known as the Ossianic, the tales of which recount the glories of the Fiana¹ and their

¹ The common spelling is Fianna, but Prof. Kuno Meyer (*Fianaigecht*, R. Irish Acad., Todd Lecture Series, vol. xvi, 1910) has recently shown that Fiana is the proper form, for it is so spelt in two ninth-century MSS. He follows Dr Whitley Stokes in identifying its root with Lat. *uenari*, "to hunt," and Bulgarian *vofna*,

great captain Finn Mac Umal. It is important to note that these Fiana are in no sense clans or tribes, but are bands of warriors, seemingly detached from the ordinary tribal life of the country. Finn is said to have flourished in the third century A.D., to have married a daughter of the great and undoubtedly historical personage, king Cormac Mac Airt, and to have been killed in battle in A.D. 283. Like Cuchulainn he too has suffered at the hands of the mythologizers, for Sir John Rhys in reliance on the old spelling of his name, Finn Mac Cumhal,—has identified the Irish hero with the Gaulish god *Camalus*. But Professor Kuno Meyer has recently disposed effectually of this theory by showing that Finn's true patronymic was Mac Umal¹.

But as neither the manuscripts nor yet the linguistic forms in which the oldest writings of the Finn cycle have reached us date farther back than the tenth century, it has been assumed by the late Professor Zimmer and all other Celtic scholars, that the culture set forth in these works is that of the Viking period. Now as we have just seen that weapons and ornaments of the Northmen in Ireland are characteristically Scandinavian, the sword and the bill playing the chief part in their warfare,

"war." He explains it to be a band of warriors on the war-path, and he thinks that because the form is not found in any compound names in the Fenian cycle, the latter must therefore be late. The oldest name compounded with *Fian* is Fiangalach, a man who died about A.D. 599, though there is no reason why such names should not have been far earlier. Other leaders of Fiana famous in history and romance were Mael Ciaran mac Ronain, royal champion of the east of Ireland and leader of the *fian* for spoiling the Norsemen mentioned in the *Annals of Ulster*, A.D. 869. But the earliest of these is a man of the royal house of Ailech mentioned in *Annals* under A.D. 610. He led a *fian* to Britain to assist King Aedan Mac Gabrain (McGovern a name still known) in his warfare against the Angles. He slew Eanfrid, brother of Ethelfrid, with his own hand (A.D. 603). In 632 there was a hosting to Dun Guaire (said to be Bamborough). Dr Kuno Meyer also thinks that the Scotti who aided the Picts in raiding Roman Britain in the third and fourth centuries A.D. were also called *Fiana*.

¹ The common form of the hero's name is Finn Mac Cumhal, "Son of the handmaid." This has long been a stumblingblock, since there is no tradition of Finn having been base-born. Prof. Kuno Meyer shows that the true ancient form is Mac Umal. Umal is known as a man's name in ancient Irish documents. The hero's name therefore was simply Finn "son of Umal." (*Rev. Celt.* xxxii. 891.)

we ought to find these weapons equally prominent in the tales of the Finn Epic, if the assumption of Zimmer and all the rest be true. But when we examine the Ossianic cycle, the method of fighting and the weapons employed differ essentially from those of the Viking period. We do not now depend on the many references scattered through the Finn literature, for since the views here urged were first put forward¹ Prof. Kuno Meyer has recently published a ninth-century poem in which is described at full length the whole equipment of a Fian warrior.

The poem is called the *Reicne Fothaid Canainne*. From the rudeness of the metrical form and the vowel-endings Professor Meyer thinks that it was written in the ninth century, although some forms point rather to the tenth. But it must be remembered that the material, or even the poem itself, may be much older, though it has only survived in a ninth-century garb. In the case of the *Tain Bo Cuailnge* we shall soon see that the work is many centuries earlier than the manuscripts in which it has reached us. Chaucer's poems and the famous ballad of *Sir Patrick Spens* were printed in modernized forms in the eighteenth century. If only these had survived, how false would it be to argue that the poems themselves had only been composed in that period. The poem is supposed to be uttered by the spirit of Fothad Canainne to the wife of Ailill Flan Bec mac Eogain. Fothad was a leader of Fiana over the men of Connaught, whilst Ailill was the captain of the Fiana of Munster. Fothad had a war-band (*fian*) of famous warriors, who were "distinguished for dress and terror and dignity and raiment and fierceness beyond the warriors of that time." There was mutual strife between the two leaders, and they made raids upon each other. Fothad's shape was more marvellous than that of Ailill, but Ailill's wife was more marvellous and delightful than Fothad's. Failbe was sent by Fothad to woo Ailill's wife in disregard of her husband. She refused to go until her bride-price was shown to her. She fixed it at a bushel of gold, a bushel of silver, and a bushel of white bronze. Failbe brings back her answer to Fothad, who said

¹ In the "Margaret Stokes Lectures," 1909, and before the British Academy, 1910.

that she should have that. He said that each man of his household had six rivets in his spear—two of gold, two of silver, and two of white bronze, and they would take three rivets out of every spear and leave three, and three bushels would be filled with them. Fothad then came and carried off Ailill's wife. Ailill gave chase with his warriors, and overtook Fothad, and a battle took place in which Fothad was killed and his head cut off. "The woman who comes to a tryst with Fothad carried his head into the grave. Then the head of Fothad sang the *reicne* to the woman," of which a summary is here given: "Hush, woman, do not speak to me. My thoughts...are still in the encounter at Fei (Feic's pool in the Boyne near Slane)...The tryst that was made at Clárach has been kept by me in pale death....The noble-faced, gray-horsed warrior-band has not betrayed me. Alas, for the wonderful yew-forest that they should go into the abode of clay....The green-leaved forest has received them. It was an all-fierce slaughter....Not feebly fights Falbe Flann, the play of his spear-strings withers the host." Fothad first slew twelve warriors. "Thereupon we exchanged spears, I and Ailill, Eogan's son: we both of us perished thereof. Oh, the fierceness of these two stout thrusts. We perished mutually, though it was senseless; it was the encounter of two heroes....One should not hold converse with a dead man, betake thee to thy house, carry my spoils with thee. Everyone will tell thee that it was not the raiment of a churl: a crimson cloak, and a white tunic, a belt of silver, no paltry work. My five-pronged spear, a lance with venom, whose slaughters were many; a shield with five circles, with a boss of bronze, by which they used to swear binding oaths. The white cup of my cup-bearer, a shining gem, will glitter before thee; my golden finger-ring, my bracelets, treasures without a flaw, Nia Nár brought them across the sea. Cáilte's brooch, a pin with luck, it was one of his marvellous treasures: two heads of silver round a head of gold, it is a good piece, though it is small. Quickly unclasp it—there was the end of bloodshedding!—the bronze coil around my neck.... My draught-board, no mean treasure, is thine....Noble blood drips upon its rim. Many a body of the spear-armed hosts lies

here and there around its crimson woof: the dense bush of the ruddy oak-wood conceals it by the side of the grave north-west....Earth never covered anything so marvellous as it. One half of its figures are yellow gold, the others are white bronze; its woof is of pearl; it is the wonder of smiths how it was wrought. Four candlesticks, a white light, not feebly do they illumine its board....The bag for its figures—'tis a marvel of a story—its rim is embroidered with gold; the master-smith has left a lock upon it which no ignorant person can open. The four-cornered casket—it is tiny—it has been made of coils of red gold; one hundred ounces of white bronze have been put into it firmly. For it is of a coil of firm red gold, Dínoll the goldsmith brought it over the sea; even one of its clasps only has been priced at seven lay-women....In the time of Art—he was a luxurious king—'tis then Turbe, lord of many herds, made it....Smiths never made any work to which it can be compared; earth never has hidden with a king a jewel that is so marvellous. If thou be cunning as to its price, 'tis plain to me thy children will not be miserable; if thou hoard it, a close treasure, no race of thine will be in want. There are around us here and there many spoils whose luck is famous; horrible are the huge entrails which the Mórrígan (the War-goddess) washes. She has come to us from the edge of a pillar (?), 'tis she who has egged us on; many are the spoils she washes, horrible the hateful laugh she laughs....O woman, fair was the aspect under which we parted. I shall now part from all that is human, in the morning after the band of youths. Go to thy house, do not stay here, the end of the night is at hand....My riddled body must part from thee awhile, my soul to be tortured by the black demon. Save for the worship of Heaven's King, love of this world is folly. It is the dusky ousel that laughs a greeting to all the faithful: my speech, my shape are spectral—hush, woman, do not speak to me!"¹

It is clear from this that the Fiana were spear-throwers (using the *amentum*, or thong) and carried round shields, but had no swords or battle-axes like the Danes, and wore penan-

¹ K. Meyer, *Fianaigecht* (R. Irish Acad., Todd Lecture Series vol. xvi, 1910) pp. 7 ff.

nular brooches, for the description of Cailte's brooch seems clearly to point to such and certainly cannot indicate the Danish tortoise-brooch. As then this ninth-century poem agrees with the descriptions of the armature and equipment of the Fiana




FIG. 38. *Francisca*, found in Ireland, $7\frac{3}{4}$ in. long, cutting edge $2\frac{1}{2}$ in. (Royal Irish Academy Collection.)

given in tales which as we have them are much later, we may rest assured that the works of the Finn cycle represent faithfully a culture in use in Ireland before the Viking period. Finn and his paladins are described as fighting on foot (like

Rollo the Ganger), the spear is their weapon and spear-throwing is their method of fighting, whilst they are represented as wearing the ring-brooches of which so many have been found in Ireland and as continually playing draughts. The spears themselves are described as of iron, not infrequently ornamented with rings of gold along the socket.

The theory therefore that the authors of the Finn cycle described the Viking weapons and mode of fighting must be rejected, since neither Finn nor any of his followers any more than Fothad Canainne are equipped with the characteristic Scandinavian weapons, nor wear any but the Irish brooches of the penannular shape. Again, although Ireland has produced from her soil at least one example (Fig. 38) of the *francisca*, the famous battle-axe with a heavy curved iron head and a short handle, which the Franks hurled in their enemies' faces at the moment of charging, and many of which are found in Merovingian cemeteries in France, nowhere is Finn or any of his companions represented as using such a weapon. There can therefore be no doubt that the culture of the Finn cycle is not that of the Viking or Merovingian periods, but that in use in Ireland at an earlier date.

Though Finn and his companions are essentially spear-throwers, they likewise use that weapon in hand-to-hand fighting like Fothad Canainne, and whilst they do not fight on horseback neither do they fight from chariots as we shall find to be the case in the older Epic. Thus in their armature and method of fighting they neither belong to the earlier period nor yet to the Viking epoch, but as they were both great of stature and blond-complexioned, as Finn's own name denotes, it would seem that they were not merely bands of native tribesmen, but rather bands of Scandinavian or Teutonic warriors from beyond the seas. Their equipment and mode of fighting seems to be that of the Germanic tribes as described by Tacitus in the first century A.D., and that of the Saxons, Angles, and Jutes who settled in England from Holstein and Denmark. The spear of the Fiana recalls the *framea* of the Germans, which according to the Roman historian was used either for hurling or in hand-to-hand encounter.



Although but little attention has yet been given to Irish antiquities belonging to the period between A.D. 150 and the eighth century, there are not wanting indications that careful study will in due time identify spears and other objects belonging to that period. An iron spear-head decorated with rings of gold inlaid at intervals down its socket (Fig. 39), found some years ago in Co. Limerick, now in the possession of the Rev. L. M. Hewson, M.A.¹, so admirably tallies with the descriptions in the tales of iron spears thus decorated, that it can no longer be maintained that such highly ornamented weapons had never existed save in the poet's fancy.

Now as the culture depicted in the Finn cycle is not that of the Cuchulainn series, nor yet that of the Viking age, but on the other hand coincides in many respects with that set out at great length in the multiple enumerations of the objects used for payments or gifts in the *Book of Rights*, the contents of which extend at least as far back as the fifth century A.D., though Cormac in his revision includes objects such as swords, which had come into use in the centuries immediately before his time (901), we are justified in concluding that the writers of the Finn cycle present us with pictures of a real historical period and a real historical culture. But this of itself affords a strong presumption that the traditions embodied in their works have likewise a historical nucleus and that the personages round which they hang once played their parts in the drama of real life.

FIG. 39. Iron Spear with inlaid gold rings on its socket; Co. Limerick, Ireland.

¹ Mr Hewson, to whom I am indebted for the photograph here reproduced, showed me the spear in 1906, when I at once recognized it as an inlaid spear such as those mentioned in the Finn cycle, and he exhibited this very important relic before Section H of the British Association at Dublin in 1908. It has recently been acquired for the Royal Irish Academy Museum.

Swords seem to have been in use in Ireland for a considerable period before the revision of the *Book of Rights* by Cormac, among the native Irish as well as amongst the 'foreigners,' but as the equipment of Fothad Canainne does not include this important weapon, clearly either the *Reicne* must be dated earlier than the ninth century, or it must be conceded that those who at that time composed Finn tales were careful not to admit into their writings the characteristic armature of their own day and have therefore accurately represented the culture of an earlier time.

But there are ample grounds for believing that many centuries before the Viking descents upon Ireland in the eighth century there was already a very important blond element in the population of that island as well as in Britain. For without placing too much reliance on a statement in the *Book of Rights* which represents St Patrick as going to the 'white foreigners' at Dublin in the fifth century, there is a large mass of indubitable evidence for the existence of such fair-complexioned folk in Ireland at that time and long before. The Scoti, who were undoubtedly blond, had been the master race for many centuries, with apparently one short interruption, whilst their subjects were the descendants of the old Firbolgic tribes commonly termed *Aitheach-Tuatha*, who unquestionably were dark-complexioned and are the direct progenitors of the great melanochrous element in the Irish of to-day. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters* and the *Leabhar Gabhala* there was a great rising in A.D. 10 of the Firbolgic plebeians against the Scotic nobility (the so-called Milesians), and very many of the latter were massacred at Cruachan in Roscommon. The *Aitheach-Tuatha* immediately set up one of their own race, by name Cairbre Cat-head, as king. A few of the Scotic chiefs escaped destruction, notably Fearadhach Finnfeachtnach, whose mother was a daughter of the king of Alba (Scotland), and from whom was descended Conn of the Hundred Battles, and Tibraide Tireach, whose mother was a daughter of the King of Saxa, and from whom were sprung the Dal-Araidhe. "Evil indeed was the condition of Ireland in the time of Cairbre, for the earth did not yield its fruits to the Attacotti

(Aitheach-Tuatha) after the great massacre which they had made of the nobility of Ireland." On Cairbre's death, after a reign said to have lasted only for five years, the Scotie chieftains regained their power.

The mention of a king of Saxa in connection with Ireland at so early a period, though not impossible, naturally arouses suspicion, for according to the *Annals of Ulster* the first descent for plunder made on Ireland by Saxons was in A.D. 434. But we already hear of these pirates in British or rather Roman history a century and a half earlier in A.D. 287, whilst there is excellent evidence for their association or alliance with natives of Ireland long before they began to harass that island. Thus Ammianus Marcellinus¹ states that in A.D. 364 the Picts, Saxons, Scots and Attacotti harried Britain continually, whilst the Saxons were also with the Picts when defeated in the Alleluiatic Victory by St Germanus of Auxerre in A.D. 430.

The existence of these Irish tribes or Aitheach-Tuatha cannot be doubted, since beyond question they are the Attacotti who played such a prominent part along with their Scotie overlords and the great Scotie king Niall of the Nine Hostages in harrying Britain as well as the coast of France in the end of the fourth and the beginning of the fifth century. Niall reigned from 379 to 405. According to the Irish traditions he "went into Alba (Scotland) with a large host to strengthen and to establish the Dalriada and the Scotie race in Alba, who were at this time gaining supremacy over the Cruithnigh who are called Picti, and he was the first to give the name Scotia to Alba." He marched after this to Laegria, and made an encampment there, and sent a fleet to Armorica for the purpose of plundering that country. According to one account of the birthplace of St Patrick it was on this occasion that he was made a slave and carried back to Ireland. In A.D. 395 Germany and Gaul were in a state of turmoil through barbaric invasions, whilst the Saxon pirates, the scourge of the northern coasts, were more than usually active. There can be no doubt that

¹ xxvi, 4, 5: Picti Saxonesque et Scoti et Attacotti Britannos aerumnis vexare continuus.

Niall took a vigorous part in these attacks upon the Western Empire, probably in concert with the Saxon pirates. Soon after the death of Theodosius in 395, the valiant Vandal Stilicho, now guardian of Honorius, set out for Germany and Gaul to re-establish Roman authority. He strengthened his forces by an alliance with the Alemanni and the Suevi, and soon overthrew and took captive Marcomir, the leading chief of the Franks. Such terror was inspired in Britain by the news of Stilicho's victories that the Picts suddenly retired into Scotland in affright lest Stilicho should land upon the British coast. His success in repelling Niall and his Scoti (and doubtless too his Attacotti) is described by Claudian:

totam cum Scotus Iernen
mouit et infesto spumauit remige Tethys.

It was apparently on this or on some other expedition to Armorica that Niall was slain 'at Muir n-Icht' (the sea of Icht, i.e. the English Channel) by Eochaidh son of Enna Kinshella. From various passages in the *Notitia Imperii* it would appear that Niall on his expeditions had with him many tribes of the Aitheach-Tuatha, who being the natural enemies of him and his race deserted to the enemy and took service with the Roman legions. It may be that his murderer was one of the Aitheach-Tuatha¹.

The similarity of equipment and physique of Finn and his Fiana to those of the Scandinavians as well as to those of the Teutonic tribes, such as Angles, Saxons, and Jutes, who are first recorded to have attacked the coasts of Britain in A.D. 287, becomes still more significant when we examine the period at which, according to the Irish Annals, the Fiana and their great captains flourished. We first hear of them about A.D. 150. In the second and third centuries, Irish politics seem to have entered upon a new phase. Tara is now the centre of power. Conn of the Hundred Battles, whose mother was Una daughter

¹ [It appears from notes that at this point the author intended to insert a summary of his article, "Niall 'of the Nine Hostages' and the Treasures of Traprain Law and Ballinrees and the Destruction of Wroxeter, Chester, Caerleon and Caerwent," published in *Journ. Rom. Stud.* 1924 (xiv), pp. 123 sqq.]

of the king of Lochlainn, became Ard-Righ in A.D. 122, and reigned until he was slain in 157. Conn's son, Art, became Ard-Righ in 166, and held that office until he was slain in the battle of Magh-Mucruimhe in 195 by Maccon and a number of foreigners, including Beinne Briot, king of Britain. There is thus traditional evidence not only for intercourse with the 'men of Lochlainn' but also for the bringing in of foreigners to help in dynastic struggles in the second century. In 226 Cormac Mac Airt, grandson of Conn, became Ard-Righ. This prince left a deep impression on the history of his country, not only by his vigour as a king and warrior, but as a lawgiver or at least a codifier of immemorial customs, and he is also said to have been the first to attempt the compilation of proper annals. Finally there seems no reason for doubting the story which represents him as introducing from Alba (Scotland) for the first time into Ireland the primitive water-mill, still in use in Lewis in the Hebrides, and till lately in Shetland. Cormac is said to have done this for the sake of his concubine Ciarnait, daughter of the king of the Cruithnigh¹ (Picts). The maiden had been carried off in a raid from Scotland by some of his nobles. Cormac's wife Eithne, not unnaturally jealous, compelled her rival to toil at the quern or hand-mill even in her pregnancy. Ciarnait complained of this to Cormac, and he, having probably heard from the Pictish princess of the water-mill introduced into Britain from the Continent, sent to Alba for an artificer to set up one for her.

It was in his reign that Finn Mac Umal, the greatest of the Fiana champions, flourished. It is not without significance that although Finn was neither a king nor even belonged to any of the royal stocks of Ireland, he was married to Cormac's daughter. This, taken in conjunction with the further fact that the Fiana were not tribes or clans but bands of warriors independent of such social organization, indicates that they were bodies of strangers whose spears were at the service of any chieftain who would pay them. Cormac died in 267, and was succeeded by his son Cairbre of the Liffey. Probably the Fian bands had become a constant thorn in the side of

¹ Geoffrey Keating, *History of Ireland*, vol. II. p. 335 (Comyn and Dinneen).

the kings, and this may have been the cause why Cairbre proceeded to break them up. In 283 Finn Mac Umal, now an old man, was slain at Ath Brea on the Boyne, respecting which event the *Four Masters* quote the following poem: "Finn was killed, it was with darts. With a lamentable sound, Aichleach, son of Duibhdreann, cut off the head of the son of Mochtamuin. Were it not that Caeilti took revenge, it would have been a victory after all his true battles; the three were cut off by him exulting over the head of the royal champion." In the following year (284), Cairbre of the Liffey fought a bloody battle at Gabhran, near Tara, against the Fiana. He himself—though he slew Oscar the son of Oisín, the son of Finn—received a mortal wound from that hero, and was then despatched by one Semeon. The captain of the Fiana was then Fearborb, son of Cormac Cas, and he had brought the Fiana to defend Leath-Mogha against King Cairbre. In 285 the Fiana, then led by Caeilte, the last of Finn's paladins, were defeated on the Ollarba (now the river Larne), in Antrim.

The traditional evidence for the presence and employment in Ireland, in the second and third centuries, of bands of professional warriors, who in one instance at least are said to have been foreigners brought in to aid a native prince, the coincidence of the period at which these events occurred with the first appearance in Roman history of the Saxons on our coasts, when taken along with the physical type and equipment of the Fiana, render it not improbable that the Fiana bands if not Scandinavians were some other of the Teutonic warriors who had certainly by that time begun to make descents on the coasts of the larger island.

In the period of which we have just been treating, the political centre of Ireland was Temhair (Tara) in Meath. But this romantic site had not always had such pre-eminence. In the great Irish Epics of the oldest period, of which the *Tain Bo Cualnge* is the most ancient and the most important, Emain Macha (the Emania of Latin writers, the site of which is now known as Navan Rath, about two miles from Armagh) figures as prominently as does Tara in the later cycle. The foundation of this famous town by Cimbaeth and his niece and wife Macha

in 305 B.C. is stated by Tighernach, the best of the ancient Irish annalists (died 1088), to be the first authentic date in Irish history, and he adds "omnia monumenta Scotorum usque Cimbæth incerta erant." It continued to be the capital of the Scotie kings of Ulster until its destruction by the three Collas acting as generals for the Ard-Righ of Tara in A.D. 332. Here dwelt Conchobar Mac Nessa, "the tall, fair-haired, grey-eyed king of Ulster," round whom and his famous nephew Cuchulainn Mac Sualtaim centre all the sagas of the older Epic cycle. It was in Emain Macha that Conchobar had his famous hall, called *Craobh Ruadh*, "the Red Branch," in which he and all his warriors used to be served; at Emain Macha was born the fair-haired maiden Deirdre, daughter of Feidhlimidh; it was here that at the time of her birth the Druid Cathbhadh foretold that by this babe great mischief would befall the land; it was here that Conchobar, in despite of his warriors who sought to slay the child at once and thus avert calamity, put her to fosterage that she might in due time become his wife; it was here that the fated babe when grown to maidenhood fell in love with Noise, son of Usnach, whose locks were like the raven, whose skin was white as the fresh-fallen snow, and whose cheeks were as ruddy as new-shed blood; it was thence that she fled from Conchobar with her young heart's choice to Alba; and thither that she and her husband and the sons of Usnach returned, on the faith of the pledge of pardon given by Conchobar to Fergus; it was on the green of Emain Macha that they were met by Eoghan, son of Dubhthach, prince of Fermanagh, with treacherous intent against the children of Usnach at the behest of Conchobar. Thereupon Eoghan, feigning to welcome Noise, thrust him through with a spear, and he and his host slew all the sons of Usnach and their following, as well as the son of Fergus, who had promised safe-conduct to Noise and Deirdre. Fergus on hearing of the treachery of Conchobar and the murder of his own son, hastened to Emain Macha, fell upon Conchobar's people, slew Maine, the king's son, and many other warriors, plundered and burned Emain, and put Conchobar's women to death. Deirdre however fell into the hands of Conchobar, and she dwelt

with him at Emain Macha for a year after Noise's murder, but never did she raise her head or smile. Conchobar grew tired of her and determined to give her to Eoghan, the murderer of her true bosom's lord, and from Emain Macha she set forth riding behind Eoghan in his chariot, Conchobar following after. As they fared, she cast glances of fierce hate at each in turn, for there were none on earth that she loathed as them twain. Seeing her thus glare on each in turn, Conchobar flung at her a rude jest, whereupon she ended her sorrows by dashing herself from the chariot against a rock.

When Fergus had plundered and burnt Emain Macha, he and his company—some three thousand strong—retired into Connaught to queen Meadhbh and Ailill, by whom they were welcomed and taken into service. Henceforth they harried Ulster without ceasing, and finally ravaged the district of Cualnge, which led to the great truceless war of seven years. But, to use the words of Geoffrey Keating¹, "Know, O reader, that if I were to relate here how Cuchulainn fell by the sons of Cailitin, and Fear Diadh, son of Damhan by Cuchulainn, and the death of the seven Maines, sons of Oilill Mor, and of Meadhbh, and of many other stout heroes who are not mentioned here, a long narrative would be needed."

Let us now return to Conchobar. He was the son of Fachtna *fathach*, son of Cas, son of Rudhruighe. His mother was Neasa, or Nessa, daughter of Eochaidh *salbhuidhe*, of Connaught. He extended his territory by giving his daughter in marriage to the king of Leinster, but she soon eloped with Conall Cernach, who is one of the chief figures in the great war between Conchobar and queen Meadhbh. Not only was Conchobar engaged in local wars, but he had to resist a foreign invasion. According to Keating, he fought a battle at Aonach Macha against Dabhall *dianbhuilleach*, son of the monarch of Lochlainn. The latter had invaded Ulster with an innumerable host and had proceeded to Magh Macha. The clan Rudhruighe rallied round Conchobar against the foreigners and gave battle².

According to a statement in the *Annals of Ulster* taken

¹ *History of Ireland*, vol. II. p. 221 (Comyn and Dinneen).

² *ibid.* p. 215.

from Cuana, an ancient annalist, Conchobar died 308 years before the reign of Cormac Mac Airt. But as Cormac began to reign in A.D. 227 according to the *Four Masters* (according to others, some few years later), Conchobar must have died about 81 B.C. or 71 B.C. The series of events above related which led to the bloody war between Conchobar and his nephew Cuchulainn on the one hand, and Fergus aided by Meadhbh and Ailill on the other, is thus supposed to have taken place about the end of the second or the beginning of the first century before Christ. But this was just the time when the Belgic tribes of northern Gaul, as we have seen (p. 505), were at the zenith of their power, when Divitiacus, the king of the Suessiones, was the most powerful chief in Gaul and also held sway over the Belgic tribes of south-eastern Britain. He was evidently, to use the Irish phrase, "high King," or Ard-Righ, that is, paramount chief of all Gaul and of the Belgic tribes of south-eastern Britain. We have already pointed out (p. 505) that by A.D. 120 Ptolemy's map shows the presence of Belgic tribes, such as the Menapii and Brigantes, in the south-east and south of Ireland. There seems to be no reason for doubting that these settlers had crossed over into Ireland during the period when their race was making large settlements in Britain, in the centuries immediately preceding the birth of Christ. There is therefore a high probability of the substantial historical correctness of a statement given by Geoffrey Keating¹, and no doubt taken by him from ancient authorities, and also given in the *Annals of the Four Masters* under A.M. 4659. This is the story of an Irish prince, by name Maon, son's son of Laoghair Lorc, son of Ughaine Mor, who was the foster-son of Macha, the foundress of Emain Macha (305 B.C.). Maon was thus four generations after Macha, and he accordingly flourished *circa* 200 B.C. Driven from his own territory, he took refuge in Gaul with the men of Menia². His great-

¹ *ibid.* pp. 165 *sqq.*

² The late Prof. H. d'Arbois de Jubainville (*Revue Celtique*, vol. xxviii. p. 85) has critically examined the story of Maon in its various versions, and he identifies the men of *Menia* (found in an important xvth cent. MS, Egerton, 1782) with the Gauls of Menapia. As the Irish did not pronounce *p*, *Menapia* would be

grandfather Ughaine Mor had married the daughter of a Gaulish king, and it was on account of this Gaulish connection that he sought protection there. There was besides a strong friendship between the men of Leinster and the Gauls. "Moiriath, daughter of Scoiriath, king of the territory of Feara Morc in West Munster, conceived a violent passion for Maon on account of the greatness of his name and fame. She equipped Craiftine the harper, a musician who was in Ireland at the time, that he might go after him to France with many love-presents, together with a love-lay in which she set forth the intensity of her passion for Maon; and when Craiftine arrived in France, he played a very sweet tune on his harp when he came to where Maon was, and sang the love-lay which Moiriath daughter of Scoiriath had composed for Maon. He was so delighted with Craiftine's playing that he said he considered the song and the tune melodious; and when his followers and Craiftine had heard this, they besought the king of the French to give him an auxiliary force so that he might go and regain his own territory; and the king gave him a fleetful, that is, two thousand two hundred, and they put out to sea; and no tidings whatever are given of them till they put into harbour in Loch Garman (Wexford); and when they came ashore, they learned that Cobhthach (Coffey) Caolm mBreagh was in Dionn Riogh (a place on the river Barrow, near Leighlin) and many of the Irish nobles with him, and thereupon they marched day and night, and attacked his fortress, and slew Cobhthach together with these nobles. It was then that a druid who was in the fortress inquired who had executed that slaughter. 'The mariner' (*An loingseach*), replied the man outside. 'Does the mariner speak?' asked the druid. 'He speaks' (*labhraidh*), said the other. Hence the name Labhraidh Loingseach clung to Maon ever since. It was he who first made in Ireland spears with broad, greenish-blue heads, for *laighne* means spears having

Menia; cf. G. Coffey, *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. xxviii, sect. C, p. 96, 'Intercourse of Gaul with Ireland before the first century.'

The late Prof. Zimmer has confirmed the constant and early communication between western Gaul and Ireland in a series of four papers (two published since the lamented author's death), *Sitzungsberichte d. Königl. Preuss. Akad. Wissenschaften*, 1909, pp. 363 sqq.

wide green-blue iron heads, and from these spears the name Laighin is given to the people of the province of Gailian, which is now called the province of Leinster." Labhraidh became Ard-Righ and reigned for ten years. Immediately after his victory he set out to see Moiriath, along with Craiftine the harper, and married her, and she became his queen for life.

The *Annals of Clonmacnoise* (as translated by Mageoghagan), whilst differing in some unimportant details, state that Labhraidh Loingseach, (great)grandchild of king Ugaïne Mor and grandson of Laeghaire Lore, was banished by king Cobhthach and remained many years beyond the seas, seeking to bring into this land foreigners to invade it. The annalist agrees with the others in the story of the slaying of Cobhthach and his thirty nobles at Dionn Riogh, near Leighlin on the river Barrow, and adds that "in the time of his Banishment he brought Divers forriners into this land that were armed with a kind of weapons which they brought with them, like pikes or spears, which in Irish were called *layny*, and were never before used in Ireland, of whome the leinster men took the name, and soe did Leinster itself¹." Of the substantial truth of the main facts in the story of Labhraidh Loingseach there seems to be no doubt, since in a fragment of the *Annals of Tighernach* preserved in the Bodleian Library at Oxford, the fact of the overthrow of king Cobhthach by Labhraidh is also mentioned and the place is called Dinn-Righ in Magh-Ailbhe, and the house or palace Bruidhin Tuama-Teanbath². There is nothing surprising in the impression made upon the Irish chroniclers by the introduction of these iron spears. The new metal for weapons and cutting instruments marked in warfare almost as great an epoch as that ushered in by the invention of gunpowder, but to these spears we shall soon return (p. 562).

This tradition of settlers from Gaul in the third or second century before Christ, and of intimate relations between Ireland and Gaul still earlier, cannot be lightly set aside in view of the fact that Ptolemy places Menapii in what are now the

¹ See Dr O'Donovan's note, *Annals of the Kingdom of Ireland by the Four Masters*, sub A.M. 4658.

² *ibid.*

counties of Wicklow and Wexford in Leinster, and Brigantes in another part of Ireland.

In view of the undoubted fact that iron weapons were first introduced into Britain by the Belgic tribes about the very time when, according to the Irish Annals, Labhraidh Loingseach also brought into Ireland for the first time "broad-headed iron spears," this story is of the highest interest and importance. If it should turn out that there are undoubted proofs that the La Tène culture got into Ireland at that period, the truth of the tradition can no longer be questioned.

Let us now apply the test of archaeological discovery to the Irish traditions of Gaulish invaders, and above all to the great epic of the *Tain Bo Cualnge*. The present writer has already tried to show¹ (1) that there are abundant remains of the La Tène Period found in Ireland, (2) that the culture represented in the Cuchulainn and Conchobar cycle is identical with the La Tène, (3) that some of the great chiefs described in the epics had the physical characteristics of the Keltoi or Gauls, and (4) that consequently the *Tain Bo Cualnge* took its first shape when that culture was still living. In his conclusion that the tales represent the culture of the La Tène period, the writer has gained the support of many archaeologists and scholars. The subject is all the more important since in these tales we have the oldest existing literature of any of the peoples who dwelt north of the Alps.

Cuchulainn was the greatest of all the Red Branch knights in Ulster who were in the service of Conchobar, and who resorted every year to Conchobar's capital, Emain Macha, to be drilled in martial exercises. By some, indeed (for example, M. D'Arbois de Jubainville), Cuchulainn is held to be an ancient Celtic god and has been identified with the Latin Silvanus. But, though his exploits are often supernatural, there is no more reason for regarding him as a god than there is for so treating Achilles, or Ajax, or Roland and the other paladins

¹ W. Ridgeway, *The date of the first shaping of the Cuchulainn saga*, 1905 (also in *Proc. Brit. Academy*, Vol. II. 1905-6, pp. 135 *sqq.*). [From this point to page 602 l. 7 the author has in the main repeated the paper mentioned in his footnote.]

of Charlemagne. It has been the practice of certain scholars to speak glibly of heroic personages as worn-out or faded gods, but though we have abundant instances of heroes becoming gods, as, for example, Heracles, Castor, and Pollux, it has never yet been shown that the reverse process has taken place in the mythology of any people. There is certainly no ground in Irish tradition for believing that Cuchulainn was once a god. He was the son of Conchobar's sister Dechtire, but there is some uncertainty as regards his paternity, for he is variously stated to have been the son of Sualtaim, a famous Ulster warrior, or of Conchobar himself, or else of Lugh Mac Ethlind, one of the heroes from the *Sidh*, or sepulchral mounds, with which, as we shall see, the Tuatha-De-Danann were especially associated. This Lugh Mac Ethlind or Mac Ethlinn, is Lugh Lamhfhada ('Long Hand'), third in the succession of the Tuatha-De-Danann kings; he was slain by Mac Cuill at Caendruim according to the *Four Masters* (sub A.M. 3370 = B.C. 1830), but we have already noted the unreliability of this chronology. Lugh was supposed to have transformed himself into a small insect, hidden himself in Dechtire's goblet, and swallowed by her to have been reborn as Cuchulainn. The doubt about his father, as well as his affiliation to his mother's brother Conchobar, is quite in keeping with what we shall soon learn respecting certain sides of ancient Irish society, for not only was polyandry in vogue amongst the aborigines, but Strabo records the report¹ that the Irish had intercourse with their sisters. Moreover, the mere fact that another tradition regarded him as sprung from Lugh Mac Ethlind, an ancient hero, does not at all indicate that he was a god, for in primitive societies there is always a tendency to ascribe a divine parentage to men who stand out pre-eminently in prowess beyond their fellows. Again, the supposed re-incarnation of the soul of an ancient hero or sage in a great warrior or saint of a later date is quite in keeping with beliefs prevalent among many modern tribes. The former tendency is well illustrated by the desire of Alexander the Great to be regarded not merely as the son of Philip, but as the offspring of Zeus himself, and

¹ iv. p. 201.

for this purpose he made his famous march through the Libyan desert to the shrine of Ammon, whilst no better example of the latter need be sought than the numerous re-incarnations of the Buddha in Tibet.

The greatest of the tales of the heroic cycle of Ulster is the *Tain Bo Cualnge*, or *The Cattle Raid of Cualnge*, founded upon a famous foray from Connaught into Ulster. There are three chief manuscript sources for the tale: (1) *Leabhar na h-Uidhri*, *The Book of the Dun Cow*, which dates from about A.D. 1100. The version is an old one, though with some later additions. (2) *The Yellow Book of Lecan*, a late fourteenth-century MS. The version in it is substantially the same as that in the preceding; the beginning is missing, but the end is given. It does not contain some of the late additions in *The Book of the Dun Cow*, and the *Yellow Book*, late as it is, often gives an older and a better text than the earlier manuscript. (3) *The Book of Leinster*, written before 1160, gives a longer version, which is later both in style and language than the other two, and is much less interesting than the older recensions.

The *Yellow Book of Lecan*, our source for the "Muster of the Men of Ulster" which forms the closing part of the *Tain Bo Cualnge*, contains linguistic forms as old as the Irish glosses which date from the eighth century, a fact which well coincides with the tradition that the tale was recovered by the bard, Senchan Torpeist, in the latter part of the seventh century. There is likewise a tradition that St Patrick called up a vision of Cuchulainn in his chariot to persuade King Laegaire of Tara to become a Christian. Moreover, the Ossianic cycle is, by universal tradition, later than the Cuchulainn Saga, and Ossian is by some, though almost certainly falsely, said to have been a contemporary of St Patrick, and to have recited his poems to that saint. Now, as we have seen (p. 530), the Ossianic cycle celebrates the exploits of the Fiana or Fena of Erin, whose domination seems to have lasted from the reign of Conn of the Hundred Battles (A.D. 123—157) to that of Cairbre of the Liffey (A.D. 268—284), and who were at the zenith of their power in the time of Cormac Mac Airt (A.D.

227—266) under their great champion Finn Mac Umal, King Cormac's son-in-law, who, according to the Annals, was killed as an old man beside the Boyne in A.D. 283. There is, therefore, a consensus of native tradition that Conchobar and his famous nephew and their contemporaries, whose deeds are enshrined in the *Tain Bo Cualnge*, flourished considerably earlier than Finn and his comrades, and, therefore, not very far from the time of Christ. There is also a *prima facie* case in favour of the truth of these statements, because the whole spirit of the tales is strongly pagan in spite of the natural tendency of ecclesiastical transcribers to modify them by the introduction of Christian sentiments and allusions. The oldest forms of the tales must date, therefore, from a period at least anterior to the introduction of Christianity. Is it possible to get any evidence which may enable us to fix more definitely the period in which they first took shape? Investigation will soon show that the warriors described in the older epic differ essentially in method of fighting from those who figure in the Ossianic cycle, while they agree not only in that respect but in physique, in armature, and in dress with the Cimbric Gauls of France, of northern Italy and the Danube valley, and with the Belgic tribes (also of Cimbric origin) whom Caesar found in possession of all south-eastern Britain, into which they had passed from the Continent at no very remote date. In other words the culture represented in the Cuchulainn Saga is that known to English archaeologists as "late Celtic" (the term first applied to it by the late Sir A. W. Franks), and as "La Tène" by Continental writers. The latter term has been used because it was at La Tène, the Helvetian settlement on Lake Neuchâtel, that this culture first came into notice (vol. I. p. 410), and it is preferable to "late Celtic" because it does not beg any question of race or nationality. This culture beyond all doubt belonged to that people known as *Keltoi* by the Greeks and as *Galli* by the Romans, and it lasted on the Continent from at least 400 B.C. till the Christian era, and naturally continued for some time longer in Britain, which only fell under Roman domination a century later than the conquest of Gaul.

The La Tène period has now been generally subdivided into three: La Tène I (400—250 B.C.), La Tène II (250—150 B.C.), and La Tène III (150 B.C.—A.D. 1). This culture is characterized by a style of ornament derived from Greek sources through the lands at the head of the Adriatic, by swords, shields, helmets, and brooches of peculiar types, by the use of bronze horns, and by the cremation of the dead, especially in its later period, whilst in ancient literature the Gauls are regularly described as wearing *bracae*, or breeches. If, then, it can be shown that (1) there are abundant remains of the La Tène period found in Ireland, (2) that the culture represented in the Cuchulainn epic is identical with the La Tène, and (3) that some of the great chiefs described in that epic have the physical characteristics of the Keltoi or Cimbric Gauls, we shall be justified in concluding that the epic was first composed when that culture was still living. But as it had died out in Gaul by A.D. 1, and almost certainly in Britain by A.D. 100, it is very improbable that it lingered much later than A.D. 150 in Ireland, more especially in face of the tradition already cited that the Fiana, who are admittedly posterior to the Cuchulainn period, were already dominant by A.D. 177.

Physical Characteristics. Much confusion has arisen from the inaccurate use of the terms "Celt" and "Celtic" (vol. I. pp. 370—1). Thus it has been the practice to speak of the dark-complexioned people of France, Great Britain, and Ireland as "black Celts," although the ancients never applied the term "Celt" to any dark-complexioned people, for great stature, a xanthochrous complexion, and blue or grey eyes were to them the special characteristics of the Celt or German. That a great number of true Celts, by which I mean a large, fair-haired, and blue-eyed people, were already in Britain by the time of Christ and we know not how long before is placed beyond doubt by the statement of Tacitus, and the fact that the Belgic tribes of the south and east of England (to whom are ascribed the relics of La Tène culture found in this island) were undoubtedly xanthochrous, as is clear from the descrip-

tion¹ of Boudicca (Boadicea)—her great stature and long yellow hair—and also from Caesar's statement that the people of that part of Britain were the same as the Belgic tribes on the other side of the channel.

In the first volume of this work attention was called to the native Irish tradition of the presence in Ireland in the second century B.C. of a tall, fair-haired, conquering race, and it was pointed out (vol. I. pp. 582—3) that it was probably this race who had introduced the brooches of the La Tène type found in that country (see *infra*). Now Conchobar, the king of Ulster, who with his nephew Cuchulainn forms the centre of the earliest Irish epic, is described in the *Tain Bo Cualnge*² as "a warrior fair and tall and long and high, beautiful, the fairest of the kings his form, in the front of the company. Hair white-yellow has he, and it curly, neat, bushy (?), ridged, reaching to the hollow of his shoulders. A tunic curly, purple, folded round him; a brooch excellent, of red gold, in his cloak on his breast; eyes very grey, very fair, in his head; a face proper, purple, has he, and it narrow below and broad above; a beard forked, very curly, gold-yellow he has; a shirt white, hooded, with red ornamentation, round about him; a sword gold-hilted on his shoulders; a white shield with rivets (?) of gold; a broad grey spear-head on a slender shaft in his hand." In the "broad gray spear-head" of Conchobar we plainly have the spears with "wide, green-blue iron heads" brought from Gaul into Ireland by Labhraidh Loingseach, circa 200 B.C.

Again we find that in the "Muster of the Men of Ulster" the warriors of Muirtheimne, the patrimony of Cuchulainn, *fortissimus Scotorum*, which lay in what is now Co. Louth on the east coast of Ireland, are described as men with "long, fair, yellow hair." From these passages we are fully justified in the inference that the Scoti, the master race in the north of Ireland at that time and later, had a great stature, yellow hair and light-coloured eyes. In other words, the characteristics invariably ascribed to the *Keltai* by the ancients.

¹ Dio Cassius, LXII. 4.

² Faraday's transl. p. 119.

Method of Fighting. In the Cuchulainn cycle all the warriors fight from chariots, and there is never any mention of men mounted on horseback. Cuchulainn's chariot is described as drawn by two horses, "swift, vehement, furious, small-headed," one of which was grey, the other black. With these horses and the argument to be drawn from their colours we shall deal later (p. 596). In the *Wooring of Emer*, we are told that Cuchulainn went to Alba, i.e. Scotland, to perfect himself in feats of arms, and that he learned there the use of the scythed chariot, and in such a chariot he set out to see Emer after his return from Alba. Though, by Caesar's time the Gauls had discarded the use of the chariot in war, and men mounted on excellent horses¹ formed their chief weapon in their death struggle against the Romans, a fact well illustrated by the types of their silver coins (Fig. 40), it is clear from both literary and monumental evidence that



FIG. 40. Gaulish silver coin.

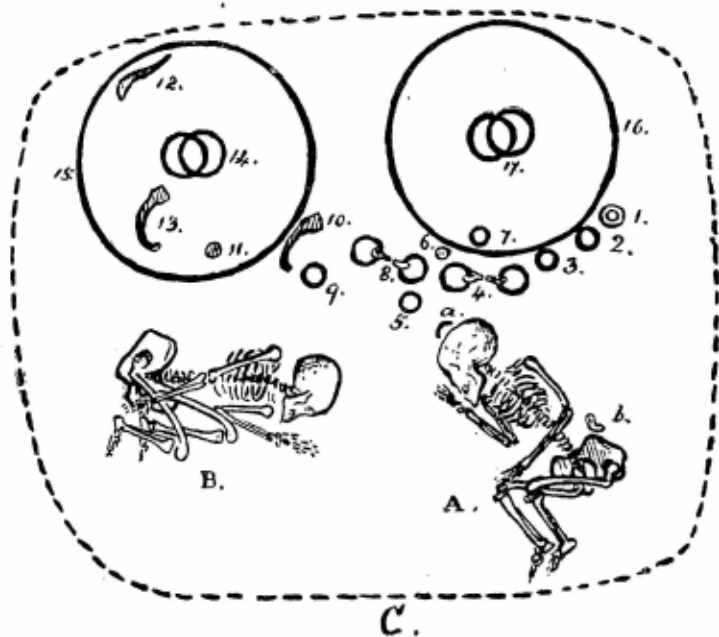
at no long time previously the chariot had been in universal use among all the Celts of Gaul and North Italy. Diodorus² makes it plain that down to a late date they, like the Homeric Achæans, had regularly gone to war in two-horse chariots, containing each a charioteer and a warrior who first hurled spears called *saunia* at the foe, and then dismounted to finish the combat at close quarters with the sword, which was doubtless of the La Tène type (Figs. 44, 45). Propertius, too, in a passage cited on a later page, represents a Belgic chief, Viridomarus, as fighting from a chariot. The opening of many tumuli in Champagne has brought to light the remains of Gaulish chieftains who were interred with their chariots, the horses' trappings being buried along with them³. The

¹ Ridgeway, *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, p. 99.

² v. 29. 1.

³ Ridgeway, *op. cit.* pp. 99—100; Morel, *Champagne Souterraine*, pp. 28 sqq., pl. 7.

D.



D.

FIG. 41. Remains of a Chariot found at Driffield, Yorkshire.

iron tires of the wheels have regularly survived. These interments, as is proved by the swords and fibulae of the La Tène type, cannot be earlier than 400 B.C., and are probably to be set a century later. At the battle of Sentinum in Etruria (295 B.C.) in the Third Samnite War, when the Romans overthrew the combined Samnites and Gauls, the latter had a force of chariots (*essedæ*) and cars (*carræ*), the charge of which completely routed the Roman cavalry¹.

Though by 60 B.C. the Gauls had ceased to use the chariot in battle, yet Caesar found the Belgic tribes of south-eastern Britain using the war-chariot as well as cavalry, whilst the Maeatae and Caledonians, two chief tribes of northern Britain,

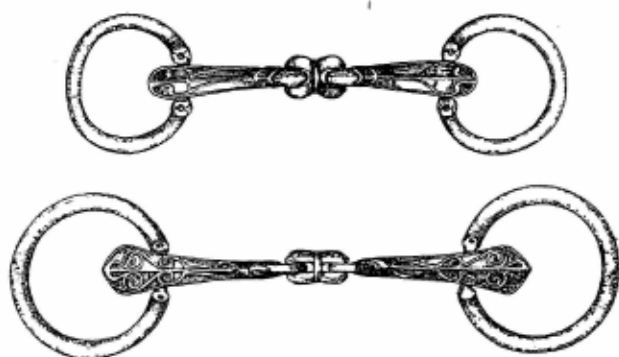


FIG. 42. Bronze Bits : Ireland².

continued to use chariots and apparently no mounted men for a considerable period longer³. The iron tires of the wheels and other remains of chariots have been found at Driffield (Fig. 41), Arras (Atrubates), and Hessleskew, in Yorkshire, the district occupied by the Belgic Parisii according to Ptolemy⁴.

Cuchulainn is said to have gone to Alba (Scotland) to perfect himself in feats of arms, and learned there the use of the scythed chariot. And as the Caledonians continued to use

¹ Livy, x. 28.

² Both specimens are in the Irish Academy Museum. The larger is one of a pair found on the hard turf bottom of a bog at Atymon, Co. Mayo, in 1891. Cf. Ridgeway, *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, p. 98, Fig. 45.

³ Dio Cassius, lxxvii. 12 (*ex Xiph. epit.*).

⁴ Ridgeway, *op. cit.* pp. 95—6.

chariots when these had ceased to be employed for war in southern Britain, Irish chiefs may well have learned improved methods of chariot-fighting from the Caledonians.

Like the wheels of the chariots found in Champagne and in Yorkshire barrows Cuchuláinn's chariot-wheels are represented as shod with iron tires. Though no iron tires of wheels found in Ireland have been yet identified as belonging to the

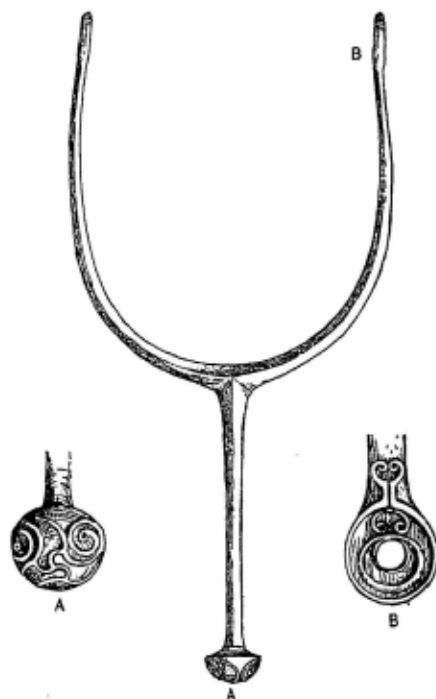


FIG. 43. Ancient Irish Rein-ring (*all-dual*) with details of ornament (A and B) on a larger scale¹.

La Tène period, many undoubted relics of chariots, such as pairs of bronze bits, sometimes beautifully adorned with "late Celtic" ornament (Fig. 42), and frequently associated with a pair of objects which I have identified² as rein-guiders similarly adorned (Fig. 43), prove beyond doubt that chariots were in use in Ireland in the La Tène period.

¹ The specimen here shown is in the Royal Irish Academy Museum.

² Ridgeway, *op. cit.* pp. 493—5.

Dr P. W. Joyce¹ has pointed out that chariots were used in war in Ireland long after the period in which both Cuchulainn and Finn are supposed to have flourished. For example, at the battle of Crinna near Slane in Meath (A.D. 254), Teige, the leader of the Munster forces, used a chariot, and was borne away in it from the field by his charioteer when severely wounded. Again, Dermot, king of Ireland, when preparing for the battle of Culdremne (A.D. 561), gathered an immense army of horse, foot, and chariots, whilst chariots are said to have played a prominent part in the great battle of Magh Rath (A.D. 637); Adamnan, in his *Life of St Columba*², speaking of the battle of Ondemone or Moin-mor (A.D. 563), mentions that the Dalaradian king, Eochaid Laib, escaped sitting in his chariot (*currui insidens*). Other passages cited by Dr Joyce which show that Patrick, Brigit, Columba, and other saints and ecclesiastics regularly journeyed in chariots on their missionary expeditions, have no bearing on the question of the use of chariots in war, for there can be no doubt that they continued to be used for travelling purposes in Ireland as in every other country where they were originally used for war long after they had ceased to form a military arm, and when they had been completely superseded for that purpose by horsemen. Thus the famous North cross at Clonmacnoise, King's Co., bears on its plinth two panels, in the uppermost of which are three horsemen, in the lower two chariots and horses. So too we read of chariots being used in England in A.D. 1154³, yet no one would think of arguing from such an allusion that the Normans of that century used war-chariots.

There is a vital difference between the method of warfare in the Cuchulainn epic and that portrayed in the Ossianic and later stories, for whilst fighting on horseback is entirely unknown to the older Saga and fighting from chariots is the rule, Finn and his comrades, as we have seen, never fight in this fashion. Although in later centuries kings and chiefs went to battle in chariots, and contingents of chariots were employed at the battles of Culdremne and Magh Rath, these

¹ *A Social History of Ancient Ireland*, vol. II, pp. 401 sqq.

² I. 7.

³ Ridgeway, *op. cit.* p. 355.

stories in no wise prove that the military system was the same as in the Cuchulainn period. It might just as well be argued that because the Persians of the fifth century B.C., the Romans in the third century B.C., and the Seleucid kings of Syria at a still later date occasionally used war-chariots, the military system of those centuries was the same as that described in Homer, where no fighting ever takes place from horseback, but the chariot is universal. In all countries, long after horsemen have become the important element in warfare, chariots continue to be used for some time longer as a military arm, especially when fitted with scythes or spears as was done by the Persians, Romans, and Syrians in the cases above cited¹. The Cuchulainn epic, therefore, belongs to an age before the transition from chariots to cavalry had commenced. But as the Gauls had entirely discarded the chariot for war (though retaining it for travelling) by 60 B.C., and as at the same date the Belgae of Britain had taken the first step towards the same end by employing cavalry as well as war-chariots², and as the Fiana, who seem to have used no chariots, began their domination by the second half of the second century A.D., it is most unlikely that the use of war-chariots without any cavalry continued in Ireland later than A.D. 100. But as one writing at a later date would almost certainly have introduced the form of fighting of his own period (as is done in a preface to the *Tain Bo Cualnge*), there is a high probability on this ground alone that the tale was first shaped before A.D. 100.

Swords. The Gauls of the La Tène period used iron swords (Fig. 45), which differed specifically from those of the preceding Hallstatt or Early Iron Age (vol. I. p. 413, Fig. 70.) These were the swords used by the Gauls in their battles against the Romans, which are described by Polybius as being specially meant for a heavy, down-cutting stroke (vol. I. p. 408).

At Lisnacrogghera near Broughshane, Co. Antrim, a number of military weapons were found in a peat bog about 1883—4.

¹ Ridgeway, *op. cit.* pp. 496—7.

² *Ibid.* p. 97.

Beyond doubt these relics belong to the La Tène culture. Of the four swords (Fig. 44) recovered up to 1890 only one is in

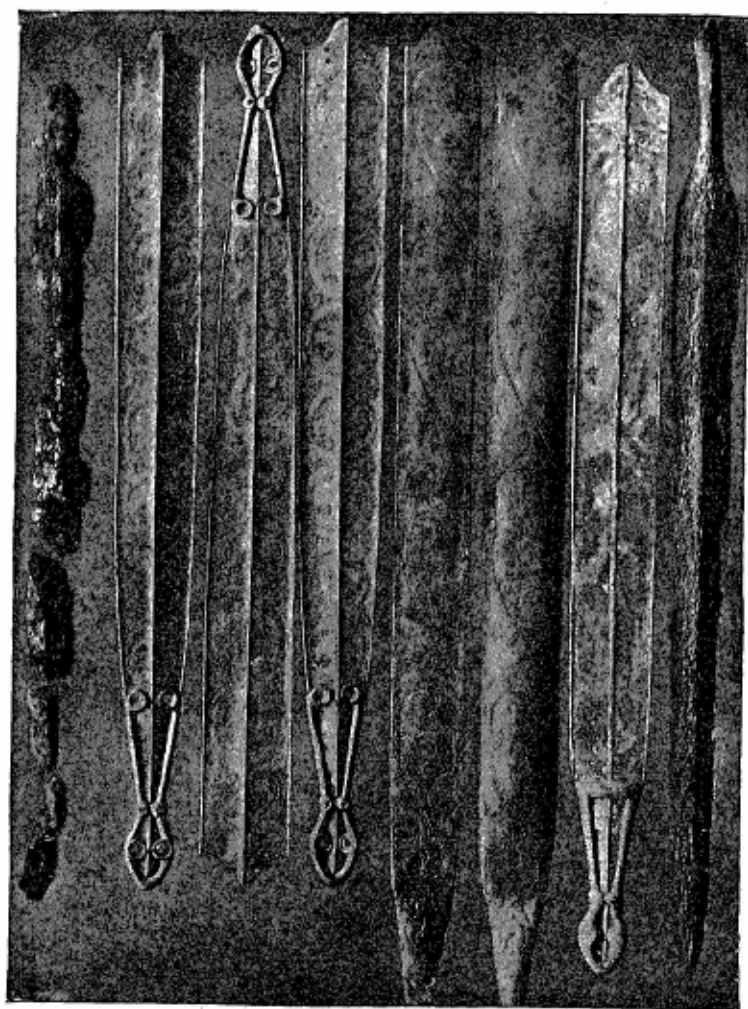


FIG. 44. Iron swords and bronze scabbards; Lisanacroghera, Co. Antrim.

good condition. Its total length is 19½ inches including the handle. The blade has a sharply defined ridge and tapers to a point. The other swords are all fragmentary, one being still

in its sheath¹. It must be remarked that while the swords



FIG. 45.

Sword of La
Tène type in
sheath: Con-
nantre, Marne.



FIG. 46.

Bronze Scabbard,
Lisnacrogghera. (2)

from La Tène, now numbering more than 100, generally have no defined median rib and scarcely taper in the whole length till within a few inches of the extremity, when they gradually form a round blunt tip, the only perfect specimen from Lisnacrogghera has a sharply defined ridge and tapers gradually to a point (Fig. 44). Again, as Dr Munro has pointed out, the handles of the swords found at Lisnacrogghera resemble less closely those of the examples from La Tène itself than that of a sword of La Tène type from Bevaix on which are two small circles similar to those on the Lisnacrogghera handles.

In the Grainger Museum in Belfast there are several sheaths², only one of which, however, is complete, the rest being more or less fragmentary. They are all made of thin bronze, riveted together at the margins, and over this there is a bead, which, towards the lower third, develops into an elegant ornamentation very similar to that on the sword-sheaths found at La Tène. The perfect sheath is devoid of ornamentation save that formed by the marginal bead; but the others (of which only one side

of each remains) are highly decorated with designs formed by

¹ Munro, *Lake-dwellings of Europe*, pp. 382—4.

² *ibid.* pp. 380—2.

incised lines. These designs are of the characteristic La Tène style. It is supposed that the incised lines, which are sharply defined and deeply cut, contained red enamel, as on so many other objects of that period, but no traces of it now survive. There are also circular cavities in the surrounding bead at the tips, probably intended for the reception of enamel. On two of the sheaths there is a transverse, raised band, meant to strengthen the sheath. Such bands are present on the sheaths from La Tène, in some cases being repeated at intervals on the sheath. The longest of these sheaths is 22 inches. But by far the finest is the scabbard (Fig. 46) formerly belonging to Canon Greenwell, but now in the British Museum¹.

There can be no doubt that the heroes of Ulster used swords adapted for delivering heavy down-strokes like those of the Gauls on the continent in the La Tène period. Thus Fergus, in his onslaught on Conchobar, "aimed on him a blow of vengeance with his two hands on Conchobar, so that the point of the sword touched the ground behind him²." The sword handles were probably in some cases richly mounted, for Cuchulainn is represented as having "an ivory-hilted bright-faced weapon³," whilst Conchobar himself had a sword gold-hilted on his shoulders.

Spears. We have laid great stress upon the story of the introduction of iron into Ireland in the La Tène period by Labhraidh Loingseach towards the close of the third century before Christ, and we have also pointed out (p. 553) that in the "broad gray spear-head" of Conchobar we have plainly the broad iron spear-head of the La Tène type.

At Lisnacroghera were found iron spear-heads and "door-handle" butts and also several small objects, one of which was found attached to the shaft of a spear eight feet long, which was furnished at the top with a ferrule of bronze decorated with a kind of Greek fret-pattern prepared for enamel. The spear-head was missing, but Mr Wakeman, who obtained it on the

¹ I am indebted to the Trustees of the British Museum for permission to use the illustration of this scabbard in the *Guide to the Antiquities of the Early Iron Age*, ed. 2, p. 160.

² *Tain Bo Cualnge* (Faraday), p. 136.

³ *ibid.* p. 89.

spot from the finder, considered that the large iron spear-head figured by him¹ may have belonged to this spear-shaft. It is sixteen inches long, and two inches broad. But Mr Coffey has

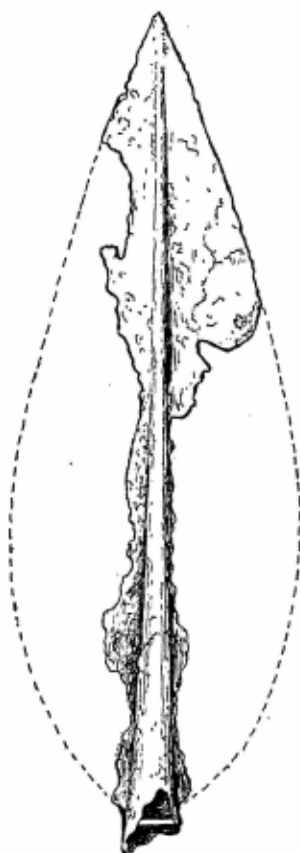


FIG. 47. La Tène Spear;
Ireland ($\frac{1}{2}$)².

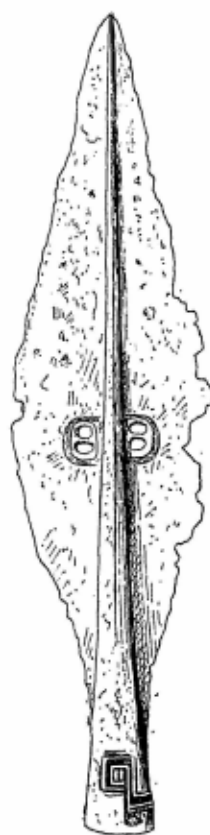


FIG. 48. La Tène Spear;
Corofin, Co. Clare ($\frac{1}{2}$).

recently called attention to several spear-heads found in Ireland, which beyond all doubt are La Tène in character. He thus writes³: "Among the spear-heads found from time to time

¹ *Jour. Roy. Soc. Antiq. Ireland*, 4th series vol. vi, p. 395.

² I am indebted to Mr George Coffey and to the Council of the Royal Irish Academy for the use of the four illustrations of spears here shown.

³ *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. xxviii (1910), sect. C, "Intercourse of Gaul with Ireland before the first century," p. 201.

throughout the country there are some which are regarded by most collectors as immediate successors of the bronze spear-head. Their often unsightly or fragmentary state causes them to be neglected and thrown aside by the amateur. They may however be generally distinguished from the Norse or Danish spear-heads also found in the country, and the La Tène character of some of them is clearly marked." He has figured a spear-head thirteen inches long (Fig. 47) and which must have once been four and a half inches broad. It was certainly found in Ireland, though its exact provenance (probably the Shannon) is uncertain. He seems justified in recognizing it as "an example of the broad, blue lances" from which Leinster took its name. His next specimen (Fig. 48) is still more



FIG. 49.
Iron Spear;
Mullough-
more, Co.
Roscom-
mon.



FIG. 50.
Iron
Spear
with
Enamel;
River
Boyne,
Ireland(†).

characteristic. It was found at Corofin, Co. Clare, and is the property of Mr Mark Pattison. The borders of the small openings or double eyes in the blade are inlaid with bronze, and it has a sort of fret-form round the base.

Some narrow spears are also known, which, though they cannot be assigned to a definite period, have an undoubted La Tène aspect. As an example of this class Mr Coffey figures one found in the river Boyne (Fig. 50). It has some eye centres, at the base of the blade, set some with red, some with yellow enamel. Another example (Fig. 49) of this class was found in the bed of a stream at Mulloughmore, Co. Roscommon.

Helmets. There can be no doubt that the Celts of the Early Iron Age used helmets of metal. Two helmets of bronze were found at Hallstatt, one at Glasinatz in Bosnia (vol. I. p. 434, Fig. 76), whilst others belonging to the La Tène period

have been found at Watsch in Carniola. The literary evidence puts it beyond dispute that they were employed by the Gauls of France in the La Tène period, for Diodorus Siculus¹ says that "they use helmets of bronze with large projections which give the appearance of huge stature to the wearers. Some of these helmets have horns attached to them, whilst others have wrought on them the foreparts of birds or quadrupeds." But the Gauls had helmets of iron as well as of bronze, since two made of the former metal have been found in France. There can be no doubt that the chiefs or other leading persons of the Belgic tribes in Britain also used helmets, as that is proved by the warrior seen on certain coins of Cunobelinus².

Dr Joyce quotes³ with approval Dr O'Donovan's remark, that "nothing has yet been discovered to prove what kind of helmet the ancient Irish *cathbharr* was, whether it were a cap of strong leather, checkered with bars of iron, or a helmet wholly of iron or brass, such as was used in later ages. One fact is established; that no ancient Irish helmet made of the latter materials has been as yet discovered." Down to the present time no undoubtedly ancient Irish helmet is known, the only possible claimant for such an honour being a remarkable helmet (Figs. 51, 52)⁴ in the Belfast Museum. It was found (along with the basket hilt of a claymore of the sixteenth century, with which it apparently has no connection) on a little island (a crannog?) in Killiney Lake near Saintfield, Co. Down, in 1835. The helmet, which has a somewhat classical aspect, is of iron worn thin by rust, but the guards round the eye-openings (Fig. 51) and the little nose-guard are all of bronze riveted on, as I am informed by Mr R. Welsh and Mr W. Swanston, F.G.S., who have most kindly re-examined the helmet for me. They are also agreed that the remains of rivets show that there was a bronze border or beading round

¹ v. 30. 2 κράνη δὲ χαλκᾷ περιτίθενται μεγάλας ἑξοχὰς ἐξ ἑαυτῶν ἔχοντα καὶ παμμεγέθη φαντασίαν ἐπιφέροντα τοῖς χρωμένοις· τοῖς μὲν γὰρ πρόσκειται συμφυῆ κέρατα, τοῖς δὲ δυνέων ἢ τετραπόδων ζῴων ἐκτετυπωμένα προτομαί.

² Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 330, pl. xii. 3; cf. p. 238.

³ *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, vol. i. p. 124.

⁴ The illustrations of the helmets are (by permission) from photographs by Mr R. Welsh, well known for his fine photographs of Irish antiquities.

the bottom to strengthen the iron. The eye-guards are each adorned with three small bosses with a deep cavity in each. These cavities probably once contained either enamel, or crystal, or coral. As this form of decoration is a special

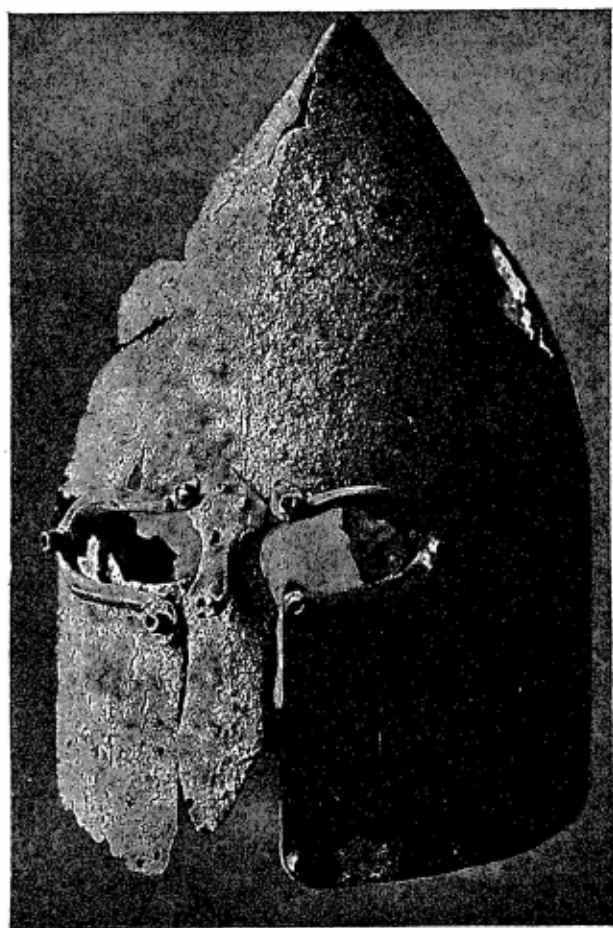


FIG. 51. Iron and bronze Helmet; Saintfield, Co. Down.

characteristic of the La Tène culture, one is tempted to regard this helmet as a true relic of that period in Ireland, more especially as we shall shortly see that helmets so adorned are mentioned in one of the prefaces to the *Tain Bo Cualnge*,

whilst there is actually a Gaulish helmet discovered in France adorned with red enamel, and, as we have just seen, it is almost certain that the cavities in the beads on the Lisnacrogghera scab-

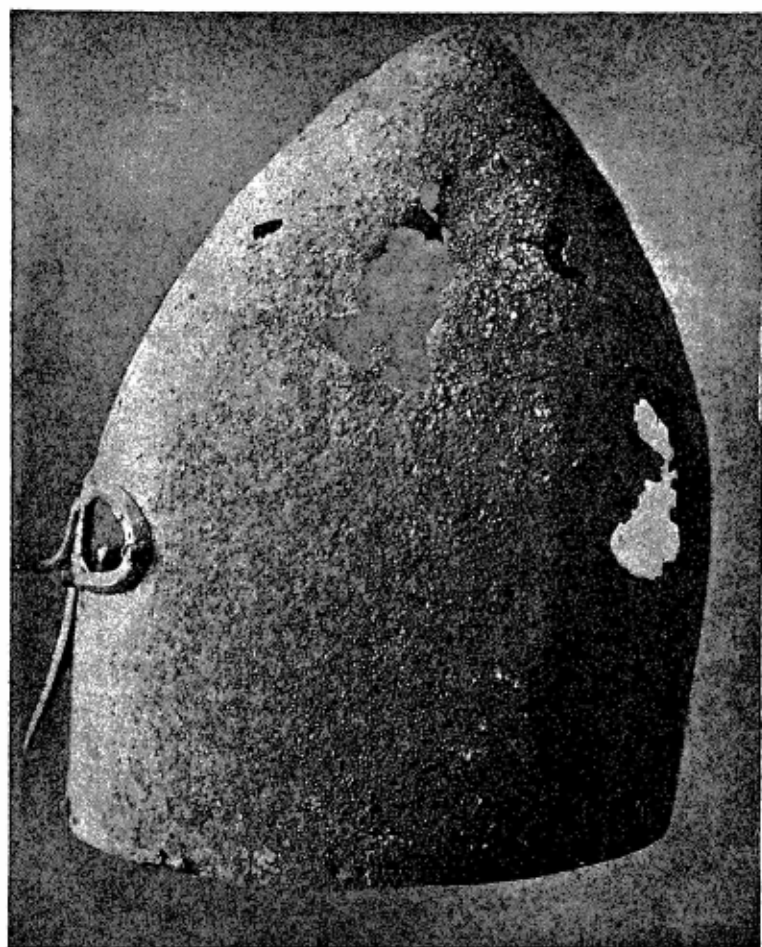


FIG. 52. Iron and bronze Helmet; Saintfield, Co. Down.

bards were similarly filled. Though all our leading authorities on armour have been agreed in holding that the Saintfield helmet belongs to the thirteenth or fourteenth centuries (possibly through lack of acquaintance with the antiquities

of the La Tène period, and from a consequent assumption that the craftsmanship shown in the helmet could not belong to so early a date), inasmuch as no mediaeval helmet exactly parallel to it is known either in any museum or in any representations on works of art, and in view of its resemblance in a characteristic feature to the Gaulish helmet just cited, we may assign it with far greater probability to the early Irish period.

In the version of the *Tain Bo Cualnge* in *The Book of the Dun Cow* ("Leabhar na h-Uidhri") both Cuchulainn and his charioteer are represented as wearing helmets¹. The chieftain himself "put on his head a ridged-helmet of battle and contest and strife, from which there was uttered the shout of a hundred warriors, with a long cry from every corner and every angle of it. For there used to cry from it equally goblins and sprites and ghosts of the glen, and demons of the air, before and above and around, wherever he used to go before shedding the blood of warriors and enemies²." His charioteer wore a similar helmet, only that it was devoid of all supernatural accessories, and accordingly gives a true picture of the ordinary warrior's helmet: it was "ridged, like a board (?), four-cornered, with much of every colour and every form, over the middle of his shoulders. This was well-measured (?) to him, and it was not an over-weight³."

It will be noticed that both helmets have ridges, a feature to be seen in La Tène helmets⁴. The charioteer's helmet seems to have been furnished with a long crest hanging down the back of his neck. This feature can be at once paralleled from representations of warriors on a bronze girdle-plate found at Watsch⁵. Although the description of the helmets of Cuchulainn and his charioteer occur in a passage of the story which is regarded as late because of its language, and of an allusion to Simon Magus, it does not at all follow that the main details of the armature are not taken from a far older

¹ M. d'Arbois de Jubainville says that the helmet is not mentioned at all in the most ancient Irish texts, and that wherever it is mentioned it indicates a relatively recent composition. But this is simply making an assumption and then using the assumption as a test of the age of a text.

² *Tain Bo Cualnge*, p. 89 (Faraday).

³ *ibid.* p. 87.

⁴ Much, *Kunsthist. Atlas*, p. 119, Taf. II.

⁵ *ibid.* p. 129, Taf. IV.

document, the language of which was afterwards modernized, and into which the reference to Simon Magus was interpolated.

In one of the prefaces to the *Tain Bo Cualnge* there is a description of the armature and dress of the retinue of Bodhbh Dearg, the great Tuatha De Danann chief of the hill of Sliabh nam-Ban in Co. Tipperary, when he went to visit his cousin Oichne, the great chief of the ancient hill of Cruachan in Co. Roscommon, for many generations the residence of the kings of Connaught¹: "Splendid was the cavalcade that attended Bodhbh on the occasion.... Their helmets were adorned with crystal and white bronze; each of them had a collar of radiant gold around his neck with a gem worth a newly-calved cow set in it. Each wore a twisted ring of gold around him worth thirty ounces of gold," &c. The use of bronze and crystals to adorn the helmets, ascribed by the writer of the preface (which is of course later than the *Tain Bo Cualnge* itself) to the ancient warriors, at once reminds us of the Saintfield helmet.

We have seen above that according to Diodorus some of the Gallic helmets were furnished with horns. Such a helmet was found in the Thames². Mr George Coffey³ has recently published three bronze horns, which were found in the park at Cork in 1909, below the old bottom of the river Lee. They are about nine inches long and consist of three funnel-shaped straight tubes of bronze. Their points are smooth and neatly rounded. Their mouths have a flange and rivet holes in it: two are sloped across at an angle: the third is straight. They have fine rivetting on the back. When found the centre one was said to have been joined to one of the others by the small piece still attached to it. Round the mouth of each is a band of La Tène ornament, the characteristic form of which cannot be mistaken. The absence of any dividing mark or trumpet-end in the space where the curves expand inclined Mr Coffey to place them not later than the first century B.C., if so late. Their exact use is uncertain, but Mr Coffey, and the archae-

¹ O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, &c. vol. III. pp. 156—7.

² *British Museum Guide to the Iron Age*, ed. 2, p. 107, fig. 116.

³ *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. XXVIII (1910), sect. C, p. 104 (Fig. 6).

ologists of Europe best acquainted with La Tène objects whom he consulted, agree in suggesting that the Cork relics were the horns of a helmet like that found in the Thames.

Shields. There can be no doubt that the Gauls of Caesar's day used oblong shields (*scuta oblonga*), a form which some of them had adopted instead of the older round shield at least as early as the fourth century B.C. (vol. I. p. 477—8), though others of them may have retained for a considerable time longer their old round shields of the Bronze Age type (vol. I. pp. 462—3, Figs. 90, 91). There can be no doubt that the Gauls of Noricum used the oblong shield in the La Tène period, for this is proved by an iron sword found along with an iron helmet of the La Tène type and other objects in a late grave at Hallstatt. The



FIG. 53. La Tène Sword in its Scabbard; Hallstatt.

sword is in its sheath, which is adorned with figures of horsemen, whilst three footmen carry oblong shields and spears (Fig. 53). Similar shields are seen carried also by footmen on the coins of the Gaulish chief Verutalus¹, though a horseman with round shield is seen on other Gaulish coins (Fig. 54).



FIG. 54. Gaulish coins showing horsemen with round shields with bosses.

To the La Tène period in Britain belong the two well-known *scuta* now in the British Museum². One (Fig. 55) found in the River Witham is oval and has a highly decorated oval boss, in the centre of which are three pointed oval pieces of red coral, and there are two smaller studs of the same sub-

¹ Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 238.

² Kemble and Franks, *Horae Ferales*, p. 190, Plates XIV, XV; *British Museum Guide to the Early Iron Age*, ed. 2, p. 105.



FIG. 55. La Tène Shield; River Witham.

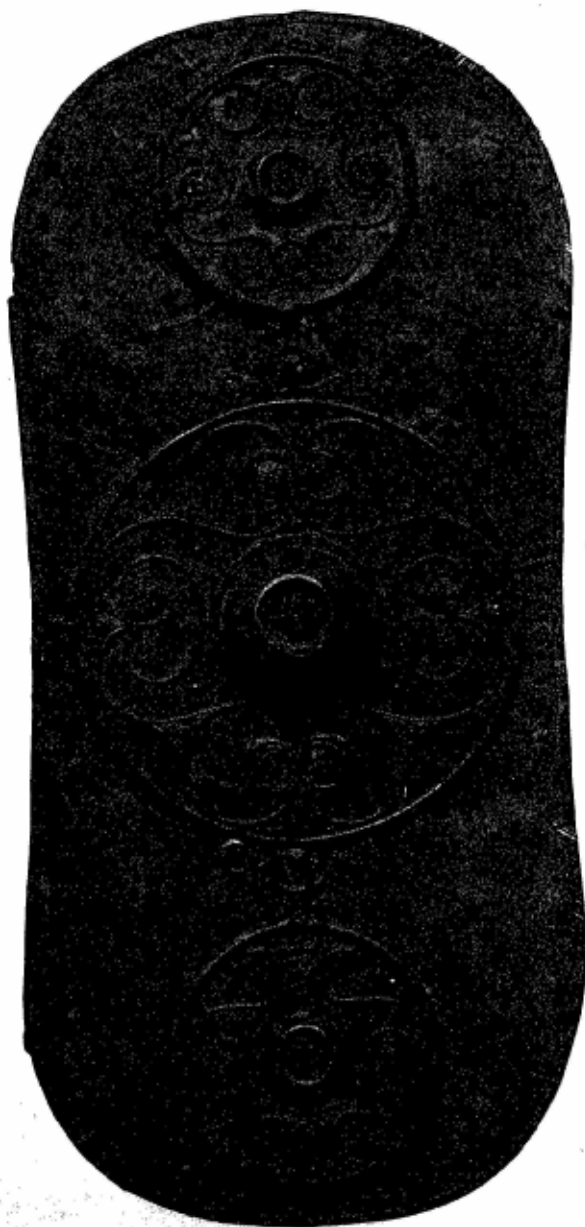


FIG. 56. La Tène Shield; Thames.

stance. The shield once bore the figure of a boar, the outline of which is still clearly visible. The other (Fig. 56), found in the Thames, is slightly curved inwards on its longer sides. It has a central boss decorated with wavy patterns in relief, of great technical excellence and beauty of design, enriched with that red enamel which was invented in imitation of red coral.



FIG. 57. Alder-wood Shield; Ireland.

Oblong shields, sometimes pointed, are carried by horsemen on the coins of the British kings Tasciovanus, Cunobelinus and Verica¹.

To the same period I referred in 1901 (vol. I. p. 478) an oval Irish shield (Fig. 57) in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy. It is made of alder-wood. It was found in 1863 ten feet deep in a bog at Kiltubride, Co. Leitrim.

¹ Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 238, pl. vi. 2.

We have just seen that the Belgic *scuta* found in Britain have bosses, whilst Diodorus¹ makes it clear that such too was the case with those of the Gauls. "They use oblong shields (*θυρεοί*), as long as a man, adorned with a distinctive emblem. Some of them have projections consisting of animals in bronze, well wrought, not merely for ornament, but also to insure safety." Doubtless the boar which once adorned the Witham shield is one of the animal forms to which Diodorus refers. I here



FIG. 58. Shield Ornaments; Lisnacroghera.

show (Fig. 58) several objects found at Lisnacroghera, which have with much probability been regarded as the boss and other ornaments of a shield or shields.

There is no doubt that both round and oblong shields were used in Ireland, as is held both by O'Curry and Joyce. Though *lumman* was the generic name for a shield, the term *sciath* was also in use. Now, as this still means an oblong wicker basket, O'Curry argued that it was an oval shield.

¹ v. 30. 2.

Though the word cannot be phonetically equated with *scutum*, there can be little doubt that the *sciath*, like the *scutum*, was an oblong buckler. Cuchulainn's shield is described as "round (*crum*), dark red, in which a boar that would be shown at a feast would go into the boss" (?). Miss Faraday rightly feels a doubt about this rendering, and in the light of what we have just seen of the boar as a device on the Witham shield, not to speak of its frequent appearance as a crest on the helmets of Gaulish chiefs portrayed on Gaulish coins, I would venture to suggest that the meaning of this obscure phrase may be that on Cuchulainn's shield there was a boss which carried a boar as large as one that would be served at a feast. The poetical exaggeration is quite on a level with the rest of the description of his array.

In the *Tain Bo Cualnge* there may be two kinds of shields, for in the "Muster of the Men of Ulster," given in the *Yellow Book of Lecan*, some warriors are represented as having round (*crum*) shields with bosses, whilst one carries a "bent shield" (*cuar*) with a boss. It is not unlikely that one of these is an oblong or oval shield, or one with incurved sides like the Thames buckler. Both *crum* and *cuar* are terms of vague meaning. *Crum* means *bent*, and might mean simply *oval*, whilst *cuar* does not appear to mean "circular," but simply "curving," as it is applied to a sickle. It would therefore be a suitable epithet for an oval shield or one with incurved sides. The shields are of various colours—red, white, black, grey, and ornamented with gold and silver. Dr Joyce has pointed out that none but round shields are ever represented on the Irish crosses or in the illuminated manuscripts. Moreover, it seems certain that the common shield in use in



FIG. 59. The O'Donovan Shield;
Skibbereen, Co. Cork¹.

¹ This shield is fully described in vol. i. p. 464, Fig. 93.

mediaeval Ireland was a round target. For example, the well-known O'Donovan shield (Fig. 59) is of this shape. If, then, there are both round shields and those of a different type, probably oblong, in the "Muster of the Men of Ulster," this indicates a tradition that in the early days the round shield was not the only form in use. But as the round shield was the type used in Ireland in the Bronze Age (vol. I. pp. 462—3, Figs. 90—1), and in the period of transition after the first introduction of iron, and as that type seems to have become again universal in the eighth, ninth, and tenth centuries, and as we have an actual specimen of an oval shield of the La Tène period found in Ireland, we must infer that the oblong shield had made its way into Ireland between the end of the Bronze Age and the early mediaeval period, by which time it had again gone out of fashion. But as we have not only an actual oval shield found in Ireland, but also mention in the *Tain Bo Cualnge* of a type of shield which is certainly not circular, and most probably oval, we are again justified in thinking that the tale must date from the La Tène period, or at least from an age not much later.

Dress. There can be no doubt that from the Early Iron Age, and we know not how much earlier, the Celts had habitually worn two upper garments. This is clearly shown by the arrangement of the brooches found in the graves at Hallstatt. The first of these was the **Tunic**, an under garment or shirt, made either of leather or of some textile fabric. The other was the **Mantle**, known to the Romans as the *sagum* or *pallium Gallicum fibulatorium*, also a cloak either of leather or of some textile fabric. This upper garment was fastened either by a skewer of bone, wood or metal, or else by a **Brooch**. At some period before 400 B.C. the Gauls of the Danube valley had learned the use of **Bracae**, or **breeches**, from their Scythian neighbours, for it seems not at all probable that the *bracae* were an invention of north-western Europe. These breeches were made of leather or occasionally of some textile fabric. No better illustration of the costume worn by the Gauls in their battles with the Romans can be cited than the

account given by Polybius¹ of their appearance at the battle of Telamon. The Insubres and Boii were clothed in their breeches and light cloaks; but the Gaesatae from vanity and bravado threw these garments away, and fell in in front of the army naked. All the warriors in the front ranks were richly adorned with gold necklets and bracelets, and the Romans were dismayed by the ornaments and clamour of the Celtic host. For there were among them such innumerable horns and trumpets, which were being blown simultaneously in all parts of their army, and their cries were so loud and piercing.

It will be noticed that Polybius makes no mention of tunics, but it is quite possible that when campaigning, especially in the south, the Celtic warriors only wore their *sagor* and *anaxurides*. That the *bracae* were often made of some striped material is rendered clear by a famous passage of Propertius², who speaks of the chariot, the striped *bracae*, and the gold torque of the Belgic chieftain Viridomarus.

Turning now to the *Tain Bo Cualnge*³ we read that "Cuchulainn put on twenty-seven skin tunics, waxed, like board, equally thick, which used to be under strings and chains and thongs, against his white skin, that he might not lose his mind nor his understanding when his rage should come. He put on his hero's battle-girdle over it outside, of hard-leather, hard, tanned, of the choice of seven ox-hides of a heifer, so that it covered him from the thin part of his sides to the thick part of his armpit; it used to be on him to repel spears, and points, and darts, and lances and arrows....Then he put on his breeches, skin-like, silken, with their edge of white gold variegated, against the soft lower part of his body. He put on his dark breeches of dark leather, well tanned, of the choice of four ox-hides of a heifer, with his battle-girdle of cow-skins (?) about it over his silken skin-like breeches." His charioteer put on "his soft tunic of skin, light and airy, well-turned, made of skin, sewn, of deer-skin, so that it did not restrain the movement of

¹ II. 28—30.

² IV. (v.) 10. 39 sqq.

³ pp. 87—8. The word *brog*, which Miss Faraday translates "apron," following O'Curry, I have rendered "breeches," since Zimmer (*Kuhns Zeitschrift*, vol. xxx. p. 81) has conclusively shown that the word means *bracae*.

his hands outside. He put on his black (?) upper-cloak over it outside: Simon Magus had made it for Darius, king of the Romans, so that Darius gave it to Conchobar, and Conchobar gave it to Cuchulainn, and Cuchulainn gave it to his charioteer." This last passage is certainly a late addition by some scholastic interpolator.

Though in an illumination in the *Book of Kells* a horseman (Fig. 60) is seen wearing breeches, it would seem that this garment was not native to Ireland, for even in the fourteenth century the four kings of Ireland who visited King Richard II at Dublin did not wear these garments. The English accordingly had breeches of linen and cloth made for them, but there was "great difficulty at the first to induce them to



FIG. 60. Irish Horseman; *Book of Kells*.

wear robes of silken cloth, trimmed with squirrel-skin or minever, for the kings only wrapped themselves up in an Irish cloak¹." Giraldus² states that the Irish wore breeches ending in shoes, but there is no evidence that this combined garment was used in early times, any more than in the period after him. At most, the statements of Giraldus and Lynch could only apply to a small part of Ireland. Since the kings did not wear breeches, it is very unlikely that that garment was indigenous. It would therefore appear that the *bracae* were simply intruders from Gaul in the La Tène period, and that they did not get any permanent vogue in Ireland. In the "Muster of the Men of Ulster" there are many descriptions of the cloaks and tunics worn by various heroes, including

¹ Froissart (trs. T. Johnes, 1805), vol. iv. p. 431.

² *Top. Hib.* iii. 10.

those of the warriors of Muirtheimne, the hereditary territory of Cuchulainn. These were men with "long, fair, yellow hair," and they wore glossy, long, flowing cloaks with noble brooches (*deilge*) of gold, and had shirts of striped silk.

It will be noticed that Cuchulainn is represented as wearing leather breeches as well as those made of a textile, the leather being for protection. But he also wears a girdle of great

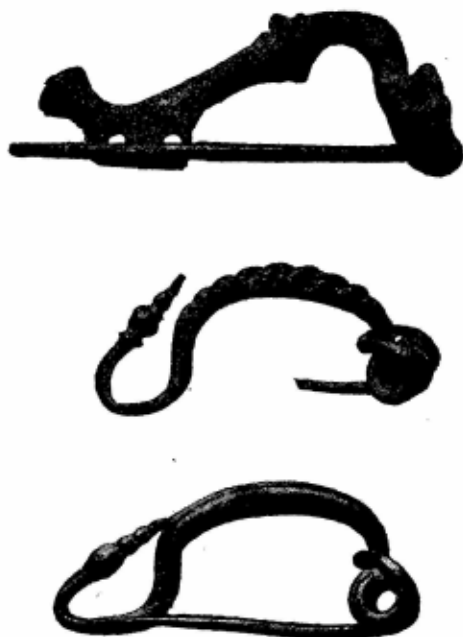


FIG. 61. La Tène Brooches; Hungary¹.

breadth to protect his belly and the lower part of his chest from wounds. Now this is no other than the wide girdle used by the Celts of the Hallstatt area and by the Umbrians for the same purpose, and which was also worn by the Homeric Achaeans under the name of *mitra* (vol. I. p. 311, Fig. 58). Those of bronze found in upper Italy and the Hallstatt area are as much as a foot in breadth at the widest part and taper

¹ The three specimens here shown were given to me by my friend Sir A. J. Evans, F.R.S., F.B.A.

to the ends which¹ were fastened by catches at the wearer's back. Lineal descendants of these ancient girdles, made of leather like that of Cuchulainn, are still worn in the Tyrol.

Besides the *mitra*, pieces of bronze almost certainly portions of hauberks have been found at Hallstatt. The Belgic tribes of Britain seem to have worn a like protection, since some such object is worn by the warriors seen on certain coins of Tasciovanus². There is therefore no reason why the Irish chieftains of the same period should not have used a similar safeguard.



FIG. 62. Roman Provincial Fibulae².

The Celts of the Alps at a date anterior to 400 B.C. developed from their older fibulae, which had but one spring, those furnished with a spring on each side of the bow. They then modified a fibula of a type commonly termed Certosa, found in the Alps and in Bosnia as well as in Italy, by giving it this bilateral spring. This new type, known as the La Tène, has played a great part in the history of the fibula. It extends from the Danubian regions (Fig. 61) to the

¹ Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, p. 233 (with fig.); cf. pp. 240 (pl. vi. 4) and 272.

² From my own specimens.

valleys of the Seine and the Thames, and even to Ireland, as already shown (vol. I. pp. 580-1, Figs. 128-132), whilst it is so found as far East as Ephesus. At the commencement of the Christian era the La Tène type had given birth to the Roman provincial T-shaped fibulae (Fig. 62), and those in turn were the parents of the brooches which the Germanic peoples made in the first centuries after Christ in the epoch of the great migrations (vol. I. pp. 586-7, Figs. 141-2), and of those used in Scandinavia at a much later date.

It is obviously very unlikely that either tunics, cloaks, or breeches of the La Tène period should have survived to the present time in Ireland, though of course it is not altogether impossible that such may be preserved in some peat bog, like the early garments found in Denmark. But I was fortunately able to show in 1901 that in Ireland some six specimens of the



FIG. 63. Leaf-shaped Fibula; Navan Rath, Ireland.

latest forms of the La Tène fibula had been found. One of these discovered at Navan Rath is of a leaf-shape (Fig. 63), another brooch (Fig. 64), also in the Irish Academy collection,

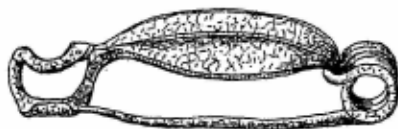


FIG. 64. Leaf-shaped Fibula; Ireland.

has a double spring and is also leaf-shaped, the veinings in the leaf being indicated. Of the other four specimens two are also from Navan Rath (vol. I. pp. 581 *sqq.*, Figs. 133-9). It will have been remarked that no fewer than three of the six La Tène brooches found in Ireland come from Navan Rath, once Emain Macha, the capital of Conchobar himself. In

the "Muster of the Men of Ulster," Conchobar had "a brooch excellent, of red-gold, in his cloak on his breast." So too Cuscraid the Stammerer, Conchobar's son, wore "a green cloak folded round him; a brooch of gold over his arm." But, what is much more important for our purpose (as Mr Coffey has pointed out to me), Sencha Mac Aililla, "the orator of Ulster, Conchobar's chief man, wore a cloak, dark gray, folded round him, a leaf-shaped brooch (*dealg n-duillech*) of white metal over his breast." Now this epithet closely fits the leaf-shaped brooch (Fig. 63) from Navan Rath, and, still better, the other Irish brooch (Fig. 64), which is undoubtedly meant to represent a leaf, as the veining is indicated on its back. The epithet is utterly unsuited to the penanular brooch of the Tara (Fig. 65) and Scotch type, which was so common in Ireland at a later period. But the La Tène brooch was never common in Ireland, as is shown by the scanty number found in that island. Now as the La Tène brooch cannot have lasted in Gaul much later than the Christian era, for it was then completely supplanted by the Roman provincial types, and as it cannot have lasted in Britain much later than A.D. 100, it is most improbable that any bard writing in Ireland at any period much later than the first century A.D. would have represented his heroes as wearing brooches of the La Tène type. It may not be without significance that three out of the six known examples of this type of brooch found in Ireland should have been discovered at the site of the ancient home of Conchobar, whose physical characteristics, as we have seen above, are those of the Celts of Britain and the Continent, not those of the indigenous melanochrous race of Ireland.

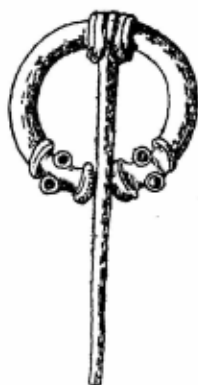


FIG. 65. Penanular brooch; Ireland.

Gold Ornaments. Polybius¹ tells us that when the Gauls entered Italy, they brought with them an abundance of gold ornaments, while the same writer mentions that at the battle

¹ II. 19.



FIG. 66. The so-called Tara gold brooch; Ireland¹.

¹ I am indebted for the photograph from which the illustration is taken to Count Plunkett, Director of the Irish National Museum.

of Telamon many of the Gallic warriors were adorned with gold torques. Manlius acquired the name of Torquatus for himself and his descendants from the fact that he put on himself the torque of a Gaul whom he had slain in single combat¹, whilst from the passage of Propertius cited above it is clear that the wearing of such golden torques and collars was characteristic of the Belgic chiefs. Though the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy possesses a great wealth of torques and other ornaments of gold (Fig. 66), almost all of these belong not to the Iron Age, but to that of Bronze. Indeed, it was only within the last twenty years that gold ornaments undoubtedly belonging to the La Tène period were discovered in Ireland. These are the famous gold objects found near Broighter, Co. Londonderry². These were acquired by Mr R. Day, F.S.A., of Cork, and after being the subject of a long struggle between the British Museum and the Royal Irish Academy, have finally found their permanent resting-place in their proper home, the National Irish Collection. The objects comprised a small boat, a bowl, two chains of very fine fabric, two twisted neck-rings (torques), and a hollow gold collar with *repoussé* designs, "beyond question the most magnificent object of its kind ever discovered" (Fig. 67). This collar is seven and a half inches in diameter, and the section of its tube is one and one-eighth of an inch. The structure of the collar resembles that of one found at Frasnes in Belgium, whilst its curious fastening is similar to those found in some gold torques from Servies-en-Val, near Carcassonne, in what was once the land of the Volcae Tectosages. The ornament consists of *repoussé* and engraved lines filling the vacant spaces in the interstices of the raised ornaments. These fine lines are curved and form more or less concentric groups. They were in nearly all cases executed with a compass, and they illustrate the process by which the harmonious curves of *repoussé* ornament were first sketched out. "This compass-work, which must have also been employed in the original design of the *repoussé* ornament itself, plays a very important

¹ Livy, vii. 10.

² A. J. Evans, *Archæologia*, vol. lv. pp. 391—408.

part in Late-Celtic ornament. It is well known on the mirrors, sheaths, and other objects of metal-work, and has recently been found applied to woodwork decoration in the Glastonbury Lake Village, a fact which shows that the art had attained considerable development in our island before the Roman conquest of that part of Britain. But the best illustration of compass-work designing is supplied by the objects

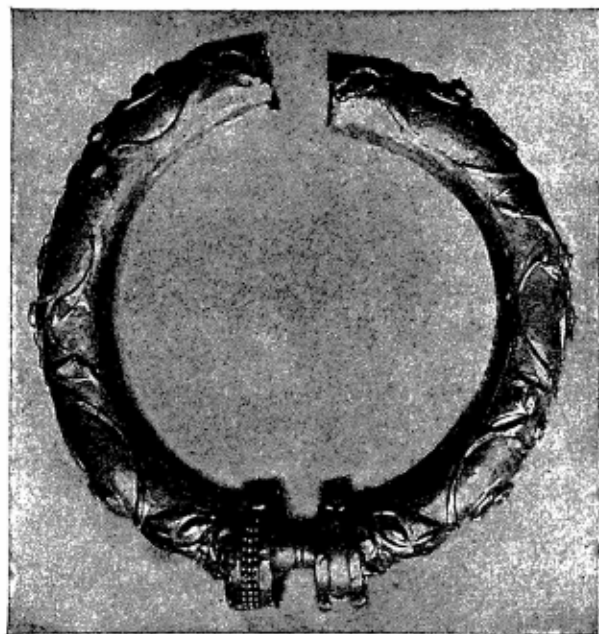


FIG. 67. Gold Collar; Co. Londonderry¹.

discovered in the so-called tomb of Ollamh Fodhla. A number of bone flakes were there found ornamented with a quantity of compass-work figures, and iron compasses were found with them². It may be pointed out that according to Irish tradition Ollamh Fodhla must have been buried very many centuries before the objects here enumerated were made.

¹ From a photograph kindly made for me by my friend Mr George Coffey.

² Evans, *op. cit.*

In the story of the making of Cuchulainn's shield, the poet tells us that the artificer designed its ornament by the aid of a "two-pronged fork," i.e. a pair of compasses¹, one of the prongs of which he planted in the ashes and with the other described the devices that were to be engraved on the shield. Since compass-work was characteristic of the La Tène period, as it is found on works of art in Ireland, and since the compasses themselves have been found associated with such work, in this story of the making of Cuchulainn's shield we have no late figment but a passage written originally by one who was intimately acquainted with the methods of ornamentation used in the La Tène period.

The absence of any mention of gold torques or collars in the description of various costumes enumerated in the "Muster of the Men of Ulster" is very noteworthy. But it is in strict conformity with the fact that scarcely any gold ornaments of the La Tène period have been found in Ireland. Now as nothing could be more tempting to a writer of a later date than to array his heroes with golden collars, the writer of the *Tain Bo Cualnge* refrained from ascribing such adornments to his characters because he simply described what he saw; and as such ornaments were very rare in Ireland in the La Tène period, the epic probably first originated in that epoch.

Writing. Some time after the planting of Massalia by the Phocaeans (600 B.C.) the native Ligurians had learned to use the Greek alphabet, and from them the art spread to the other peoples of Gaul. After the Roman conquest of Provence, the natives gradually adopted the Roman script, yet Greek letters continued to be used occasionally in inscriptions and on their very numerous and important series of gold and silver coins, as for instance KAPIΘA on coins ascribed to the Carnuti, the *theta* being retained to express a sound not represented in the Latin alphabet. The gold series of Gaulish coins are for the most part imitations of the famous gold stater of Philip II of Macedon, bearing a laureate head of Apollo on one side and a two-horse chariot on the other—a type, as we are told by

¹ O'Curry, *Manners and Customs*, &c. vol. II. pp. 402, 829.

Plutarch, adopted by the king to commemorate the victory of his chariot at Olympia, just as he placed on his silver tetradrachms the horse and the jockey who had won for him the horse-race.



FIG. 68. Barbarous imitation of Drachm of Massalia.

The first coins used by the Ligurian and Gallic tribes were the little silver obols of Massalia, bearing a head of Apollo on one side and a four-spoked wheel on the other, and later the drachms of that town bearing on the obverse a head of the Ephesian Artemis and on the reverse a lion with the legend ΜΑΣΣΑ. These were soon copied not only by the tribes of the Rhone valley, but also by all those of northern Italy, where the coins of Massalia and their barbarous imitations formed the currency until after the Roman conquest (Fig. 68).



FIG. 69. Gaulish gold coin; Armorica. *Obv.* from head of Apollo on *Philippus* but *rev.* from man-headed Pegasus on silver coins of Emporiae¹.

But in the south and west of Gaul the coins of two other Greek towns, both situated on the north-east coast of Spain—Emporiae and Rhoda, exercised a very considerable influence. The former struck drachms bearing on the reverse a Pegasus (ultimately derived from the famous Corinthian type), but it underwent various modifications in the mint of Emporiae. On some the head of the Pegasus was fancifully formed into a little winged Eros seated in a stooping posture with its arms stretched forwards and downwards. In place of this a human

¹ My own specimen.

head was attached to the equine body, and thus arose a regular Centaur. The tribes of the neighbouring parts of Gaul imitated these types, sometimes blending two or more of them to form new varieties. Hence almost certainly has sprung a very remarkable type found through all the south and west of Gaul. It is a human-headed horse, often showing the survival of the wings of the Pegasus (Fig. 69). Such coins occur at Toulouse (*Tolosa*), the capital of the Volcae Tectosages, in the districts of the Turones (Touraine), Pictones (Poitou), Namnetes (Nantes), Redones (Rennes), and amongst all the tribes of the Armorican peninsula¹. Coins with a similar type also showing the remains of the wings have been found in large numbers in the Channel Islands (Fig. 75), and occur sporadically in the south and south-west of England, from Portsmouth to Mount Batten. The town Rhoda, a colony from Rhodes, struck coins for a short time. These bear on their obverse a beautiful female head derived from that on the famous decadrachms of Syracuse, and on the reverse a rose 'faced downwards,' alluding to the name of the city (Fig. 70). The Celtiberians and Gauls imitated this type, and these copies are especially common in the district of Narbonne, once a chief city of the Volcae Tectosages. From these Gaulish imitations of the silver drachms of Rhoda the so-called voided cross on certain coins of the British Iceni seems almost certainly to have come (Fig. 74).



FIG. 70. Silver coin of Rhoda in Spain, imitated in southern Gaul².

But the later Gaulish silver types, on which the names of chieftains frequently occur, were almost all derived from Roman denarii.

It was formerly held that the Gaulish gold series had begun by 250 B.C., and that its continuation in Britain had

¹ W. Ridgeway, 'The Greek Trade Routes to Britain' (*Folk-lore*, March, 1890), p. 100.

² My own specimen of this rare coin.

commenced between 200 B.C. and 150 B.C. But the present writer has argued that the Gauls had not begun to imitate the *Philippus* until about B.C. 160, and that the British series only began in the time of Divitiacus (*supra* p. 505), a date since adopted by Sir John Evans¹. A considerable number of Gallic inscriptions has long been known² in France, and from time to time fresh ones come to light³, whilst a few (five according to the late Dr Whitley Stokes, three according to Sir John Rhys) have up to the present been found in Italy. These inscriptions are usually sepulchral or dedicatory, but the most famous is a calendar found at Coligny. It would be a great mistake however to suppose that the Ligurians and other Gallic tribes only employed their script for monumental and monetary purposes. Indeed the practice of inscribing coins of itself implies that the art of reading was common. But we have on this point direct evidence of the most trustworthy character. Caesar⁴ himself tells us that after the overthrow of the Helvetii, who dwelt in what is now Switzerland, documents written in Greek characters (*tabulae litteris Graecis confectae*) were found in their camp. These were brought to the Roman general, and proved to be lists, containing the number of men capable of bearing arms who had left home, as well as the number of boys, old men, and women, from which it appeared that the total number of Helvetii of all sexes and ages was two hundred and sixty-three thousand. There were also thirty-six thousand Tulingi, fourteen thousand Latovici, twenty-three thousand Rauraci, and thirty-two thousand of the famous tribe of the Boii. The men capable of bearing arms numbered about ninety-two thousand. The grand total amounted to no less than three hundred and sixty-eight thousand, of whom only one hundred and ten thousand returned to their homes. Elsewhere⁵ he tells us that the Gauls used writing in Greek characters for both public and private purposes. These

¹ Lecture on the Coins of Winchester at the Alfred Millenary in 1901.

² Rhys, "The Celtic Inscriptions of France and Italy" (*Proc. Brit. Academy*, 1906, p. 273).

³ Rhys, "The Celtic Inscriptions of Gaul, Additions and Corrections" (*Proc. Brit. Academy*, 1911, p. 261).

⁴ *B.G.* i. 29. 1.

⁵ *B.G.* vi. 14. 3.

passages therefore demonstrate not only that at the time of the Roman conquest the Gauls were using writing freely in the concerns of daily life, but that their ordinary script still contained some at least of the Greek characters of the old Massaliot alphabet.

When the Belgic tribes settled in Britain, they brought with them the art of writing, and though most of the British coins are uninscribed (Figs. 71, 72, 73, 74, 75, 76, 77), a considerable number bear inscriptions in some of which the Greek *theta* is met, as, for instance, in the names *Addedomarus* and *Antedrigus*, but the coins of *Cunobelinus* (Fig. 78), *Tasciovanus*, and others show that the Belgic alphabet was practically the Latin.

That the Irish had the art of writing at an early date is proved by the existence of many inscriptions in the Ogham script, which is, as is now generally admitted, based upon the Latin alphabet, but this, as just pointed out, had practically



FIG. 71. British $\frac{1}{4}$ Stater; *obv.* head, survival of head of Apollo; *rev.* survival of the two-horse chariot; Royston, Hertfordshire, 1896¹.



FIG. 72. British gold $\frac{1}{4}$ Stater, Prior's Walk, Cambridge, 1894².



FIG. 73. British silver coin; Cambridge³.

¹ My own specimen.

² My own specimen. It is a new variety of the 'Sussex' type.

³ My own specimen.



FIG. 74. British gold coin of Iceni; Icklingham, Suffolk, 1884¹.



FIG. 75. British gold coin, *obv.* plain; Potton, Bedfordshire, 1886².



FIG. 76. British silver coin of Iceni; Eriswell, Suffolk, 1892. The smallest British coin known³.



FIG. 77. British bronze coin; Channel Island type. The *rev.* copied from gold coins of Armorica (Fig. 69)⁴.



FIG. 78. Bronze coin of Cunobelin (Cymbeline); found near Royston, Hertfordshire, 1894. *Obv.* CVNOBELINI. *Rev.* from a Roman *denarius*⁵.

¹ My own specimen. It was a new variety (cf. Evans, *Coins of the Ancient Britons*, Suppl. p. 581). For type of *obv.* as not from the *Philippus* but from coins of Rhoda, in Spain, see Ridgeway, 'Greek Trade Routes to Britain' (*Folk-lore*, March, 1890, p. 101 n.).

² My own specimen.

³ My own specimen.

⁴ My own specimen.

⁵ My own specimen.

become that of the Gauls and of the Belgic tribes of Britain by A.D. 100. There is, therefore, no reason why Belgae who settled in Ireland in the first two centuries preceding the birth of Christ should not have carried with them the art of writing which they were practising in their old homes. Ogham inscriptions contain linguistic forms of Irish words identical with those found on Gaulish inscriptions, and which are older than the forms known in the oldest Irish glosses. On this ground Dr Whitley Stokes¹ held that some of the people of these islands wrote their language before the fifth century A.D., the date of the introduction of Christianity into Ireland. Yet the fact that not only the Gauls, but also the Belgic tribes of Britain, were making a free use of writing in the Latin alphabet before the Christian era, combined with the antiquity of the forms in Ogham script, renders it highly probable that the art of writing had reached Ireland from Gaul or Britain at a time not merely long anterior to the introduction of Christianity, but even before the birth of Christ. As the Gauls of the La Tène period had the art of writing, it would be indeed strange if there were no allusions to it in the oldest epic, supposing it to belong to that period, whilst, for the reasons just given, the mention of letters does not in the least necessitate that any passage in which such a reference occurs should be later than the first century before or after Christ. The *Tain Bo Cualnge* does contain such a reference²: "Then they reached Mag Mucceda. Cuchulainn cut an oak before them there, and wrote an ogham in its side. It is this that was therein: that no one should go past it till a warrior should leap it with one chariot. They pitch their tents there, and come to leap over it in their chariots. There fall thereat thirty horses, and thirty chariots are broken. Belach n-Ane, that is the name of that place for ever."

Several other classes of evidence may be cited in favour of the existence in Ireland of a people who had the culture of the La Tène period, though we may not as yet be able in every case to point to such usages or objects in the oldest epic.

¹ *Three Irish Glossaries*, lv; Joyce, *Social History of Ancient Ireland*, vol. i. p. 400.

² p. 35 (Faraday).

Cremation. The Celts of the Hallstatt period and their Umbrian brethren practised cremation, and though in the first part of the La Tène period in Gaul inhumation seems to have prevailed in the valleys of the Marne and Seine, yet by Caesar's time cremation was the regular way of disposing of the dead. The Belgic cemetery discovered at Aylesford in Kent also puts it beyond doubt that the Belgæ of Kent had the same usage.

Cremation never got much hold in Ireland, though in various parts of that country, more especially in the north-east and also in Co. Wexford, once the land of the Belgic Menapii (p. 505), cist graves with urns containing human remains have come to light. Such a cist-grave containing a fine cinerary urn was discovered at Courtown, in the north of Co. Wexford, many years ago. A few years since, near Gorey, also in north Wexford, a farmer found two such cist-graves close together on his land, in one of which there was an urn containing ashes, whilst in the other the burnt ashes lay on the slab which formed the bottom. My nephew Rev. S. Ridgeway, M.A., rector of Gorey, obtained a few of the fragments of the urn for me, from which it was evident that it belonged to the "late Celtic" period. In 1910 my nephew was informed by one of his parishioners that in digging out a pit for his potatoes he had come across what seemed like the top of a grave, and in September of that year we were able to excavate this cist. When we began to uncover it, the earth showed many fragments of charcoal. It was a rude rectangular chest, the four sides formed each of a single slab of local stone, the bottom by another, while it was covered with one large one, helped by one or two smaller. When the cist was exposed, at its southern end appeared a number of flattish stones ranged side by side. These bore traces of fire and had on and around them many large pieces of charcoal. As these were not so friable as the ordinary fragments in the earth around, they evidently contained a considerable amount of organic matter, such as would result from the burning of a body on the rude hearth, or *bustum*, as the Romans would have termed it. Fig. 79 shows the ground opened, and the top of the cist and the *bustum* full in view.

The cist was about 24 inches long, 18 inches wide and 18 inches deep. It contained no urn, but the ashes and fragments of charred bone lay on the bottom. No article of any kind had been buried with the dead. From the fragments of bones, my friend Dr W. L. H. Duckworth, Fellow of Jesus College, Cambridge, was able to conclude that the remains were those of a young girl.

The practice of cremation seems to have died out before Christianity came in, for though there are many accounts of

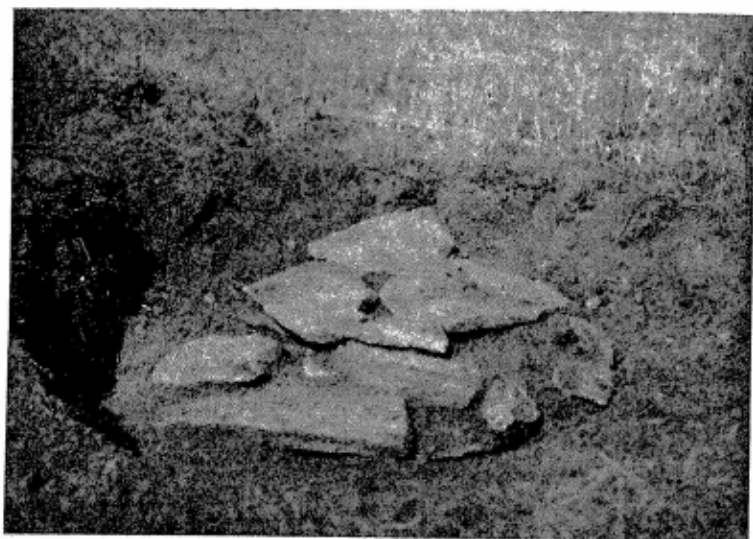


FIG. 79. Cist-grave; near Gorey, Co. Wexford.

the burials of great personages, there is no record of any case of cremation. The only certain reference to its practice occurs in an ancient Irish canon, written or rather copied in the end of the seventh or the beginning of the eighth century, but then attributed by the writer to the time of St Patrick (fifth century)¹. The old writer, in referring to different forms of burial, alludes to the cremating of the body as if it were an ancient practice of which tradition alone survived. We shall presently see good reason for believing that cremation had been brought into

¹ Joyce, *op. cit.* vol. II. p. 547.

Ireland in the Bronze Age, perhaps by the Tuatha De Danann, but this does not preclude its introduction by others at a later period, for a curious piece of archaeological evidence indicates that it also came with people of the La Tène culture from Gaul.

In 1903 Mr George Coffey¹ found in the centre of a small tumulus near Loughrea, Co. Galway, a cremated burial "on the level of the old surface of the ground. It rested on a rude block of stone, and consisted of an almost plain urn inverted over the burnt bones." Directly above the bones lay the skeleton of a woman with its head to the west, and beside it were the remains of a small horse, which lay on its left side with the head to the west, and which had been probably buried along with the human body. The woman was probably a slave killed to be the guardian of her master's grave. The practice of killing a female slave and not burning her body, in order that her spirit might keep watch over the cremated remains of her lord, is well known from the Early Iron Age cemeteries of Este and Bologna (vol. I, pp. 497, 505).

Now the practice of cremation cannot have been indigenous or it would certainly have continued until suppressed by Christianity, and accordingly we must look upon it as having been merely introduced from some other country. But as the Celts of Gaul and Britain were practising cremation, and as we have traditions of invaders from Gaul, and as the *Tain Bo Cualnge* mentions people who agree in dress and arms with the Celts of the La Tène period, we have another argument for the existence in Ireland of a people with that culture.

Horses. By the time of Caesar the Gauls were famous for their horses, and in the Roman writers of the age of Augustus there are constant references to the Gallic *manni* which were brought to Rome from Liguria and Provence. The remains of Helveto-Gallic horses have been found on the site of the now famous Helvetian settlement of La Tène, along with

¹ *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. xxv.; see C, p. 14; Ridgeway, *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, pp. 398—9.

the well-known swords, coins (Fig. 80), and other relics; and the measurements of these animals correspond very closely with those of the modern *camargues* of Provence. The latter, I have endeavoured to show¹, are descended from the ancient *ginni* or *manni* of the Ligurians, and are usually grey in colour. Now it is curious to note that the measurements of the horse found in the tumulus near Loughrea² correspond very closely to those of the horses found at La Tène and to those of the modern grey *camargue* of Provence. The present writer has shown³ that before Roman times there were already in Gaul two breeds of superior horses, the one grey, the other black; the former is represented to this day not only by the *camargues* of Provence, but by the famous grey Percherons, the latter by the horses of Ariège, of Auvergne, of Morvan, and of Brittany, all of which are closely related to the old Irish horses known



FIG. 80. Gold coin of Helvetii ('Regenbogenschussel'). *Obv.* triquetra; *rev.* torque⁴.

as Hobbies, whose posterity still survives in some Connemara ponies⁵. That these horses had got into Ireland at a very early date is made certain by various considerations. A description of Cuchulainn's horses is given in the *Wooing of Emer*⁶. They were alike in size, beauty, fierceness, and speed. Their manes were long and curly and they had curling tails. The right-hand horse was a grey horse, broad in the haunches, fierce, swift, and wild; the other horse jet-black; his head firmly knit, his feet broad-hoofed and slender. "That was the one chariot which the host of the horses of the chariots of Ulster could not follow on account of the swiftness and speed of the chariot and of the chariot chief who sat in it."

¹ *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, pp. 321, 399.

² Scharff, *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.*, loc. cit. p. 16.

³ Ridgeway, *Thoroughbred Horse*, pp. 323 sqq.

⁴ My own specimen.

⁵ E. Hull, *The Cuchullin Saga*, pp. 60 sqq.

As I have shown¹ that black and grey horses are the result of blending the North African horse (*E.c. Libycus*), which is bay, with the indigenous dun horses of upper Europe and Asia, the horses of Cuchulainn could not be any indigenous Irish breed, but were, as their description shows, a far superior stock to the ordinary horses known in Ireland. But as their colours tally with those of French breeds which date from the La Tène period, and the measurements of the horse found with cremated remains near Loughrea correspond to those of the horses of La Tène itself, Cuchulainn is thus the owner of horses of the typical La Tène breeds, whilst the practice of cremation is found in close connexion with the remains of such a horse.

Trumpets. There can be no doubt that the Celts of the La Tène period regularly used horns or trumpets in war. At the battle of Telamon they had a vast number of men who sounded horns (*βυκάνας*) and trumpets (*σάλπιγγες*)², the former being a curved instrument, like the Latin *bucina* (either inherited from a common source, the cow's horn, or borrowed by the Romans), the latter probably straight with curving mouth, like the Roman *lituus*. Diodorus³ also mentions the Gallic trumpets (*σάλπιγγες*), though he makes no mention of the *bukane*, whilst works of art show us the Gallic war-horn at a still earlier period. Thus it appears on coins⁴ struck by the Aetolians (vol. I. p. 476, Fig. 98) after the repulse of the Gauls from Delphi in 279 B.C. It is also seen lying on the ground beside the famous statue of the Dying Gaul, which is almost certainly from the sculptures set up by Attalus to commemorate his victories over the Gauls who had crossed into Asia.

In Ireland a considerable number of bronze horns have been found (Fig. 81), the Royal Irish Academy Museum possessing no fewer than twenty-six, whilst there are a good many examples in the British Museum, and others scattered in private collections. They are of two kinds. In the first (A) the instrument was cast in a single piece; in the other (B) it

¹ *Thoroughbred Horse*, p. 261.

² Polybius, II. 29.

³ v. 30. 2.

⁴ Head, *Historia Numorum*, ed. 2, p. 384.

was formed by bending and riveting together sheets of metal. Class A falls into three sub-divisions¹: (1) those blown from the smaller end, (2) those inflated by a lateral opening near the smaller extremity, which ends in a solid boss, (3) a straight tube with curved mouth (*lituus*). As horns were comprised in the find at Dowris, King's Co., which from the celts with sockets of oval form and other considerations must fall late in the Bronze Age, though not at its end, there can be no doubt that bronze horns were already in use at that period in Ireland. Again, as both the first and second forms of Class A were included in the Dowris find (probably a bronze-founder's

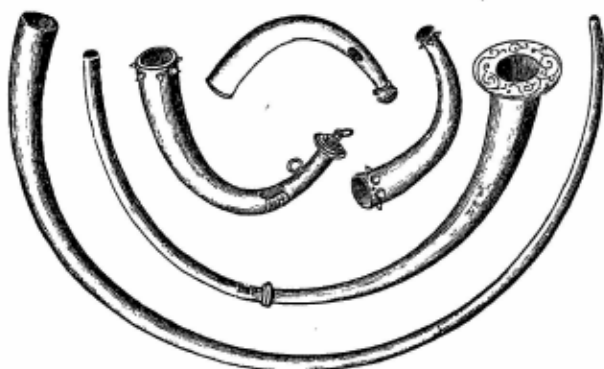


FIG. 81. Bronze Trumpets; Ireland².

hoard), it is clear that the type with the lateral opening was already known at that epoch, though it must be later in origin than the other, which is simply the cow's horn translated into bronze³. But it is more than probable, as is held by

¹ In this subdivision of the cast trumpets I have followed my friend Mr George Coffey, Keeper of the Royal Irish Academy Museum.

² For the use of this and the following block I have to thank the Council of the Royal Irish Academy.

³ For giving alarm the cow's horn continued in use in Ireland down to modern times. I myself as a boy frequently sounded one made from a very large horn with some very rude incised work on it. It had belonged to an old farming family named Neary, in Ballynowlard, parish of Clonsast, King's Co., and in troublous times when rapparees, cattle-lifters, or horse-stealers were about, was blown to give alarm and to summon the neighbours. It became the property of one Art Cronly, a labourer, who gave a week's work to the farmer for it.

Sir John Evans¹, that some at least of the known specimens are not earlier than the transition from Bronze to Iron. For example, in 1794 four horns were found in a bog near Armagh, one of which, measuring 6 feet long, has at its larger end a disc embossed with the scroll-pattern characteristic of the La Tène period (Fig. 82). This specimen, as well as another from Co. Down measuring 8 feet 5 inches in length, was made by bending and riveting thin sheets of bronze. Though the larger specimen has no distinctive ornament, we may infer from its form and technique that it also belongs to the La Tène epoch.



FIG. 82. Mouth of La Tène Trumpet; Armagh, Ireland.

As the decorated horn was found near Armagh—the very district in which was situated the capital of Conchobar—from whence also three of the La Tène brooches above mentioned have come, the coincidence seems to be not without significance.

As no riveted horn and hardly any cast examples have been discovered in Britain, we may infer that Ireland was in direct communication with Gaul, not only in the La Tène period but even in the Bronze Age, and accordingly did not depend on Britain for her forms of Continental culture. But the question naturally arises, Why did not the Belgic tribes of Britain introduce the horn into Ireland when they came thither from Gaul? The explanation is probably due to the circumstance that the Irish derived their bronze horns from Central

¹ *Bronze Implements*, p. 364.

France, most likely from the mouth of the Loire and from the inhabitants of Gallia Celtica. It is in the hands of Gauls who are declared to have passed into Italy and elsewhere from that region that we meet them in classical authors and in works of art. On the other hand, as Britain was invaded by the tribes from Gallia Belgica, who, though Cimbrians, had come from Denmark and crossed the Rhine at quite a recent date, and as no bronze horns like the Irish are found in Scandinavia, we may conclude that the Belgae, unlike their kinsfolk who had entered Gaul centuries before and had settled and become the overlords of the indigenous population of Central Gaul, did not use bronze horns.

Carved Stones. Within the last few years another class of La Tène monument has been discovered in Ireland. In 1903 Mr George Coffey¹ described a stone, first noticed by Lord Walter Fitzgerald at Mullaghmast, Co. Kildare, which is now deposited in the Royal Irish Academy collection. The carving on the stone is of the type commonly known as "trumpet" pattern in Ireland. In the same year Mr Coffey's attention was called by Mrs Coote, of Carrowroe, to a stone at Castle Strange near Roscommon, which also proved to be carved with "trumpet" pattern, but "this time the La Tène character of the ornament was unmistakable." Soon after this Mr Coffey found a third stone at Turro near Loughrea, Co. Galway, the most remarkable of the three examples, being richly carved with La Tène ornament in bold relief (Fig. 83)². Whilst in the case of objects of a portable character it might be argued that they were "wanderers" from Britain or from Gaul (as was maintained in the controversy over the famous gold ornaments mentioned above) and accordingly cannot be taken as any proof of the settlement in Ireland of Celts, it would be absurd to contend that these ponderous stones were wrought in Gaul or Britain, where none such have as yet been

¹ *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* 1903, vol. xxiv, Section C, p. 257. "Some Monuments of the La Tène period recently discovered in Ireland" (all three being well figured).

² My illustration (p. 601) is from a photograph which Mr Coffey has kindly taken for me from the cast of the stone now in the Irish Academy collection.

found, and were thence shipped to Ireland. Since the Irish craftsmen could develop new types for themselves, as is proved by the riveted trumpets, there is no reason why they could not hew and carve these three most noteworthy *stelae*.

From this survey of the material remains of the La Tène period found actually in Ireland, and from the striking corre-



FIG. 83. Carved Stone; Tuross, Co. Galway.

spondence between this culture and that depicted in the *Tain Bo Cualnge*, and from the further circumstance that the race who are represented in the epic as possessing this form of culture resemble in their physique the tall, fair-haired, grey-eyed Celts of Britain and the Continent, we are justified in inferring (1) that there was an invasion (or invasions) of such

peoples from Gaul in the centuries immediately before Christ, as is asserted by the Irish tradition cited above, and (2) that the epic tales themselves originally took shape when the La Tène culture was still flourishing in Ireland. But as this could hardly have continued much later than A.D. 100, we may place their first shaping not much later than that date and possibly a century earlier.

This great Irish epic cycle which we have just examined, and also that which succeeded to it, have a great interest because the Cuchulainn tales are without question by far the oldest literature north of the Alps, while even some of the later cycle, in their earliest forms, were earlier than any of their upper European compeers, and even in their present shape and language are older than any of them with the exception of the *Lay of Beowulf*. But they have a much greater importance for us than this, for it is in them alone that we have any knowledge from their own mouths of the political, social and material life of the nations of north-western Europe. Everything that we know of the peoples of upper Italy, Gaul, Switzerland, of the great tribes of Germany, and of the various populations of Britain, depends on the scattered and scanty statements in Roman writers and on the vast series of material objects garnered into museums by the labours of generations of antiquaries. But Caesar's description of the peoples whom he conquered, even with all his genius, has after all not much more value than a description of the salient characteristics of Zulus or Afridis drawn up by a commanding officer of a field force. Even when the fragmentary notices brought together from Caesar, Diodorus, Tacitus and others have been pieced out with materials collected by the archaeologist, the picture thus partially restored lacks full living interest, and what it has is due to the sparse utterances of the historian. The feeling aroused in us is not far removed from that experienced as we wander through some great armoury gazing at the suits of tarnished armour and at the weapons rusting on the walls, never more to be taken down and furbished by the soldier in all the joyance of war. For the uncultured sight-seer these weapons have neither life nor voice; at most they only

galvanise him into a momentary curiosity, as the label informs him that this sword or that breastplate belonged to some princely personage of the olden time. But for him who knows Froissart, Joinville, or rugged old Villehardouin, spectral hands grasp once more these mighty swords, and the clang of steel rings out on casque and shield. But let us take an example from a more remote epoch and therefore more analogous to that now under study. Most readers are familiar with the remains of the Lake-dwellings so common in Switzerland (of which perhaps that of the Early Iron Age at La Tène on Lake Neuchâtel is most famous). They are similar to the crannogs common in Ireland and Scotland and occasionally found in England, as for instance the Lake Village at Glastonbury. As we stray through some Swiss museum rich with such remains, the eye wanders over the varied mass of implements of stone, bone, horn, and wood, broken weapons of metal and strange and curious tools and ornaments. We are walking through a valley of dry bones and we involuntarily utter the cry, "Can these bones live?" They can be made to live once more by the revivifying magic of literature. All scholars know well the description given by Herodotus¹ of the brave pile-dwellers of Lake Prasias in Thrace who defied the arms of Xerxes, how they planted strong piles in the lake, the whole community joining in the task, how they built on these piles wooden platforms, approached by a long bridge or gangway from the shore, how they reared their frail cabins on these platforms, and provided for the renewal of the piles by the rule that for each wife a man married he must drive in three piles. If we recall this passage as we gaze at the broken and decayed relics of a Swiss pile-dwelling or an Irish crannog, at once there is "a noise and a shaking and the bones come together, bone to his bone: the sinews too come upon them, and they are once more clothed in flesh and the skin grows over them." Yet something is still lacking in spite of the graphic picture drawn by the master hand of the old historian. If we could but recover some old rugged Thracian, Helvetian, or Ligurian song, some rude ballad of love or war, such as that of the Fian warrior

¹ v. 16.

cited above, then would the very breath of life be once more infused into the ancient lake-dwellers and they would rise up before us as when they lived and moved and had their being.

This is just what the ancient Irish epics can do for the vast series of relics of the La Tène and Gallo-Roman period in France, Switzerland, and Britain, as well as for the Late Bronze and Early Iron Age in Ireland. In the political, social and material life pourtrayed for us in bold outlines and unfading colours in the *Tain Bo Cualnge*, we can realise the daily life and habits and the fierce wars of the tribes of Gaul, who century after century streamed over the Alps to the terror of Rome, but who through want of political centralisation and through intertribal jealousy and wars ultimately fell an easy prey to the Roman eagle: we see as it were in life the Britons who harassed the advance of the great Roman through the forest of Anderida, of the brave Iceni who sought to stay the advance of Ostorius Scapula between the Fleam and Devil's Dykes¹, and the last gallant struggle to shake off the yoke, headed by Boadicea, a British counterpart to Meadhbh, the fierce queen of Connaught.

But the importance of the Irish Epics does not end even here, for they can give us weighty help in forming a judgment on the true origin of the Homeric poems. Our investigations in the preceding pages have clearly shown us that so far from the early Irish epic giving us pictures of heroes, conditions of life, and methods of warfare which had never any existence save in the perfervid brains of the Irish bards, as had been universally assumed, and so far from the later Irish cycle being a mere continuation or shadowy replica of the older, as held by some, or reflecting the life and armature of the Viking period from the eighth to the eleventh century, as taught by others, these great epic cycles mirror clearly for us two completely different periods with perfectly distinctive culture and armature.

¹ W. Ridgeway, "The Dykes of Cambridgeshire" (*Proc. Cambridge Antiquarian Soc.* vii. p. 200; *Archaeol. Journ.* L. p. 62). I have there sought to show that the words of Tacitus (*Ann.* xii. 31): "hisque (sc. Icenis) auctoribus circumiectae nationes locum pugnae delegere saeptum agresti aggers et aditu angusto, ne peruis equiti foret," refer to the district along the Icknield Way between the Fleam and the Devil's Dykes.

But yet another lesson can be taught us by these Irish epic cycles. Although neither in her earlier nor in her later epic period did Ireland produce a Homer, this circumstance enables us to learn all the better from her literature the conditions antecedent to the production of an *Iliad* or an *Odyssey*. We can here clearly discern, what we can only see in a lesser degree in the Icelandic Sagas and rude literary beginnings of the savage peoples of to-day, how literature finds her first utterance in the story told in common speech in the chieftain's hall or in the lowly hut, in the spontaneous lyric outbursts of exultation after victory in battle or success in the chase, and in the unfeigned outpourings of the heart, features well exemplified by the saga of *Burnt Njal*. No better illustration of this perhaps can be found than a curious work known as the *Colloquy with the Ancients*¹, though, as we shall presently see, it does not rank amongst the really ancient literature of Ireland. In it we shall meet prose tales placed in the mouth of Caeilte, Finn's faithful follower, and these interspersed with rude staves as he recalls the past. At one moment he bursts into a wild strain in praise of some exploit of Finn, at another, in a short prose prelude he tells how the Fiana used each autumn to repair to Arran twixt Scotland and Pictland: "more melodious than any music were the voices of the birds as they rose from the billows and the island's bold coast. Here Caeilte uttered a lay: 'Arran of the many stags—the sea impinges on her very shoulders!...Skittish deer are on her pinnacles, soft blackberries on her waving heather; cool water there is in her rivers, and mast upon her russet oaks! Greyhounds there were in her, and beagles; blaeberries and sloes of the dark blackthorn;...the deer fed scattered by her oaken thickets;...her wild swine, they were fat;...her nuts hung on her forest's hazel boughs,—and there was sailing of long galleys past her.'"

This mood of happy, joyous memory changes to a note of woe as he recounts the bridal of Cael and Credhe, and how Cael was drowned on the morrow of the marriage; then the old man sang the coronach in which Credhe poured out her

¹ Standish O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, vol. II. pp. 101 sqq.

heart's sorrow: "The haven roars, and O the haven roars, over the rushing race of rinn dá bharc! the drowning of the warrior of *loch dá chonn*, that is what the wave impinging on the strand laments."

As we have already seen in the case of the *Book of Rights* that the verse portions are the oldest, so on almost every page of the Irish annals and in the history of Geoffrey Keating rude old songs are embedded, which are cited as authorities for great events long past. A good example of these is that given above (p. 542), composed on Finn when he met death at Ath Brea on the Boyne. In these prose tales and rude lyrics are the materials ready if a Homer should arise, which when molten in the alembic of the brain of genius come forth a new creation, a glorious amalgam, and no mere cento of old poems, lays and ballads cut up and stitched together by some patcher or redactor. But be it remembered that a Homer must arise when the culture which he pourtrays is still green and hale, for we are not here concerned with artificial epics such as those of Apollonius Rhodius, Virgil, Spenser, or Milton, whose poems, great though they be, are in a more or less degree imitations of the great Greek epics.

Prof. Gilbert Murray has recently instituted a comparison between the *Nibelungenlied* and Homer, and thereby has endeavoured to gain support for well-known views of certain German scholars respecting the gradual formation at a comparatively late date of the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey*. But a brief examination of the famous German epic will convince the reader that in spite of the great influence which it has exercised in Germany, especially in the dark days of her struggle against Napoleon, it is not an epic in the true sense, and that there is no common measure between it and the Irish epics, nor yet, as we shall soon see, between it and the Homeric poems.

In the first place, whilst we have in the *Tain Bo Cualnge* an epic which goes back to within a century of the time when the events celebrated in it are supposed to have occurred, the ancient ballads in which the tales embodied in the *Nibelungenlied* first took shape perished many centuries ago, and it is not in Germany, but in the literature of Scandinavia—in the

Volsunga Saga and the two Eddas—that its oldest existing form must be sought. But even this probably is far removed from its ancient German archetypes. It was on this and not on the German version that Wagner founded his famous operas, and apparently Prof. G. G. Murray takes this for comparison with Homer, since he uses such names as Atli, which, as will be seen presently, are Scandinavian and not Germanic forms.

The German version as it has reached us is but a production of some court poet or jongleur of the eleventh century. The events on which the legends are based occurred in the fifth century of our era, that very century in which according to a pious device of the Irish ecclesiastics to save the ancient poetry of their land from destruction, Caeilte and Ossian were supposed to have held converse with St Patrick, though Finn and his paladins had according to strict chronology really lived and fought some two centuries earlier. To these good monks is due in no small degree the preservation of the ancient poems of Ireland when those of Germany perished for ever, not beneath the crushing power of Imperial Rome, which had obliterated the native literature of Gaul and Britain, but under the no less deadly power of Roman Pontiffs. Yet it was not without a struggle that the Germans permitted their ancient sagas to perish, for it is recorded that Pappo, Archbishop of Mainz about 1100, was reproached for thinking more upon the pagan heroes than upon the saints of God. Pappo was however but one, and Ultramontanism soon closed for ever the pure well-heads of the old Teutonic literature. We have just seen that each Irish epic cycle reflects a real historical period and enshrines a real historical culture. But when we turn to the *Nibelungenlied*, the case is altogether different.

There can be no doubt that two of the chief personages in the *Nibelungenlied* are as historical as Charlemagne, Hugh Capet, or Alfred the Great. Etzel (who appears in the Scandinavian version as Atli) is none other than the famous Attila, king of the Huns (A.D. 434—454), termed by Christian writers "the scourge of God," whose sway extended from China to the Rhine, who exacted a tribute from the proud emperor of the East, and was a continual terror to the emperor of the West.

Dietrich (the Thidrek of the Scandinavian version), who along with Siegfried (the Sigurd of the Scandinavian Sagas) is the great hero of German romance, is beyond doubt Theoderic the Great, king of the Ostrogoths, who was born near Vienna in 455, the year after Attila's death, who became king of his nation in 475, who in 493 became master of all Italy, which he ruled for thirty-three years, and who for half a century was looked up to by all the Teutonic tribes as the head of their race. No wonder that his exploits long remained the themes of Saxon and Bavarian folk-song and that he is the central figure of the legends which compose the *Thidreksaga*. In these he sometimes appears face to face with the Burgundians headed by Siegfried. The saga of the latter hero and of the Nibelungs and their fatal treasure, seems to have had its true home amongst the Ripuarian Franks. Now although by German scholars Siegfried like the ancient Homeric heroes as well as Cuchulainn and Finn have been regarded as the mere personifications of solar phenomena, yet a proper patriotism has never permitted them to apply too strictly their own theory to the *Nibelungenlied*, and accordingly, whilst they have denied an historical character to Siegfried, Heracles, Agamemnon, and Achilles, and made them into mere solar manifestations, Theoderic and Attila have escaped that very doubtful apotheosis. But why should Siegfried be placed in a different category from Etzel and Dietrich? There seems no other reason for so doing save that he does not meet us in written history like the kings of the Huns and Ostrogoths, who came into contact with Rome and were celebrated by Roman writers. But there is no reason for doubting that the Franks of the Lower Rhine, who were destined to work far greater things than Huns or Ostrogoths, may have had chiefs and warriors as doughty in deed and as historically real as Attila and Theoderic. On the principle adopted by the solar mythologists any obscure or very ancient personage respecting whom the Latin writers knew nothing must be treated as a sun-myth, whilst those who like Dietrich and Etzel became known to classical writers are to be regarded as veritable historical personages.

But although the sun-myth had apparently become sick unto death under the strong light of common sense, it has recently been resuscitated under a slightly different form by Sir J. G. Frazer and his followers, Miss Jane Harrison¹, Prof. G. G. Murray², and Mr F. M. Cornford³, who explain all the heroic figures in Greek Epic and Greek Tragedy as mere manifestations of the Vegetation Spirit, or according to a term invented by Miss Harrison, the *Eniautos Daimon*, "the Demon of the Year," a personage however wholly unknown to the ancient Greeks. But although no German as yet seems to have applied this principle to Dietrich and Etzel, it is obvious that the arguments used against such a treatment of heroic personages as solar myths apply with equal force to this latest vagary of historical scepticism.

Now, if Dietrich and Etzel of the *Nibelungenlied* are to be treated as historical personages, and not mere phases of a universal sun-myth or vegetation spirit, it can be readily shown that there is an *a fortiori* argument for the historical character of Finn and his companions as also for Conchobar, Cuchulainn, and Queen Meadhbh.

In the case of the two Irish cycles we have shown that the heroes in each appear in settings shown by irrefragable historical and archaeological evidence to have been that of the age in which they are severally said to have lived. The same feature meets us when we turn to the great Greek epics. It was of course formerly held not only that the Homeric heroes had never had any real existence, but that the culture therein depicted had never had any local habitation save in the poet's brain. When, however, by the magic touch of Schliemann's spade the Bronze Age of Greece rose up in all its majesty from its age-long sleep, it was at once assumed that it was this culture and none other that was mirrored in the Homeric poems, and accordingly all passages making any mention of

¹ *Themis* (1912). I have dealt specially with the Vegetation and Totem theories of Sir James Frazer and his school in my "Dramas and Dramatic Dances of Non-European Races" (1915): see esp. pp. 1—64.

² *Themis*, pp. 341 sqq. ('Excursus on the Ritual Forms Preserved in Greek Tragedy').

³ *Themis*, pp. 212 sqq. (Chap. vii: 'The Origin of the Olympic Games').

iron were condemned as late additions by Dr Reichel and his many followers in Germany, England and America (vol. I. pp. 317 sqq.).

In the first volume of this work it was urged that the fair-haired Achean warriors were a band of Keltic who had come down from central Europe, that their culture was that of the Early Iron Age of Hallstatt and the Danubian region, that these invaders had become the masters of the indigenous dark-complexioned race, which had dwelt from Neolithic times in the Aegean basin and were the creators of the Bronze Age culture of that area; it was also pointed out that there was a clear overlapping of the culture of the Bronze Age and Iron Age in the Homeric poems, the older race retaining their own weapons of bronze and their large oblong shields long after the introduction of weapons of iron and round shields with bosses by the Achaeans. It was further maintained that bards of the ancient race had sung the glories of the Achean heroes in their native tongue, and in the native hexameter verse, just as the exploits of the Normans in Ireland were proclaimed by Irish bards in the native Gaelic verse¹, and that accordingly the diction of the Greek epic remained largely that of the Bronze Age, and that this was the reason why such phrases as "smote him with the bronze" (i.e. spear) frequently occur in the epics, although the actual weapon may have been of iron.

The tombs of East Crete have now borne testimony to the existence of such a period of overlapping of bronze and iron as that then urged. But it has been objected that nowhere on the mainland of Greece has any burial place been found revealing a culture similar to that of the Homeric Achaeans. Moreover, the late Mr Andrew Lang² has put forward an

¹ For an admirable example of this practice see "A poem by Godfráidh Fionn Ó Dálaigh" in praise of Maurice Fitz Maurice (second Earl of Desmond, 1356-8), translated by Prof. O. Bergin, Ph.D. ("Essays and Studies presented to Sir William Ridgeway [1913], pp. 323-332). The O'Dalys were the hereditary bards of the ancient Kings of Munster.

² *Homer and his Age* (1906), pp. 203-8. As these pages are passing through the press, my lamented friend has been suddenly snatched away by death. He leaves not merely in classical studies, but in every department of letters, a gap which must long remain unfilled.

ingenious theory (adopted by Mr T. W. Allen¹) that, although in the Homeric period iron was being freely used for knives, agricultural implements and other minor purposes, the swords and the spears were still all of the older metal. Two recent discoveries give complete answers to these critics. In 1910 a local Greek archaeologist noticed near Halus in Thessaly, in what was the ancient Phthiotis, the very home of the Homeric Achæans, some ten large tumuli. One of these was opened and it was found to contain objects of the Early Iron Age. In the following spring, Mr A. J. B. Wace, Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, and Mr M. S. Thompson, Corpus Christi College, Oxford, completely examined another of these barrows. It was about 17 metres long and two metres high. It contained sixteen "pyres," small cairns of rough stones. Each of these contained the remains of a burnt body: in ten there were iron spears and swords, the latter being no less than 36 inches long, and having the well-known round Hallstatt shoulder: in six there were high-arched bronze fibulae, with broad catch-plates, a type well known in the Danubian regions: there was also pottery of the Geometric period. Thus the essential characteristics of the Early Iron Age of central Europe have been brought to light in this tumulus in the very home of the Achæans of Phthiotis. No helmet, greaves, or round shield was found, but as the first two of these objects were very rare and no perfect specimen of the last was found, either at Hallstatt itself (vol. I. pp. 420-1), or at the great cemetery of Glasinatz in Bosnia (vol. I. p. 434), it would be indeed rash to assume that such may not be discovered in some of the remaining tumuli at Halus or in others still to be discovered in that region.

In 1911 in a tomb at Cnidus in Caria there were found all together six bronze javelin heads, five of iron of exactly the same type as the bronze, a small iron knife and some other small fragments, together with a sharpening stone perforated at one end for suspension. Portions of rust from the iron objects still adhere to two of the bronze javelins and also to the whetstone. These passed into the writer's possession and are here

¹ *Classical Review*, 1907, p. 19, col. 1.

shown (Fig. 84). This find proves that at least on the east side of the Aegean bronze and iron spears were used not simply at the same time by different races or by different

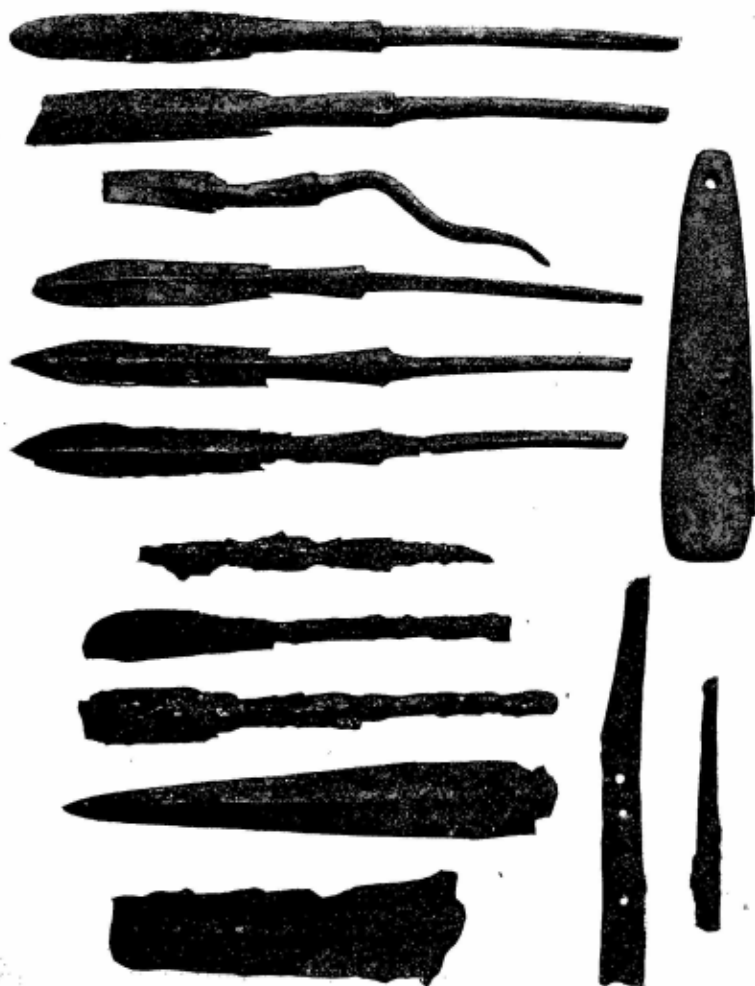


FIG. 84. Set of bronze and iron javelin heads, iron knife, etc., and whetstone, found together at Onidus, in Caria, 1911. ($\frac{1}{2}$ size.)

men, but by the same individual. A poet celebrating in the ancient literary diction the exploits of the owner of these

javelin heads would most certainly have said of him that "he smote the foe with the bronze," although the actual spear-head with which he wrought the deed might have been of iron and not of bronze. Thus although the musket has been discarded by the British Army for some sixty years, even in official language instruction is still given in *musketry* and not in *riflery*, and though hand grenades have not been used in warfare since the Peninsular War, we still have a regiment of Grenadier Guards. Thus then not only has the culture of the Early Iron Age of Central Europe been discovered in Phthiotis, but it has also been proved that weapons of bronze and iron were in use contemporaneously, as represented in the *Iliad* and *Odyssey*.

There can be no longer any doubt that just as the *Tain Bo Cuailnge* faithfully reflects the culture of the La Tène period in which lived the heroes Conchobar and Cuchulainn, so the *Iliad* and the *Odyssey* mirror with no less exactitude the Early Iron Age culture which the Achæans had brought down with them into Greece from central Europe, whilst these epics at the same time show the Bronze Age culture still continuing amongst the old populations who became the vassals of the Achæans.

Now let us return to the *Nibelungenlied*. Etzel and Dietrich are admittedly historical personages, but with them reality in the poem begins and ends. That not only Attila, but the Teutonic tribes of the fifth century were still all pagans, there can be no doubt, for Boniface the apostle of Germany was only born in the last quarter of the seventh century and was martyred at the hands of the Frisians in 755. Historical accuracy is however partly preserved in the case of Etzel, since he is represented as a pagan in the *Nibelungenlied*. Kriemhild is represented as saying to Rudeger, the king's envoy, that his master was a heathen, or she would gladly take him to husband. Rudeger answered, "Say no more of that, Lady. He is not quite a heathen, be assured, for my dear master hath been christened; albeit he hath turned again. Haply he will think better of it, shouldest thou wed him. He hath so many Christian knights that no ill could betide thee. Thou mightst easily win back

the good prince, heart and soul, to God¹." But it is more than probable that there was not a single Christian in the service of the Hunnish monarch. In the Scandinavian version the incident of the heroine's marriage to Attila comes closer to fact, since it is related that Attila married as his second wife Hildico, a German princess, and was found weltering in his blood on the morning after the wedding. But even this is far indeed from the grim facts of history, for Jordanes² tells us that the beautiful maiden Ildico was the last of his innumerable wives, and it is clear that Attila died not by her hand on the marriage night, but from a fit of apoplexy. The slaughter of slaves which concluded his funeral obsequies, and was similar to that at the graves of Scythian kings, Tartar khans, and Japanese emperors, demonstrates the complete paganism of himself and his people. Apart from this half-hearted admission that Attila was a pagan, the atmosphere of the *Nibelungenlied* is not only completely Christian, but reflects the Christianity as well as the romantic chivalry of the twelfth and early thirteenth centuries, when it took its final shape. Thus it is in church that Kriemhild is married to Siegfried and Brunhild to Gunther; Kriemhild told the traitor Hagen of the one vulnerable spot between Siegfried's shoulders on which a leaf had fallen as he was bathing himself in the dragon's blood after slaying it on the mountain. At Hagen's suggestion she worked in fine silk a little cross on his tunic just over the spot. Here in addition to the Christian symbol, put on as a protection, Kriemhild is represented as skilled in silk embroidery, just like the great ladies of the full Middle Age. Again, every one is represented as going to mass with clock-like regularity. Thus after the murder of Siegfried Hagen laid his body outside Kriemhild's door in order that she might find him when she went forth to mass before the dawn, as was her wont. On that fatal morning the minster bell rang as custom was. Then a chamberlain found Siegfried, and when Kriemhild would have gone with her ladies to the minster, the chamberlain said, "Lady, stop! a murdered knight lieth on

¹ *The Fall of the Nibelungs*, done into English by Margaret Armour, 1897, p. 138.

² *De Getarum sive Gothorum Origine et Rebus gestis*, XLIX.

the threshold." After Kriemhild had asked her Netherland knights to help her to lay Siegfried in his coffin richly wrought by the smith with silver and with gold and braced with steel, they brought him to the minster, many a bell rang out, and requiems were sung. Kriemhild urged when Siegfried's body lay in the minster that men should pass before it that thus the slayer might be found, and by this test Hagen was convicted of the crime. The coffin was ready by the middle of the day, but Kriemhild would not let them bury him yet. They wound Siegfried in rich cloth, and the folk brought offerings for his soul. They sang at least a thousand masses a day, and great was the press among Siegfried's friends. "What offerings were brought! The poorest was rich enow, for they that had naught were bidden bring an offering from the gold of Siegfried's own hoard. When he lived no more, they gave many thousand marks for his soul. Kriemhild bestowed lands and revenues over all, on cloisters and holy men. Silver and clothes in plenty they gave to the poor....They say that in these four days, thirty thousand marks, or more, were given to the poor for his soul's sake, when his beauty and his life were brought to nothing." On the fourth morning they bore him from the minster to the grave, and sang and read or they buried him. "Ah, what good priests were at his funeral!" This surely is not a fifth-century funeral of a Frankish or Burgundian chief, but rather that of a great baron of the Rhineland in the twelfth century. After Siegfried's death, Kriemhild led a morbid life in a great room near the minster, and day by day she went to the minster to pray for Siegfried's soul, just like some noble mediaeval lady whose consort had been slain. Nor is Kriemhild represented as exceptional in her devotion to the Church. Uta founded with her wealth after Dankrats's death the rich abbey of Lorsch, renowned to this day, and Kriemhild gave no little part thereto for Siegfried's soul and for the souls of all the dead. "She gave gold and precious stones with willing hand. Seldom have we known a truer wife²." After this she translated Siegfried's bones to Lorsch and there he lieth in a long coffin.

¹ *op. cit.* pp. 110 sqq.² *ibid.* p. 125.

But it is not merely mediaeval Christianity with lavish expenditure on monks and abbeys that stamps the *Nibelungenlied* as a late court poem. The armature and general life is not that of the fierce Franks and Burgundians who fought and struggled for the mastery in earlier centuries. Every page is marked by full-blown mediaeval chivalry, for jousts and tiltings continually recur. On the other hand it is highly probable that the Franks had not cavalry until the time of Clovis (481—511), when they marched against the Thuringians, defeated and slew their king, and reduced the whole nation to subjection. Afterwards they likewise made war upon the Burgundians and reduced them to submission, and treating them as "captives of the spear," compelled them thenceforth to serve with them in war, and took over all the territory which the Burgundians had previously held and rendered it subject to tribute¹. When later on the Franks invaded Italy, it is not improbable that the inconsiderable body of cavalry which accompanied them may have been furnished in part at least by the Thuringians and Burgundians, for the use of cavalry seems at that time to have been quite alien to their own national method of warfare. This small body of horse alone carried spears. All the rest were footmen, who had neither bows nor spears, but each had a sword, a round shield, and an axe, which had a thick iron head very sharp at each side, fitted with a short wooden helve. This they hurled against the enemy at the first onset, and then fell upon them with their swords². This formidable battle-axe is of course none other than the *francisca* mentioned already (p. 535, Fig. 37).

The life of the women is no less removed from that of the fierce German wives of the Teutonic warriors of the olden time, who in the words of Tacitus aided them in their battles and "supplied them with food and incitements to valour." Kriemhild and her ladies sit within in their bowers and are as skilled in embroidery as Queen Matilda herself and her ladies, who in or about the same century as the *Nibelungenlied* took its final form, wrought with their cunning needles on the Bayeux

¹ Procop. *De bello Gothico*, i. 13. Cf. W. Ridgeway, *Origin and Influence of the Thoroughbred Horse*, pp. 329—30.

² Procop. *De bello Gothico*, ii. 25.

tapestry the invasion of England and the battle of Hastings. Many more examples might be cited, but enough has been said to show that the environment in which Dietrich, Etzel, Kriemhild, and the rest are set in the *Nibelungenlied* is not that of the fifth century, but belongs to a period many generations later. Indeed, it no more represents the actual life and thought of the age of Attila and Theoderic than Malory's *Morte d'Arthur* or Tennyson's *Idylls of the King* depict the actual life of the Britons of the West when, headed by their Ard-Righ, Arthur, they overthrew the Saxons at Mons Badonicus.

In view of the facts here set out, there is no analogy between the *Nibelungenlied* and the Homeric poems, and accordingly Prof. Murray's arguments based upon an assumed parallelism must be rejected as invalid, unless he can show that the Achean warriors were equipped like Athenian hoplites or Spartiate soldiers of the classical period, that Helen and Penelope dressed and lived and thought like the women of Athens or Sparta in that epoch, that there is mention of coinage and the currency system of the same time, and that the great festivals at Olympia, Delphi, the Isthmus, and Nemea were regarded as Pan-Hellenic meeting-places in the age of Homer.

On the other hand, in the *Tain Bo Cualnge* we have seen the true life of the inhabitants of Ireland about the time of Christ, and almost certainly an equally lifelike picture of that of the natives of Britain and Gaul prior to their conquest by the Romans, even though none of the three great manuscripts of the work date from before the twelfth century, whilst that which contains the oldest form of part of the epic dates only from the fourteenth. Thus all of them were written at a time after the Normans had introduced into Ireland an armature, a method of fighting and a culture similar to those represented in the *Nibelungenlied*. Christianity also had been introduced into Ireland in the fifth and had become fully dominant by the seventh century. Yet in spite of these great influences as well as the fact that the manuscripts are so late, the warriors of Ulster and Connaught are represented not only in the equipment of the La Tène period, but uniformly as pagans.

Furthermore, as Finn and his contemporaries lived not much more than a century and a half before the coming of Patrick, there was much more temptation to represent these worthies in the guise of mediaeval Christians, as had been the lot of Theoderic and Siegfried. Yet, although in a famous composition known as the *Colloquy with the Ancients*¹ a Christian writer has distorted the proper chronology and brought Caeilte, the last of Finn's great captains, and the commander of the Fiana in their final overthrow at Ollarba (A.D. 285), face to face with Patrick, who arrived in Ireland in 432, this anachronism was not for the purpose of representing Finn and the Fiana as Christians, but for the much more laudable purpose of saving from oblivion the ancient pagan literature.

The *Colloquy* opens with a brief statement of the overthrow of the Fiana, and how after they had for the most part been extinguished, the residue of them had dispersed in small bands throughout all Ireland. At the point of time when the story begins Patrick had not long been in the island, and only two good warriors of the Fiana were now left—Ossian, son of Finn, and Caeilte, son of Crunnchu, but their lusty vigour and power of spear-throwing had now dwindled, and they had only sixteen fighting men left with them in Co. Armagh. Thence they passed into Louth, and at the falling of the evening clouds they were sad and dispirited. They sought that night hospitality from Camha, the she-chief, one of Finn's staunchest friends, and tarried with her three days. On the morning of the fourth day they stood on the green before her dwelling and made there a resolve to separate, "and this parting of theirs was a sundering of soul and body." Ossian, with half their little following, departed to his mother's home; Caeilte, with the rest, took his way to what was later Drogheda, on the mouth of the Boyne. Thence he passed up that river to Fiac's Pool, then southwards over the plains of Meath to the rath of Drumderg², where Patrick, son of Calpurn, then was. The old man and his little band drew slowly up the hill, just as Patrick had recited the Lord's canon, lauded the Creator, and blessed

¹ Standish H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, vol. II. pp. 101 *sqq.*

² The Kildare Hills, still known as the "Red Hills."

the rath in which Finn once dwelt. When the clerics saw the tall old men advance, followed by their great wolf-hounds, fear fell upon them, for they seemed not men of the same epoch with the clergy. The giant men sat them down and Patrick asked Caeilte who he was. The old man told him his name and lineage, and then for a space all sat in silence and the priests marvelled as they gazed on these warriors of a bygone age. Presently Patrick asked Caeilte if he could point him out a clear cool spring. Caeilte thereupon led him forth from the rath and showed him a loch-well sparkling and translucent, and then he sang a beautiful strain in praise of the well and its lovely surroundings. "Caeilte," said Patrick, "was not Finn a good lord to thee?" and Caeilte answered, "Were but the leaf which the wood sheds from it gold,—were but the white billow silver,—Finn would have given it all away." "Who or what," said Patrick, "was it that maintained you so in your life?" Caeilte answered, "Truth that was in our hearts, and strength in our arms, and fulfilment in our tongues." Then Patrick put many questions to Caeilte concerning the olden time, the manner in which Finn lived, the number of his drinking-horns and cups, the great hunt on Howth, the stealing of Finn's hounds by Arthur of Britain, the reprisal made by Finn's men, and the greatest of all the hunts of the Fiana, that on the Isle of Arran in the Firth of Clyde. At last Patrick said: "All this is to us a recreation of spirit and of mind, were it only not a destruction of devotion and a dereliction of prayer."

Night came and all went to rest. There they were till the morrow's morning and Patrick robed himself and came forth upon the green. His two guardian angels now came to him, and of these he inquired whether in God's sight it were fitting for him to listen to the stories of the Fiana. Emphatically and concordantly the angels answered, "Holy cleric, no more than a third part of their stories do those ancient warriors tell by reason of forgetfulness and lack of memory; but by thee be it written on tabular staffs of poets and in ollaves' words, for to the companies and nobles of the latter time to give ear to these stories will be for a pastime." This said, the angels

departed. Patrick called for Brogan his scribe and bade him take down Caeilte's tales.

Would that Pappo of Mainz or some other patriotic German cleric had ascribed to their apostle Boniface two such good guardian angels as those of Patrick, and that, fortified by such authority, he could have persuaded his fellows that it were no sin to commit to writing the ancient sagas of his race. Had that been so, Wagner would not have had to turn to Scandinavia when he sought to bring back to life something of the true spirit of the old Teutonic lays. The benison of all who love their country and its ancient tales be on those good Irish monks, who piously prolonged for two hundred years the lives of Caeilte and of Ossian, that they might bring them face to face with Patrick and thus claim the benediction of the apostle for the pagan literature of their native land.

Though Caeilte is represented as being baptized by Patrick, yet the Christian author of the *Colloquy* not only frankly admits that Finn and his Fiana were all pagans, but has no scruple in making Caeilte, even after he had been baptized, recall the pleasant memories of his heathen days. A young man came to Patrick from Cloncashin by the river Feegulle with a present of apples and hazel nuts. Caeilte, on hearing whence he came, cried, "That place was a hunting preserve to the Fianna; and whenever in both Ireland and Scotland scarcity of game befel them, in *ros mic triuin* they always had their sufficiency of hunting for three days and three nights." Then he burst into a rude wild stave in praise of that sweet spot and its wondrous herds of deer: "I have seen the gentian-bearing *cluain* (meadow) all covered with the red deer in their sportiveness¹. Over the *linn* though reading there be now, there was a time when [Cloncashin] contained no church; but a soil of apple-trees; a place in which was swimming of its streams by the Fianna at their pastime, and a habitation of

¹ In the river Feegulle not far from the ruins of the ancient church of Clonsast founded by Brogan, Patrick's scribe, fifty years ago deer horns used to be found in great numbers and the blacksmith of the village of Bracknagh hard by was wont to use them for handles for knives. The numbers of horns point to great slaughter of deer here in olden times, when the animals were driven into the swampy river.

tribute the gentian-growing *cluain* was then....Many a time we and our hounds by turns...followed hard on the young and gallant deer: the while our warriors and their beagles at their own discretion preyed all the region around the fair *cluain*. It was three score queens that at one and the same time I had in truth; and all of them I used to entertain, for I was an artfully skilled beguiler." Although on the conclusion of each of the old man's previous tales, the saint had invariably said, "Success and benediction, Caeilte," after this unrepentant avowal of the gallantries of his youth Patrick not unnaturally omitted his usual formula, and said to his chief follower Benignus, "What time of day is it now?" He replied, "It is near night." "Is our supper come to us yet?" the saint inquired. Benignus replied, "It is not indeed." Caeilte's reminiscences were for the moment ended, but on the following day the saint again with unabated pleasure listened to the old warrior's tales of Finn and his Fiana.

As soon as we compare not merely the culture of the Finn poems, but the spirit which they breathe, even in a monkish or at least a Christian redaction of a comparatively late date, they manifestly stand on a totally different plane from the *Nibelungenlied*, in which Teutonic men and women of the fifth century of our era are presented to us with the spirit as well as the apparel of the twelfth and thirteenth centuries. But what is thus true of the later Irish cycle, applies with still greater force to that of Conchobar and Cuchulainn.

The Bronze Age. In the Homeric poems, which as we hold represent the Early Iron Age, we are confronted by a background of that older time and older culture which was in its zenith on the mainland when the Achæans came and before the first Minos had overthrown the ancient dynasty of Cnossus and made himself master of all Crete and numerous isles as well. We hear of Proetus, the builder of Tiryns, already famous for its giant walls in Homer, of Perseus, whose name is in legend indissolubly bound up with Mycenæ, of Aepytus, the old Arcadian king, whose tomb in Homeric days was a familiar landmark, of Oedipus and Epicaste, who once had

reigned at Thebes, of the ship Argo, on which "all thoughts were fixed" as she voyaged forth to Colchis with Jason of Iolcus and his bold buccaneers. In the legends woven by Pindar into the rich broidery of his Odes, or in the duller pages of Pausanias and the late mythographers we can hear many a broken echo of those far off days. So too in the works of the oldest Irish Epic cycle as well as from many a rude tale and wild lyrical outburst of story-teller and bard, we hear of divers events said to have happened in Erin generations before that which Tigearnach the annalist declared to be the first sure date in ancient Scotie history—the founding of Emain Macha in 305 B.C.

As we gradually worked backwards from the better to the less known—from the Norman period to the Early Iron Age, at each stage we found literary tradition corroborated by modern archaeological researches. Yet when at last we reached back to the first coming of iron and the Iron Age culture into the island, we have but arrived at the portal of her most magnificent epoch not only in all that appertains to the handicraft of the goldsmith and bronze-worker, but also to her great sepulchral monuments, several of which surpass in grandeur and importance any of the same class in upper Europe.

But although behind the Early Iron Age both in Britain and in Ireland lies a great age of Copper and Bronze, and although there is a great similarity between the relics of that period in both islands, enough to lead to the conclusion that both had learned the art of working copper from the same source, Ireland nevertheless differs in some remarkable respects from her larger sister. Foremost of these is the well-established fact that whilst in Ireland the earliest copper axe is similar to an early Spanish type, the earliest known British axes belong to the next stage of development, when the axe-head is not so broad, but has become longer in proportion to the breadth of the blade. These two facts justify the inference that Ireland received her first knowledge of copper implements direct from the Spanish peninsula, and not through the medium of Britain, a circumstance which seems to indicate that there is some

kernel of truth in the early Irish legends of immigrants from Spain, fantastic and incredible as many of the stories may be. Nor need we be surprised that in the first stages of metal-working Ireland had direct communication with the Continent, since, as we have seen above (p. 600), the famous Irish bronze war-horns almost certainly reached Ireland direct from central Gaul and not through Britain.

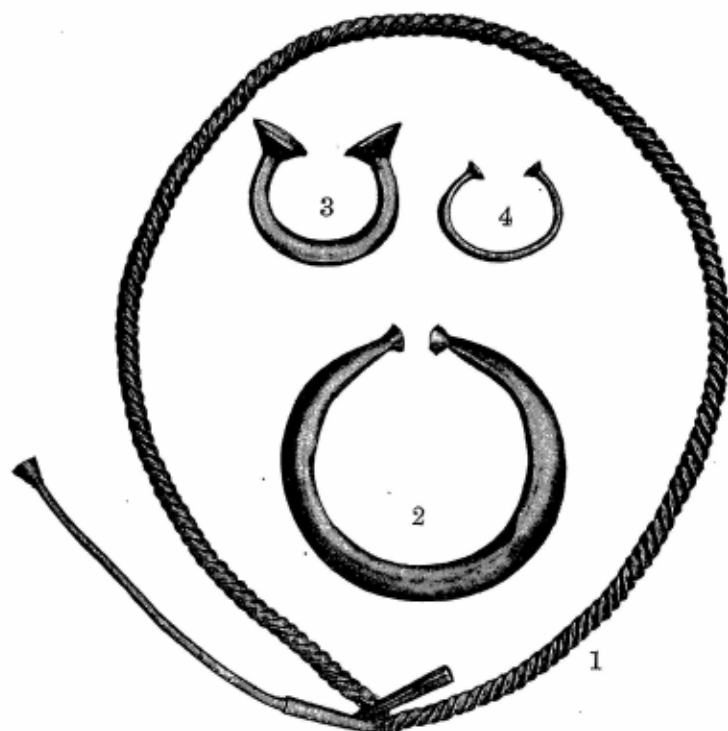


FIG. 85. Irish Gold Ornaments of the Bronze Age: 1, Gold Torque; 2, Gorget; 3 and 4, Bracelets¹.

The museum of the Royal Irish Academy contains a series of gold ornaments wrought in the Bronze Age, which in number and weight of bullion are without parallel in Europe,

¹ The illustrations are specimens in the museum of the Royal Irish Academy, and for the photographs from which they are taken I am indebted to Count Plunkett, the Director of the Irish National Museum.

since the gold treasures in the museums of Denmark, Sweden and Norway belong chiefly to the Iron Age. The gold in the Irish museum comprises gorgets (Fig. 85), torques of cunning work (Fig. 85), lunate ornaments¹ often richly decorated (Fig. 86), bracelets (Fig. 85), collars (Fig. 87), and so-called fibulae—but misnamed, as they never have a pin—often of great size and weight; that here figured, which is both the

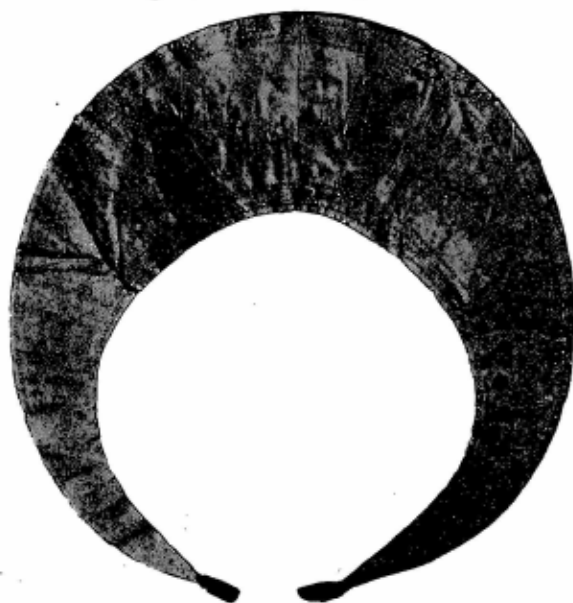


FIG. 86. Gold Lunate Ornament².

heaviest known and the only one with decoration, weighs no less than thirty-three ounces and is $8\frac{1}{2}$ inches long (Figs. 88, 89)³.

¹ These 'lunulae' are probably older than the other kinds of gold ornaments, and whilst 47 are known from Ireland, only four come from England (Cornwall), 1 Wales, 4 Scotland, 6 France, 1 Belgium, and 2 Denmark (Zeland and Funen). Two were found along with a bronze celt of the earliest period in Cornwall. Mr G. Coffey has recently (*Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. XXVII (1909), sect. C, p. 251, 'The Distribution of Gold Lunulae in Ireland and North-western Europe') dealt fully with these objects, and would date them from 1200 to 1500 B.C.

² See note 1 on p. 623.

³ This specimen is preserved in the library of Trinity College, Dublin. I have been enabled to figure it for the first time by photography by the permission of my friend the librarian, Rev. T. K. Abbott, D.D., and by the kind aid of my friend Mr Alfred de Burgh, M.A., Assistant-librarian.

There seems now however little doubt that these objects were used as fasteners for cloaks, the two ends being passed through loops on each side of the garment, somewhat after the fashion of modern sleeve-links. Evidence of this is furnished by the fact that these ornaments show marks of greatest wear at the juncture of the handle with the cuplike extremities,



FIG. 87. Gold Collar¹.

just where the loops would play, and also at the edges of the cups, which would naturally rub against the wearer's person. Sir William Wilde² held that "a portion of the soft woollen cloak or mantle passed in between the cups or discs, into the space under the handle, and was there fastened by means of an *acus* or pin, temporarily affixed to one side of the handle, where it joins the cup." We saw above that the La Tène

¹ See note 1 on p. 623.

² *Catalogue of the Antiquities of Gold in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, p. 59.

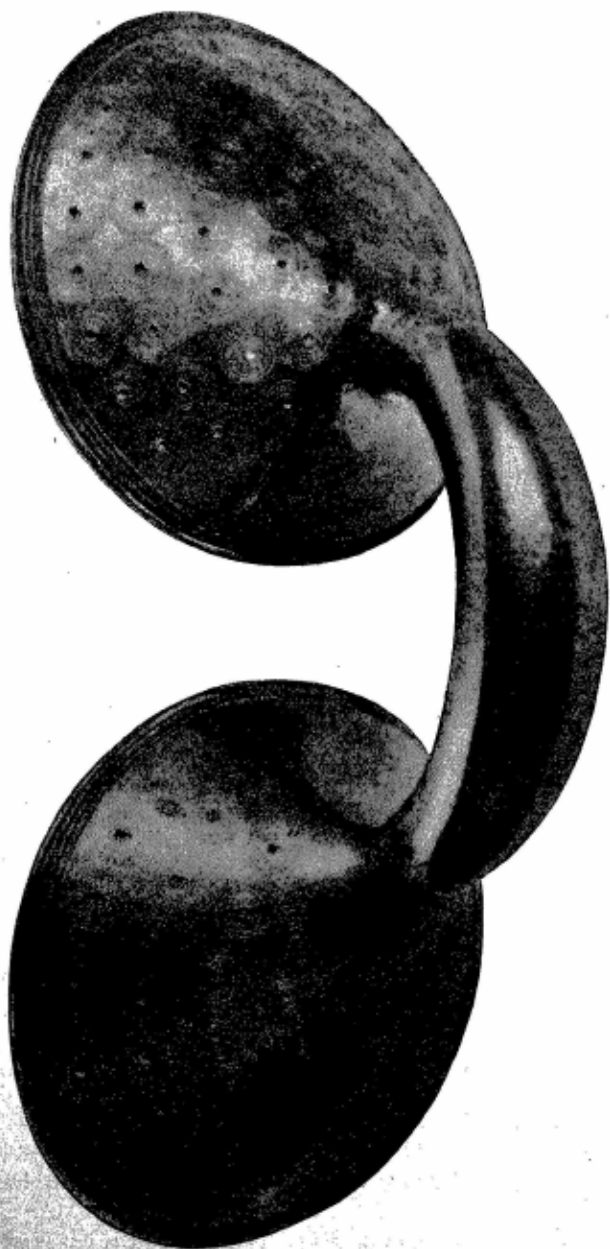


FIG. 88. Irish Gold 'Fibula'; Trinity College, Dublin.

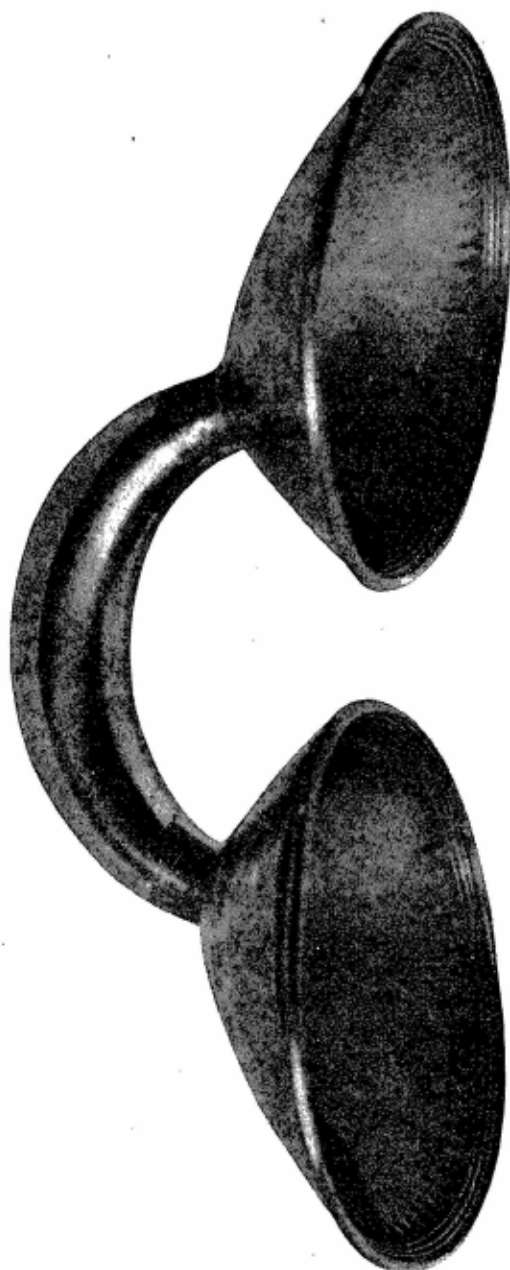


FIG. 89. Irish Gold 'Fibula'; Trinity College, Dublin.

brooch worn by Conchobar's chief councillor and those or the men of Muirtheimne were termed *dealg*. But there is in Irish another name for some kind of fastener, traditionally at least represented as sometimes of great size and extending right across the breast. Thus, in the very ancient Irish story of Edain, daughter of Etar, an Ulster chief (whose traditional date is about 100 B.C.), we are told that as Edain and her maids were bathing in the bay a horseman came pricking over the plain. He was Midir, the great Tuatha De Danann chief of Bri Leith in Co. Longford. He wore "a long flowing green cloak gathered around him, and a shirt, interwoven with thread of red gold. A brooch (*Eó*) of gold in his cloak (across) which reached his shoulders at either side. He



FIG. 90. Irish gold 'Ring money.'

had a shield of silver, with a rim, of gold at his back, with trappings of silver and a boss of gold; and he had in his hand a sharp-pointed spear covered with rings of gold from its socket to its heel. He wore fair yellow hair, coming over his forehead, and his forehead was bound with a fillet of gold to keep his hair from disorder¹."

Besides these more striking articles there are diadems and numberless armlets as well as penanular rings (Fig. 90)².

¹ O'Curry, *Manners and Customs of the Ancient Irish*, vol. III. p. 162.

² The examples figured are my own specimens. One weighs 60 grs. Troy, the smaller 14 grs., whilst the third is an ancient forgery of which there are also several examples in the Irish Museum. It is gold plated on copper, with a hollow cavity once filled with clay, as is still the case with one of those in the Irish Museum. It was found near Mullingar, Co. Westmeath, and was given to me by my friend Mr Robert Day, F.S.A., of Cork, the well-known Irish antiquary.

The latter have long been termed ring-money and very likely served this purpose. The present writer has shown¹ that they were made on a standard of 18 wheat grains (= 13½ grains Troy) called *croisog* and mentioned in the ancient records only in connection with gold, whilst there is good ancient literary evidence for the use of such gold rings of known weight in monetary transactions. Some of the objects, such as a set of hollow gold balls, are a marvel of the goldsmith's craft.

There can be no doubt not only that all these ornaments are of Irish manufacture but that they are made of native Irish gold, and there is equally little doubt that the metal was obtained from large placer deposits in the streams of the hills of Co. Dublin and Co. Wicklow on the east side of the island. Gold can still be obtained in that area², although not in commercial quantities under present conditions, so long as the water-rights are owned by a number of proprietors and the Government continue to exact an exorbitant royalty from the proceeds of gold-mining. The main supply of gold in Wicklow must have been depleted at an early time, for, as we have already mentioned, all the prehistoric gold ornaments in the Royal Irish Academy collection belong to the Bronze Age with the exception of the famous find from Broighter, Co. Londonderry, whilst none of the penannular brooches which belong to the later period are of gold with the exception of the beautiful so-called "Tara" brooch and one other specimen in the National collection. The literary evidence is in complete accord with the monumental, since in the Brehon Laws, when payments in metal or metallic equivalents for slaves, cows, and other objects are mentioned, the sums are always given in ounces and screapalls of silver³.

We saw on an earlier page (527) that a statement in the *Book of Rights* that a tribe in Connaught called Corca paid a tribute of three hundred and fifty pieces of pig-iron to the king

¹ W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, pp. 399 *sqq.*

² G. H. Kinahan, *Manual of the Geology of Ireland*, pp. 339 *sqq.*

³ W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, p. 33.

of that province, whose seat was at Cruachan in Roscommon, is in complete accord with the fact that there are considerable deposits of coal and iron-stone in the district on either side of the Arigna river in Roscommon and Leitrim. It is still more interesting to find that Geoffrey Keating¹, drawing upon ancient authorities, declares that it was king Tighearnmhas who first found a gold-mine in Ireland; "and Uchadan was the name of the artificer who used to refine the gold for him; and it was in Fotharta east of Lithfe (Liffey) he used to smelt it," whilst the *Annals of the Four Masters*² make a similar statement with one remarkable addition, that "it was by Tighearnmas also that gold was first smelted in Ireland, in Foithre-Airthir-Liffe (the wooded district east of the River Liffey, i.e. the Dublin mountains). It was Uchadan, an artificer of the Feara-Cualann, that smelted it." As Feara-Cualann was the present barony of Powerscourt, Co. Wicklow, the tradition that not only was gold first discovered in that area, but the first to work it was a native of Wicklow, is all the more striking.

"Near the village of Cullen, on the borders of Limerick and Tipperary, there is a bog long celebrated for the quantities of gold ornaments found in it. For the last hundred years they have been dug up at the bottom of the bog associated with crucibles, ladles and other implements necessary for working the gold, as if, as pointed out by O'Curry, this place was anciently inhabited by a race of goldsmiths who carried on the manufacture of gold ornaments in the woods that existed prior to the growth of the bog.³" But O'Curry's suggestion that these were a famous family of hereditary goldsmiths who for seven generations in the fourth, fifth and sixth centuries of the Christian era carried on their craft, must be rejected, as the remains found in the bog belong to a far earlier period.

Numerous as are the Irish gold ornaments which still survive in the Royal Irish Academy museum and other

¹ Vol. II. p. 128 (Comyn and Dinneen).

² *Sub* A.M. 3656, with O'Donovan's note.

³ G. H. Kinahan, *op. cit.* p. 341.

collections both public and private, they are but a small fraction of those which from time to time have been discovered, sold surreptitiously to avoid the law of Treasure Trove¹, and usually without delay thrown by the goldsmith into the melting-pot. But it is not merely in modern days that these treasures have perished through greed of gain. We shall soon see how the Danes broke open and plundered the grand chambered barrows of the Boyne valley, but there is also good evidence that the native Irish as well as the ecclesiastics of the early Irish Church were no less rapacious than the sea-rovers. In proof of this it will suffice to cite two passages from the *Colloquy of the Ancients*². As Patrick and his band under the guidance of Caeilte set forth from Loch Bo after a great hunt had been held and eight hundred head of deer and wild boars slain, Caeilte glancing round the mountain saw on the left a fort. They took their way to the dwelling accordingly, but they were amazed to find nothing there, but only nine she- and three men-slaves. Into a private bower apart in the town they entered and there found two women weeping. They treated the strangers kindly and then Caeilte inquired whose was the fort. 'It is that of the chief of Fermoy's two sons, Lochan and Eoghan.' 'Why this sadness?' 'Good cause have we, for we are two sisters, and belong to two brothers; our husbands are gone to-night to bring home other wives, and we can only stay in the fort till they return with their new wives.' With a glance that Caeilte threw around him and into the inner part of the fort, he perceived a huge mass of stone, which once belonged to a confidential warrior of Finn, Senach mac Maeilchro, of Finn mac Umal's original people. Now this mass was so, that all whatsoever wage Finn had ever given to Senach (thrice fifty ounces of gold, thrice fifty ounces of silver and three times fifty ounces of white bronze) was shut up close, with said rock of stone

¹ Fortunately many years ago the Royal Irish Academy prevailed upon the Irish Government not to press the law of Treasure Trove, and to permit the Academy to purchase from the finders gold and silver objects; a policy which has proved signally successful in saving valuable relics from destruction.

² Standish H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, vol. II. p. 125.

covering them." Caeilte then undertook to win back the love of their husbands for the two women, if they would give him the mass of stone. This they were only too glad to promise, and expressed incredulity that Caeilte alone could move what had taken the whole country's multitude to put in the place where it lay. Caeilte was as good as his word; he went out of the fort and culled such herbs as he knew had been used by the queens and noble ladies of the Fiana. These he gave to the women, who washed in a bath made of those herbs, and this compelled their own husbands to their love, insomuch that they sent away the wives whom they had brought. The women made the great stone over to Caeilte, and on the morrow he rose early and "gave the flagstone a wrench towards him out of the earth," and though we are not told what he did next, there is no doubt left on the reader's mind that he drew forth the thrice fifty ounces of gold and the other treasures which Senach had laid up within.

Again¹, when Patrick with his company and Caeilte came to Loch Croine, he asked Caeilte, "What grave is this upon this hill on which we stand?" Caeilte then told of the sad fate of a Fian warrior who, being too poor to recompense a man of verse who had composed a *duan* upon him, had died of shame. Then Patrick asked, "Who, Caeilte, is in the tulach's southern end?" Caeilte told him that it was the grave of the son of a king of Munster, and that there were with him fifty *conghlanns* of white silver, "not accounted for a puny treasure." Then said Benignus, Patrick's chief follower: "We would fain get at these precious things." "Thou shalt have that same," Caeilte said, and opened the grave, in which was his spearshaft's full depth of rings and bracelets. Quoth Benignus to Patrick: "To the man of a while ago thou grantedest Heaven because he was a man of honour; and now for his treasures here revealed to us give Heaven to this other warrior, whose they were." Patrick said, "It shall be granted."

Beyond all question these tales in the *Colloquy of the Ancients* not only reflect faithfully the practice of the early Irish ecclesiastics, but evidence with no less fidelity the custom

¹ Standish H. O'Grady, *Silva Gadelica*, vol. II. p. 127.

not only of burying such treasures with the dead, but also of placing them in hoards in stone receptacles. The latter custom is confirmed by a discovery made in 1854 during the making of the Limerick and Ennis Railway through the townland of Mooghaun North, in the parish of Tomfinlough, near Quin, and not far from Newmarket-on-Fergus, in Co. Clare. It is said that no less than three thousand pounds' worth of gold articles were in the hoard, which comprised, with other objects, at least six famous gorgets, five of which are in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy, an immense number of rings and bracelets, several *fibulae* and some small torques. The whole were placed together in a small stone chamber made for their reception, immediately beneath the surface in dry alluvial soil. Dr Todd exhibited at a meeting of the Royal Irish Academy five gorgets, two neck torques, two unwrought ingots, and no less than one hundred and thirty-seven rings and armillae, the total weight of which taken together was more than 174 ounces. Unfortunately only a part of the treasure was purchased by the Academy. There was a small mound of earth over the little stone chamber in which the gold ornaments were found: the rings and torques were twisted together, and covered on the outside by the gorgets. "This hoard," writes Sir William Wilde¹, "which was evidently hidden in haste, was manifestly the spoil of a battle, foray, or plundering; but the depositors never returned for it." Wilde thought that the treasure was that collected by Danes, hastily buried, and abandoned by them when defeated by Brian Boromhe in his first struggles against them. We may without any hesitation accept the stories of the *Colloquy* as sound evidence for the practice of chiefs and wealthy persons hoarding up their gold and other valuables in special receptacles constructed within their forts or near them, for the practice of burying such valuables with the dead, and for the spoliation of graves by the Irish ecclesiastics. In view of the tale of Senach's treasure rifled by Caeilte it seems far more probable that the Clare find was such a treasure-chamber, more especially as it stands not far from one of the

¹ Sir W. Wilde, *Catalogue of the Antiquities of Gold in the Museum of the Royal Irish Academy*, pp. 30 sqq.

largest stone forts in Ireland, than that it was hastily buried by a party of Danes, although, as we shall presently see, there would be nothing strange in Danes of the tenth century having in their possession gold ornaments wrought in the Bronze Age, since it was their wont to plunder great sepulchral mounds erected in the earlier epoch.

The absence of silver objects dating from the Bronze Age need occasion no surprise, since the present writer has shown¹ that man discovers and uses gold long before silver, whether it be in Egypt, Babylonia, Greece, India, Mexico, Peru, Japan, or Ireland. The reason is not far to seek, since gold is found in a pure state, and is readily seen glistening in sandy streams, whilst silver is hardly ever found pure, and accordingly it does not attract the eye unless by some accident, as when in northern Spain an outcrop of silver ore was smelted by a great forest fire. It was by a similar accident that tin was first discovered in Sumatra in 1710.

As in the case of gold and iron, Irish tradition furnishes us with a statement respecting the first working of silver in that island. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters* (sub. A.M. 3817) a king named Enna Airgtheach ('Silver-shield') made silver shields at Airget-Ros ('Silverwood') on the Nore, in Co. Kilkenny, about 850 years before Christ, and "he gave them to the men of Ireland together with horses and chariots." Although we must reject the absolute date at which this monarch reigned as much too early both for the use of silver and also of horses and chariots in Ireland, it is interesting to note that the working of silver is rightly placed at a period much later than that of gold, whilst there is every probability that it was at Airget-Ros that, if not the first, at least one of the earliest silver mines in Ireland was opened. For in that neighbourhood at Ballygallion and Knockadrina are very ancient mines in which occurs native silver associated with argentiferous lead².

By the scientific arrangement of Mr George Coffey, the

¹ W. Ridgeway, *The Origin of Metallic Currency and Weight Standards*, pp. 99 sqq.

² G. H. Kinahan, *Manual of the Geology of Ireland*, p. 347.

eminent Keeper of the Royal Irish Academy Museum, these wonderful relics of gold can be studied side by side with the splendid series of the works of the bronze-casters of the same period, whose masterpieces are held by competent authorities to excel any other bronze work of the same age. There is a vast series of copper and bronze weapons and implements: axes ranging from some made of copper closely resembling an early Spanish type, through various modifications up to elaborately ornamented looped and socketed celts and beautifully engraved flat axes (Figs. 91—94). There are knives and daggers (Figs. 95, 101) of numerous types similar to those found



FIG. 91. Bronze Axes; Ireland¹.

- (1) Flanged celt: Cork; (2) Flat engraved celt; (3) Celt with deep side sockets; (4) Socketed celt: Antrim; (5) Socketed celt: Cork.

in Britain (Figs. 99—101)²; javelins (Fig. 96), spears (Fig. 105) showing various stages in the method of affixture to the shaft; and finally swords (Fig. 97) which surpass in beauty of workmanship any elsewhere known in the ancient world. There can be no doubt that in Britain and Ireland the evolution of the socketed celt, and thereby of the principle of the socket

¹ All in my own possession: 1, 3 and 5 given to me by my old pupil and friend Rev. T. J. Pulvertaft, M.A.: 2 was found in the ancient ford on Esker river between Clongarret and Esker, and given to me by my brother, the late John Ridgeway, J.P., Ballydermott, Edenderry, King's Co.

² The specimens here shown are my own.

in general, was carried out independently of the Continent. The small series of copper and bronze axes here shown (Fig. 98)¹, all found within a radius of less than fifteen miles in Cambridge-



FIG. 92. Very rare bronze axe with hexagonal socket; King's Co., Ireland² (T. R. Murray Collection, Cambridge Ethnological Museum³).

shire, shows the various stages in development from the simple copper axe without groove or stop of any kind, fashioned after

¹ The series here shown has been collected by myself locally in the course of twenty-five years.

² This and another in the Royal Irish Acad. Museum are the only examples known.

³ The "T. R. Murray" collection was formed by the late Thomas R. Murray, J.P., at Edenderry, King's Co., Ireland, and was acquired by the present writer for the University in Dec. 1899.

the polished stone axes of the same locality, up to the looped and socketed forms adorned with a number of flutings,



FIG. 93. Copper and Bronze Axes; Ireland. (T. R. Murray Collection, Cambridge.)

two of which were found together in Wicken Fen, and to the socket of square form. It has been universally held by archae-

ologists¹ that the discovery of the principle of the socket and the



FIG. 94. Unique Bronze Axe with its original yew haft; found in 1840 in river Boyne close to Kinnefad bridge, near Edenderry, King's Co. (T. R. Murray Collection, Cambridge.)

¹ EVANS, *The Ancient Bronze Implements of Great Britain*, pp. 107 sqq.

method of casting socketed celts was not made in Britain but in some Continental country. The grounds for this doctrine



FIG. 95. Socketed knives; Ireland. (T. R. Murray Collection, Cambridge.)

are that beyond all doubt the evolution of the principle of the socket can be traced in central Europe "from the flat celt,



FIG. 96. Bronze javelin with its original shaft of hazel; Edenderry Bog, Ireland. (T. R. Murray Coll., Cambridge.)

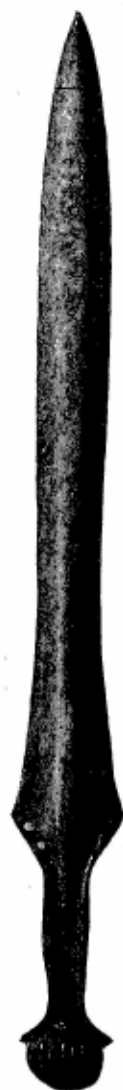


FIG. 97. Bronze sword with horn pommel; Ballykil-
len, Edenderry, King's Co.
(T. R. Murray Coll., Cam-
bridge.)

through those with flanges and wings, to the palstave form with the wings hammered over so as to constitute two semi-circular sockets, one on each side of the blade," as can be well



FIG. 98. The Evolution of the Bronze Axe in Britain. 1, Flint axe, Fordham (1892); 2, copper, Bottisham (1898); 3, copper, Reach (1892); 4, Fordham (1903); 5, Burwell (1906); 6, Icklingham, Suffolk (1897); 7, Swaffham Prior (1910); 8, Horningsey Fen (1887); 9, Fordham (1903); 10, near Cambridge (1893); 11, Bottisham (1903); 12, Fordham (1892); 13, Wicken Fen (1892); 14, Sobham (1892).

seen in Fig. 104, an axe of the Early Iron Age of central Europe. Moreover, "on certain of the socketed celts flanges precisely similar to those of the palstaves have been cast by



FIG. 99. Bronze Dagger;
Leytonstone, Essex.



FIG. 100. Bronze Dagger,
Fordham, Cambridgeshire.
(Full size.)

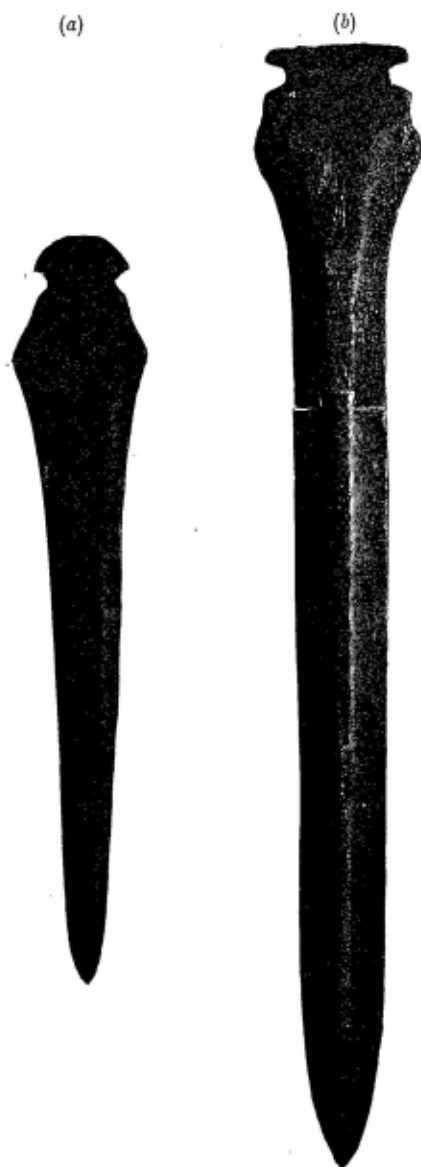


FIG. 101. Bronze Daggers, (a) Reach, Cambridgeshire; (b) Edenderry Bog, King's Co., Ireland.

way of ornament on the sides, and what was thus a necessity in construction has survived as a superfluous decoration." In the museum at Trent there is an instrument which shows the intermediate form between a palstave with pocket-like recesses on each side of a central plate and a celt with a single socket. It is divided throughout its entire length into two com-

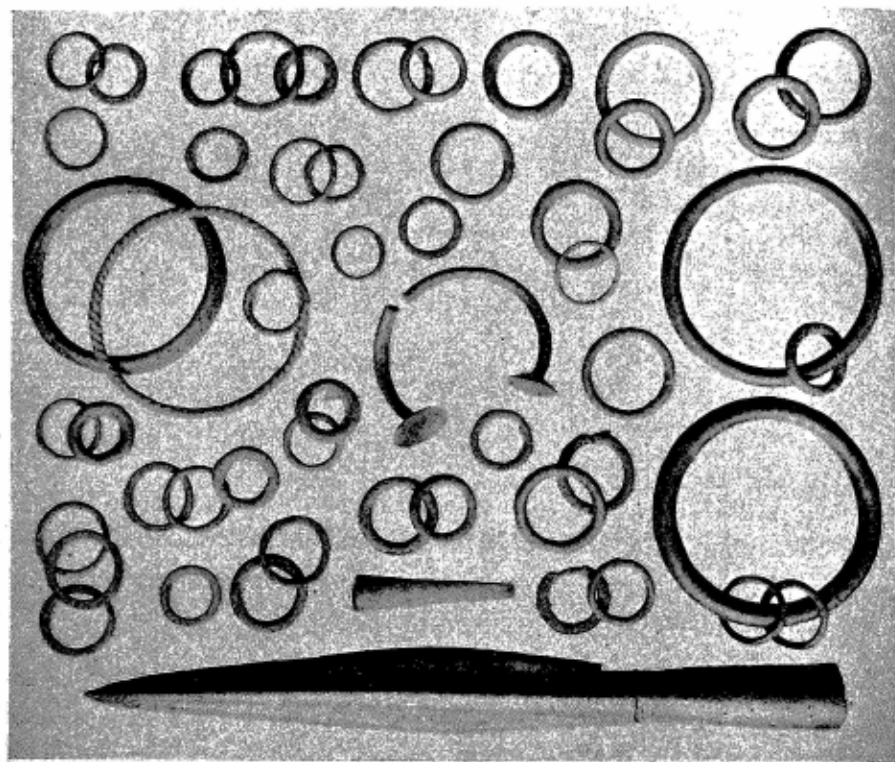


FIG. 102. Grave-gear of a Bronze Age man; Carbury (Co. Kildare), near Edenderry, King's Co. (T. R. Murray Coll., Cambridge.)

partments with a plate between them, and thus resembles, as Strobel has pointed out, a palstave with the wings on each side united so as to form a socket on each side. But whilst there is no doubt of this evolution having taken place on the Continent, it must be borne in mind that palstaves with the wings bent over are exceedingly rare in the British Isles,

though it is claimed that socketed celts having on their faces the curved wings in a more or less rudimentary condition are by no means infrequently found. "The inference," writes Sir John Evans, "which may be drawn from this circumstance is that the discovery of the method of casting socketed celts was not made in Britain, but in some other country, where the palstaves with the converging wings were abundant and in

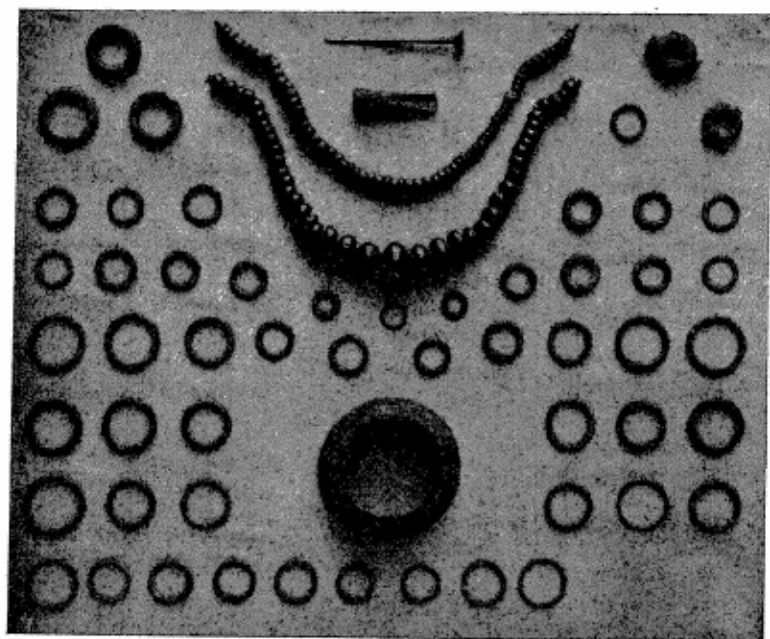


FIG. 103. Grave-gear of a Bronze Age woman found near Maryborough, Queen's Co., Ireland. (T. R. Murray Coll., Cambridge.)

general use, and that the first socketed celts employed in this country, or those which served as patterns for the native bronze-founders, were imported from abroad." But it is admitted that what is taken to be a survival of the palstave form in the ornament of British socketed celts is not at all confined, as might have been expected, to the oldest examples of the type, but occurs on celts found along with others of undoubtedly a late period. Indeed the few which show any-

thing like this form of decoration in the great series of the Royal Irish Academy museum beyond doubt come quite at its end.

Now every stage in the evolution of the axe can be traced in Ireland from a primitive copper type similar to one known in Spain, and in Britain from the next stage of the same copper axe, through celts with grooves on either side

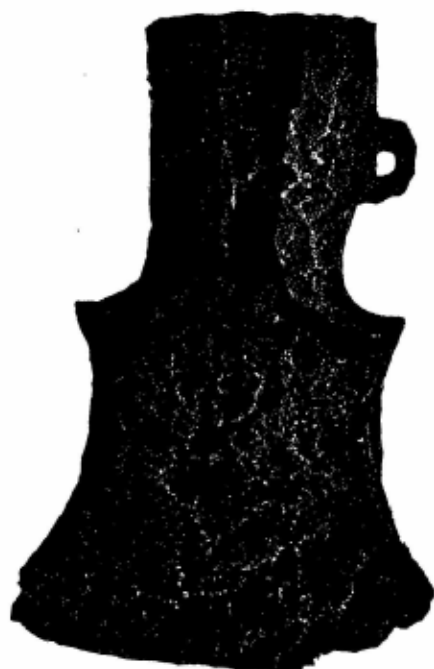


FIG. 104. Early Iron Axe with wings hammered over; Central Europe¹.

to give a better grip when inserted in the haft, to those with deeper grooves and with some attempt at a "stop" at the end of each groove to give a better stay to the half pieces of the haft; then come a great series in which the "stops" grow more pronounced, next slightly hollowed to afford a better grip to the ends of the half pieces, then these hollows gradually get deeper and deeper until they become two pockets, one on

¹ My own specimen.

either side of the central plate. But these pockets are really sockets, and there is therefore no ground for holding that the *principle* of the socket was borrowed from the Continent. So far we have two distinct lines of development,—both eventuating in a pocket on each side of the central plate: one arising

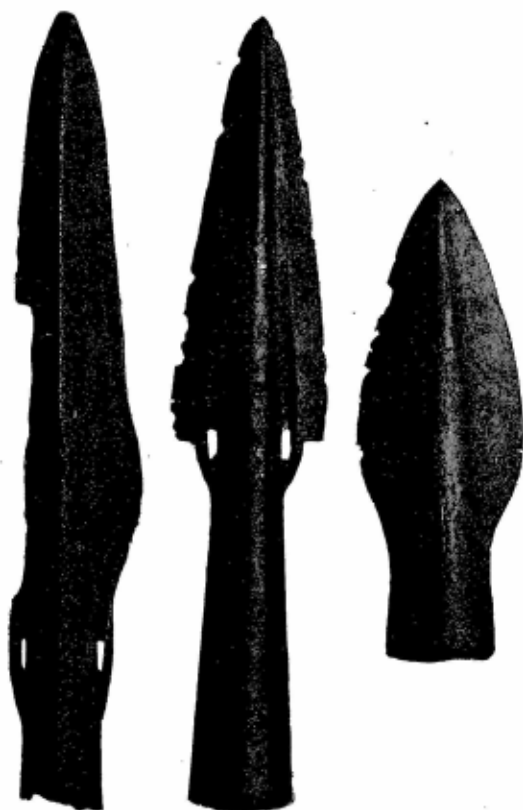


FIG. 105. Bronze Spearheads: (a) Ireland, (b) Fordham, Cambridgeshire, (c) Quy, Cambridgeshire.

from the bent wings of the palstave, the other from the "stopped" celt, in which the "stops" became gradually hollowed and deepened. There is certainly no reason why the bronze-casters of Ireland and Britain should not at this stage have made a step similar to that taken by their Continental brethren: instead of casting celts with two side sockets it may have

occurred to some clever artificer to simplify his task and make a far better article by casting a celt with one central socket. The specimen in the Trent museum supplies an intermediate step in the evolution of the socket from the palstave. In Fig. 106 is shown a socketed celt probably Cornish in origin¹, in which we may have the intermediate step between the British celts with the two side sockets and those with the single socket. The interior of this example is divided by a septum into two cavities, which seem to correspond to the two pockets on either side of the plate already described. The septum in all its upper portion is divided by a gap down its centre. It seems therefore as if the septum represented the central plate, and the two cavities into which it divides the bottom of the socket represent the two small sockets or pockets, one on each side of the central plate.



FIG. 106. Interior of socketed celt showing transition from two side-sockets to a single central socket².

It may be objected that, as the septum is not in the same plane as the blade of the axe, but at right angles to it, it cannot be regarded as a survival of the central plate, but is merely an overrun of the metal in the casting at the junction of the two moulds. But this objection is at once met in the first place by the fact that, as the junction of the moulds is clearly seen along each narrow side of the celt (on one of which is the loop), any overrun of metal would have made the septum at right angles to its present position. In the second place the principle of having at right angles to the plane of the blade the central plate to be fixed in the haft was perfectly well known to the British bronze-casters,

¹ This celt (in my own possession) was purchased by my friends Prof. W. J. Lewis, and Mr A. Hutchinson, M.A., Fellow of Pembroke College, Cambridge, in a collection of minerals formed in Cornwall, and was given to me by them. Its association thus points to Cornwall as its provenance.

² From a drawing by my friend Mr T. Grigg Smith, B.A., Gonville and Caius College.

as is shown by two small celts in the Greenwell collection, now in the British Museum.

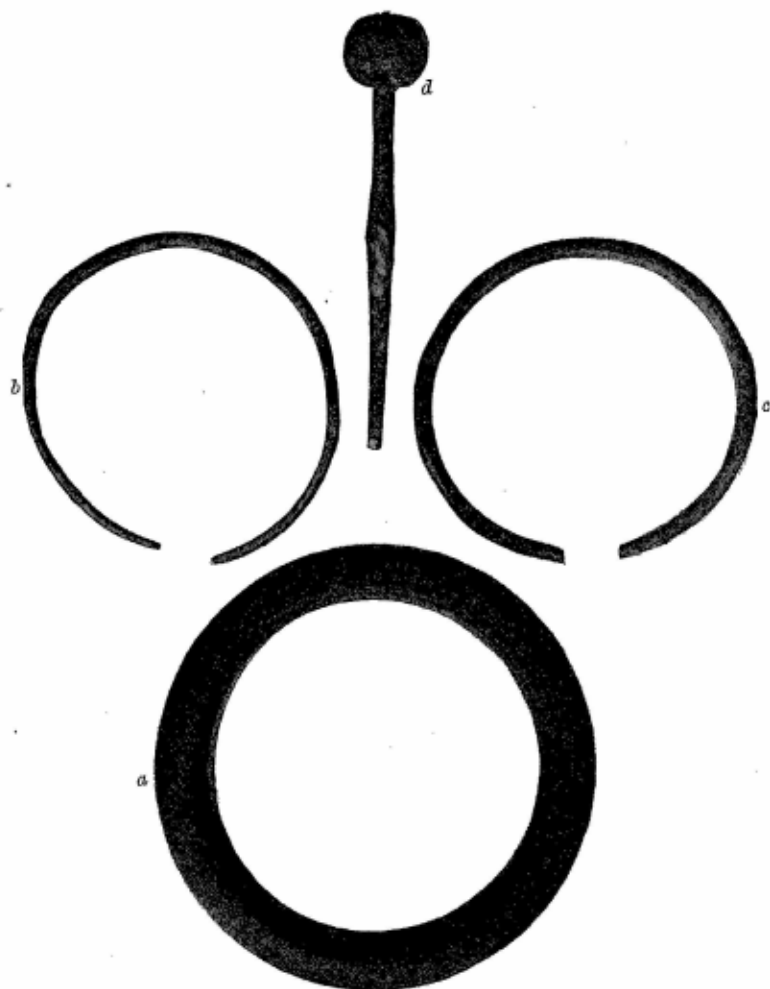


FIG. 107. Group of Ornaments found together near Cambridge¹, 1911. *a*, Large bracelet of lignite ($3\frac{1}{2}$ inches outside diameter); *b* and *c*, two bronze bracelets; *d*, bone pin².

¹ For the photograph here reproduced I am indebted to the authorities of the Prehistoric Department of the British Museum.

² In my own possession.

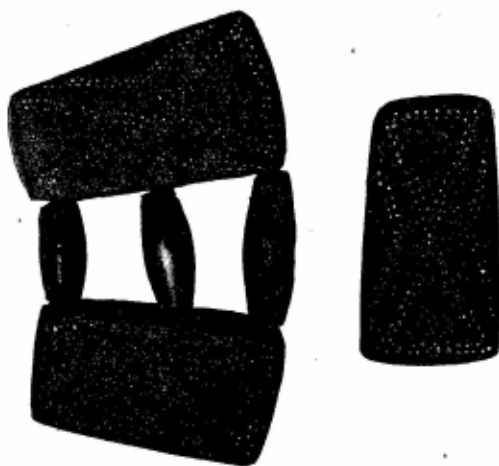


FIG. 108. Part of a Jet Necklace from a barrow at Hesselskew, Yorkshire¹.

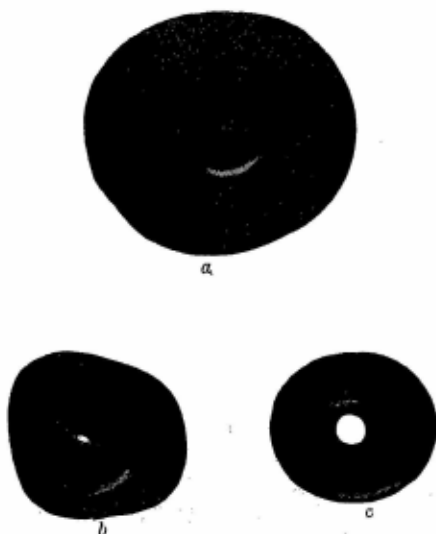


FIG. 109. *a* and *b*, Amber beads, found between Bottisham and Newmarket, Cambridgeshire; *c*, jet bead, found near Cambridge² (full size).

¹ In the York Museum. I have to thank its authorities for permission to figure.

² In my own possession.

In view, therefore, of the practical absence of the winged palstave from the British Isles, of the occurrence on late celts of the supposed survival of the "wing" ornament, and of the fact that the Irish and British bronze-casters had made a long evolution for themselves up to the development of a pocket on each side of the central plate, it seems more probable that there were two distinct processes of evolution, one Continental, the other insular, and that whilst in the south-east of Britain the form evolved from the palstave on

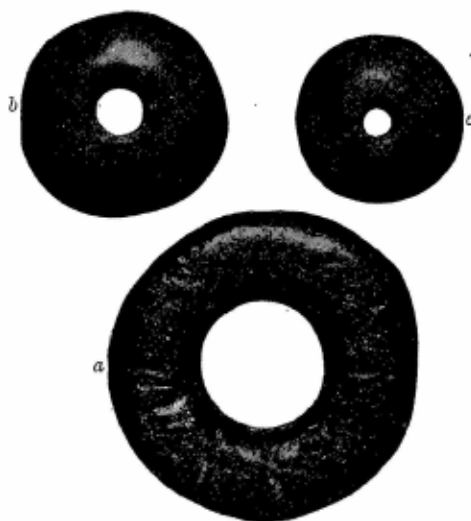


FIG. 110. Stone Beads¹: (a) large bead of Serpentine, Baltasound, Unst, Shetland; (b) and (c) Stromness, Orkney.

the Continent may have had some influence, in the rest of these islands the socket came as the final step in a long series of indigenous improvements. This view is certainly more in accord with the general experience of the human race, and the history of science affords many examples of discoveries being

¹ In my own collection. Ring-beads similar to (a) were said to have been found in cist-graves at Baltasound about thirty years ago. The specimen figured, which I procured on the spot in 1911, was said to be one of these. There is a deposit of serpentine at Baltasound from which the material for the serpentine columns in the Town Hall, Lerwick, was obtained.

made independently or even simultaneously by different individuals in the same or in different countries. No better instances can be cited than the discovery of the planet Neptune by Adams and Leverrier and of the doctrine of Natural Selection by Charles Darwin and A. R. Wallace, whilst we have shown reason in the first volume of this work (pp. 607—8) for believing that copper was discovered independently in more than one region, as was certainly the case with its alloy, brass (vol. I. pp. 596—7).



FIG. 111. Stone Bead; Bailey Lighthouse, Howth, Co. Dublin, Ireland¹.

In addition to gold ornaments and bronze weapons, implements, and ornaments produced in the Bronze Age in Ireland, there are, as in Britain, other relics such as beads of stone (Fig. 111), amber, and jet, and pins of bone; Scotch and English examples of which are shown in Figures 107—110, 112.

But by far the most important are the great sepulchral monuments which by general consent have been rightly ascribed to that era, although actual proof has only been obtained by recent investigations. Chief of these are the giant tumuli of the valley of the Boyne—New Grange,

¹ This bead is the only survivor of a large number found in making a sewer at the Bailey Lighthouse, Howth, in 1907. The labourers amused themselves by playing "dick, duck, drake" and pelting gulls with the rest. The Bailey Lighthouse occupies the site of an ancient fort, probably Dun Crimhthainn, the residence of Crimhthann, Ard-Righ of Ireland at the beginning of the Christian era. I am indebted for the specimen to my brother-in-law, Mr Arthur Warren Samuels, K.C., Cloghereen, Howth.

Dowth, Knowth and Drogheda¹. The three first mentioned are situated on what is known as the *Brugh* or *Brugh-na-Boinne*, a district on the Boyne near Stackallen Bridge, Co. Meath, where there are also some other half-dozen tumuli as

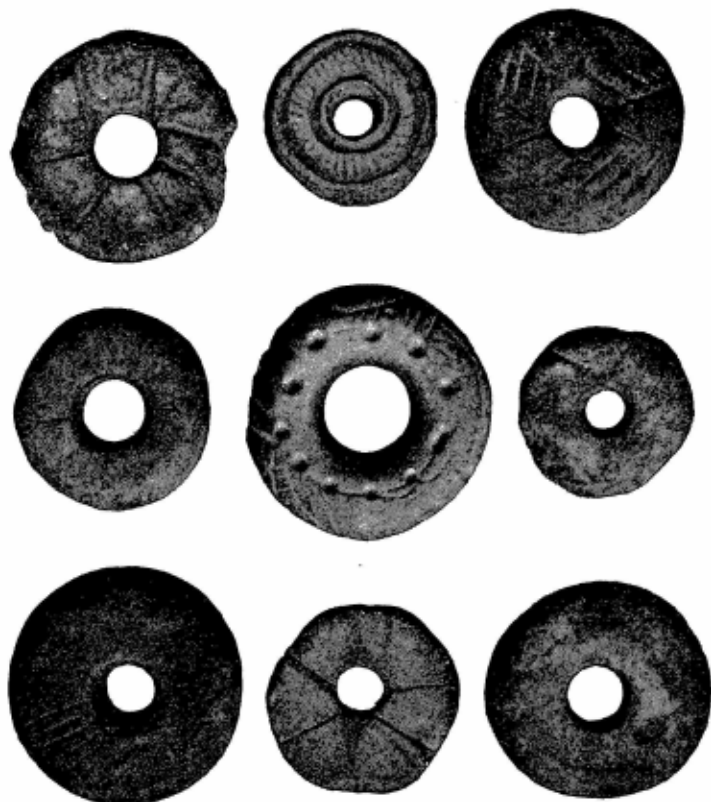


FIG. 112. Decorated Stone Beads; Aberdeenshire².

well as standing stones. Now, although in what may be regarded as the strictly historical period, that is, from the beginning of the Iron Age, many great kings reigned at Tara in Meath, and although the most famous of these, Cormac mac Airt, whose daughter Finn mac Umal had to wife, lived

¹ George Coffey, *New Grange (Brugh-na-Boinne) and other Incised Tumuli in Ireland* (1912)—a masterly account of these great monuments and their affinities.

² In my own collection.

close to Stackallen Bridge in a fair house at Cleiteach "over the salmon-full, ever-beautiful Boyne," and died there by the lodging of a salmon-bone in his throat, and was buried quite close to these great sepulchres, no Irish writer has ever associated his name or that of any other monarchs of the Iron Age or later with these great monuments. Tradition is unanimous in stating that Cormac lies buried at Ros-na-Righ (the "king's wood") by the Boyne, right opposite the great tumulus of Knowth, which stands on the Meath side of the river. There must therefore have been a very strong tradition that New Grange and its sisters belonged to a far older epoch and a different dynasty, otherwise the temptation to associate the name of the great Cormac or those of other kings of Tara with one or more of the huge barrows might have been irresistible. We shall soon see that a mass of traditions from various sources unanimously ascribes these mounds to an age long anterior not only to Cormac, but to Conchobar and Cuchulainn, and even assigns them to a definite dynasty and in some cases to definite individuals.

Unfortunately the tombs were opened and plundered many centuries ago, and thus archaeologists have found no relics in their chambers to indicate the period of their construction. With reference to the date of their desecration and its authors there can be no question. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters*, sub A.D. 861, in that year—the first of the reign of the Ard-Righ Aedh Finnliath—the Norsemen committed great depredations in Ireland: they slew Muiregan, lord of Naas and Airther Liffe, and "three chieftains of the foreigners (*Gall*) and Lorcan, lord of Meath, plundered the land of Flann, son of Conang. The cave of Achad-Aldai in Mughdhorna-Maighen; the cave of Cnoghbbhai; the cave of the grave of Bodan, i.e. the shepherd of Elcmar, over Dubhath, and the cave of the wife of Gobhann, at Drochat-atha, were broken and plundered by the same foreigners." To the eminent Irish archaeologist Dr George Petrie belongs the credit of identifying with the "caves" of this passage the great tumuli of Meath. Of the identity of three of them there can be no doubt, since Cnoghbbhai, Dubhath, and

Drochat-atha are the great barrows of Knowth, Dowth, and Drogheda respectively. The first of this latter series stands in the parish of Monknewtown, near Slane, Co. Meath, being separated, as we have seen, from Ros-na-Righ, the burial-place of Cormac, by the river Boyne. It has not been opened in modern times, owing to the collapse of the stones which form its entrance. That at Dowth rises to a height of 47 feet, is about 280 feet in diameter and is entered by a subterranean



FIG. 113. The tumulus of New Grange, Co. Meath, Ireland¹.

passage, the mouth of which lies outside the mound. The cave of the wife of Gobhann at Drochat-atha is the great mound at Drogheda (on the mouth of the Boyne), on which now stands the fort which commands the town. Like Knowth, it has not been opened in modern times.

We now pass to New Grange, by far the most remarkable of the series not so much on account of its size (280 feet in diameter and 44 feet high), which is practically that of Dowth, as because of its famous portal (Fig. 113) with its great

¹ From a photograph by Mr R. Welsh, Lonsdale St., Belfast, by his kind permission.

stones sculptured with spiral ornament, as are also some of those in the walls of the passage and its great central chamber. The ornament consists of spirals, both returning and single, concentric circles, lozenges and triangles. The huge cairn was once surrounded by a circle of great stones (Fig. 114), twelve of which are still standing or can be traced. There has been some slight difficulty in identifying it with Achad-Aldai, which, according to the *Four Masters*, was in



FIG. 114. Tumulus of New Grange showing a portion of the stone circle which surrounds it¹.

Mughdhorna-Maighen, now the barony of Cremorne in Co. Monaghan. But there seems little doubt that Dr O'Donovan was right in regarding this as a mistake of transcription for Mughdhorna-Breagh, and that it is the ancient name of New Grange. That great scholar has pointed out that all the caves plundered were in the territory of Flann, that is, in Meath, and thus Achad-Aldai cannot have been so far distant as Co. Monaghan.

Let us now turn to the traditions respecting the occupants of these mighty tombs. The name Achad-Aldai, which seems

¹ From a photograph by Mr R. Welsh, Lonsdale St., Belfast, by his kind permission.

certainly that of New Grange, the Ard-Righ of these great barrows, means the *Field of Aldai*. This Aldai was the ancestor of the Tuatha-De-Danann kings of Ireland. The tumulus at Drogheda is termed the cave of the wife of Gobhann. According to the pedigrees of the Tuatha-De-Danann Goibhniu, Gobha, or the Smith, was the son of Tura mac Tuireill, of the royal line of the Tuatha-De-Danann. The Bodan who was buried at Dowth is called the "shepherd of Elcmar." But this Elcmar was son of Dealbhaeth, a Tuatha-De-Danann prince. Respecting the person or family for whom the barrow at Knowth was erected, tradition says nothing. The only fact recorded of that place belongs to a very much later epoch. Under the year A.D. 788 the *Annals of Ulster* say that "Gormgal, mac Eladaig, rex Cnodbai in clericatu obiit." Probably this Gormgal was only a petty local chieftain.

Thus in spite of every temptation to ascribe these great monuments to great kings of Tara, such as Conn, or Art, or his son Cormac, the first of the kings of Tara who was not buried in the Brugh, or to great worthies of the earlier time, such as Cuchulainn, whose home lay not so far away at Dundalk (Dundalغان), tradition explicitly assigns three of them to the Tuatha-De-Danann. Moreover, there seems good evidence that some of that race still existed in the third century of our era, for a noble lady of this stock forms the subject of a dreadful story told by Keating. She was the daughter of Eoghabhal, who lived at Knockany in the Co. Limerick. Oilill Olom, king of Munster, son-in-law of Conn, of the Hundred Battles, who died in A.D. 234, slew Eoghabhal and outraged his daughter Aine. The maiden was no common bondswoman, but with a spirit fitting one of ancient race, bit off the ear of her ravisher as he slept. The miscreant in rage thrust his spear into her body and pinned her to the earth. But retribution dogged the murderer: the point of his spear had been bent against a stone in the fatal thrust, and he straightened it with his teeth. From this, so says the legend, he was afflicted with two foul maladies to his dying day. Aine's home, Knockany, was near Bruff, Co. Limerick, and she is still traditionally remembered as one of

the chief banshees ('women from the tumuli') of the South of Ireland. Her murderer's real name was Aenghus, but from the loss of his ear he was nicknamed Oilill Olom ("Ear-cropped").

But far older traditions connect the Tuatha-De-Danann with the Brugh-na-Boinne. Under A.M. 3450 the *Annals of the Four Masters* state that "after the completion of the last year of the eighty years which Eochaidh Ollathar passed in the monarchy of Ireland, he died at Brugh, of the venom of the wound which Cethlenn inflicted on him at the battle of Magh-Tuireadh" (Moytura). Eochaidh was named the Daghdha Mor, "the Great Good Fire," from his military ardour. In the account of the Tuatha-De-Danann, preserved in the *Book of Lecan*, it is stated that he had three sons, Aenghus, Aedh, and Cermad, who were buried with their father at Brugh-na-Boinne, where the mound called Sidh-an-Bhrogha was raised over them. Aenghus-an-Bhrogha was down to recent times considered the presiding fairy of the Boyne¹, and his name is still familiar to the older inhabitants of Meath. Besides the great monuments of the Boyne valley various other sepulchral memorials are ascribed by Irish tradition to the Tuatha-De-Danann, such as Knockany and Knockgreiny in Co. Limerick, and on the Pap Mountains (*Da Chich Danainne*, i.e. Danann's Two Paps) in the south-east of Co. Kerry. From the *Colloquy of the Ancients* it is clear that there were many grave-mounds in Ireland where the Tuatha-De-Danann were supposed to live and to manifest themselves in corporeal form as sprites and fairies, with long yellow hair, as for instance Finn's harper whom that hero had found just as he had come out of a barrow. In view of these traditions and of the great monuments bound up with them, there seems no reason to doubt that the Tuatha-De-Danann were a real people, who played a striking rôle in the history of Ireland in the Bronze Age.

That these memorials belong to the Bronze Age and were burial places, there can no longer be any doubt, since sepulchres on a smaller scale, yet similar in all essentials to the great tumuli of the Brugh-na-Boinne, and with their contents intact, have recently been examined on Carrowkeel mountain, Co. Sligo.

¹ O'Donovan's note *ad loc.*

These cairns were first observed by Mr R. Ll. Praeger in 1896, and were carefully investigated in 1911 by Prof. R. A. S. Macalister, Mr E. C. R. Armstrong, and Mr Praeger himself¹. They opened no less than twelve of these remarkable graves, which are all built of the local limestone, and with the exception of one (Cairn E) are all round conical barrows, usually with central chambers or cists, though two of them proved to be cenotaphs like two of the great series opened at Lough Crew, Co. Meath. The entrance to these cairns is regularly on the northern side. Though they vary greatly in size, in the details of their doorways, passages and chambers, and architectural merit, they nevertheless all agree in the general principles of construction and arrangement, the most elaborate of them bearing a striking resemblance to New Grange and Dowth. As in the case of the latter, several of the Carrowkeel cairns still have kerbs of large stones running round their bases. Cairn G has the best constructed chamber. Well selected standing-stones support a system of lintels and cross-beams very similar to those found in New Grange and Dowth. The chamber is more or less circular, but there are three small cells of lesser height separated from the main space by high sills, and the whole chamber thus has a cruciform shape. These side cells were receptacles for the dead, since burned bones lay on the flag-stones of their floors. These stones were raised both in the cells and main chamber but nothing was discovered under them. One of the standing stones did not reach the roof, and behind it was found a pocket containing the bones of children. I may here point out that this recess in the wall recalls those formed in the sides of the great chamber of Maeshowe, in Orkney, the largest tumulus in the British Isles outside Ireland.

Cairn F, which in some respects is the most important of the whole Carrowkeel series, is 87 feet in diameter, and 25 feet high. Its entrance is finer than the rest, as its portal is 4 feet 7 inches high, one of its lintel stones being 7 feet long. Its

¹ *Proc. Roy. Irish Acad.* vol. XXIX (1912), sect. C, p. 311, "Bronze-Age Cairns on Carrowkeel mountain, Co. Sligo," by R. A. S. Macalister, E. C. R. Armstrong and R. Ll. Praeger.

interior also differs from the rest. Its chamber at its outer end is only 2 feet broad, but widening inwards for a length of 12 feet terminates in a square recess, marked off by a sill-stone 7 inches high, with two similar recesses with splayed sides on either hand. The constructional skill is great, as there are squinch-stones in the corners to reduce the length to be spanned, an architectural device also used by the builders of the Boyne valley. It really consists of two chambers separated by a narrow doorway, with two grave recesses in the outer and three in the inner. Burnt-bones and bone-dust were found on the floor as was also the case in several of the other cairns. In the chamber was found a broken pillar 5 feet high, which had no structural purpose, and at its foot were carefully placed eight water-worn pebbles, whilst in front of two recesses was laid a vertebra of *Bos longifrons*. The excavators assign a religious significance to the pillar, the stones, and the vertebra.

Some of the smaller cairns had no regular chamber, but only a cist, whilst, as already stated, two of them proved to be cenotaphs.

Cairn E differs from all the rest of the series, for instead of being circular it is a long low mound 140 feet long, 35 feet broad, and 8 feet high in the middle, but decreasing towards each end. The excavators recovered its plan almost entirely and believe that it originally had a kind of porch at each end. But although this type of barrow has usually been regarded as Neolithic, this cairn from the relics found in it, which are of the same kinds as those from the others, must be classed along with its circular companions as belonging to the Bronze Age. The regular method of disposing of the dead was cremation, for large quantities of burnt-bones and bone-dust were found on the floors of the chambers and the cists. The bodies were apparently burned outside, and the ashes and charred bones were conveyed into the tombs on flat stones. Perhaps these stones formed the hearth or *bustum* on which the dead were burned, like those discovered close to the cist-grave found near Gorey, Co. Wexford (p. 594, Fig. 79). But some of the bodies certainly had not been burned, for nearly complete skeletons were found in the passage of Cairn H and in the cist of Cairn O.

The human remains were examined by Prof. Alex. Macalister, F.R.S., who computed that the burnt-bones belonged to at least thirty-one individuals, the majority of whom were males. One of these had probably a stature of 5 feet 9 inches, whilst the females seem to have ranged from 5 feet 5 inches to 5 feet. The skulls were pentagonoid, and they had a cephalic index of 73—76. They were orthognathous, the countenance being long with moderately high cheek-bones; the teeth differ from those of Mousterian men, and resemble those of men of the later periods. He concludes that the type was similar to that which still predominates in the West of Ireland.

No objects of bronze or of any other metal were found. This may have been due to the scarcity and value of bronze. But nevertheless the cairns may be dated well into the Bronze Age from the pottery and the beads. In Cairn K was found a whole urn—an ordinary food vessel of the Bronze Age—containing a little bone-dust, whilst in the cist of Cairn O was another resting on a pile of burnt and unburnt bones. The latter is of a type which extended over a long period of the Bronze Age. On its base it has a sort of cruciform ornament which may be compared with that on the base of the urn found in the cairn on Belmore mountain, Co. Fermanagh, by Mr George Coffey. There were fragments of another urn which was larger than a food vessel, and there were also three ornamented rims as well as various other fictile fragments.

There were found in various cairns lying in the bone-dust and débris some twelve stone pendants identical with those found in the cairn on Belmore mountain, and twenty-two stone beads similar to those from the cairns at Lough Crew, Co. Meath. The materials of these pendants and beads are steatite, serpentine, limestone, and red jasper. As the boring of hard jasper requires high technical skill, they may have been imported from some distant region, but it is important to note the absence of any beads of faience or paste, such as might have been expected if there was already trade with the Mediterranean. There were also a number of smooth pebbles, one perforated by a marine animal, a sea-shell (*Natica catena*), as well as a number of pieces of white calcite and quartz

(materials foreign to the neighbourhood). There were also a number of small round stones.

Implements of bone (one from the *tibia* of red deer, another of a bear's bone) were found, as well as broken bone pins, a bone needle, an object made of an animal's rib, another made of a bone of *Bos longifrons*, and a boar's tusk, the last almost certainly an amulet, since such tusks have been thus used all across Europe and Asia, from Ireland to New Guinea, from the Neolithic period down to the present hour¹. There was also an implement made of slate.

It is to be carefully noted that neither the cairns themselves nor any article found in them show any trace of the spiral ornament which is so remarkable a feature of New Grange, though absent in the case of its sister tumuli of Dowth and Knowth.

Who were and whence came the builders of New Grange and the carvers of its spiral-sculptured portal? Once more traditions come to our aid, and if they should be corroborated by the evidence of material remains, we may be able to pierce still further back through the heavy clouds that hang over the early history of our own islands.

The Firbolg are the earliest inhabitants of Ireland for believing in whose historical character we have any grounds. They are supposed to have come from the south of Europe, to have landed in Wexford harbour, and become masters of all Ireland in a week. As we have already said, the similarity between the oldest Irish copper axes and a Spanish type may indicate that there is a nucleus of truth in the story of the Firbolg coming from the south. They may thus well represent the aboriginal dark-complexioned element not only in the population of Ireland, but also in that of Britain, which Tacitus regarded as Iberian in origin. This people is supposed to have held undisputed dominion in Ireland for thirty-six years. The last of their kings was Eochaidh, whose queen was Tailte, daughter of Madmor, king of Spain, and who has left her name in Tailte (Teltown) in Meath, where she was buried. In the tenth year of this king came the Tuatha-De-Danann, and he

¹ W. Ridgeway, "The Origin of the Turkish Crescent" (*Jour. Roy. Anthropol. Institute*, 1908, p. 241).

fell with one hundred thousand Firbolg fighting against the invaders in the battle at Moytura South. The site of the great and long contested struggle is still pointed out in the parish of Cong, barony of Kilmaine, Co. Mayo. There can be little doubt that, whoever may have been the contending parties, a great battle once took place on this spot.

The Tuatha-De-Danann are represented as masters of Ireland for 197 years, and the Firbolg were their vassals. According to the *Annals of the Four Masters* under A.M. 3500, the dynasty came to an end in that year, when the three last kings, who reigned jointly, were overthrown and slain by the Scoti (termed sons of Milidh) at the battle of Tailte (Teltown) in Meath. Unfortunately it is impossible to form any judgment on the actual dates of any of these events from Irish sources, since, as we have already mentioned, all the chronology prior to the founding of Emain Macha by the Scots in 305 B.C. is utterly unreliable.

Keating¹ has embodied the native traditions respecting the Tuatha-De-Danann. "Some ancient Irish antiquaries say that "they dwelt in Boetia (Bothnia?) in the north of Europe. Some others say that it is in the Athenian territory they dwelt, where the city of Athens is." They departed from Athens, when it was attacked by the people of Syria, and made no stay until they came to the country of Lochlonn, i.e. Finn-Lochlonn, viz. the people of Norway, where they got welcome for the extent of their science and their varied arts, which they had acquired during their residence in Athens. Nuadha was their king at that time. After dwelling for a time in Norway, they proceeded to the north of Scotland, so that they were seven years at Dobhar and Iardobhar. They brought with them the Lia Fáil, the "Stone of Destiny," "which used to roar under each king of Ireland on his being chosen by them up to the time of Conchobar." Of this was written the prophecy:

"The Scotie nation, noble the race,
Unless the prophecy be false,
Ought to obtain dominion,
Where they find the Lia Fáil."

¹ vol. i. pp. 208 *sqq.* (Comyn and Dinneen).

This is of course none other than the famous stone of Scone, borrowed by Feargus, the first Scotie king of Scotland, from his brother Muirheartach, son of Earc, for his own coronation in Scotland, but he apparently forgot to send it back.

After spending seven years in the north of Scotland, the Tuatha-De-Danann came to Ireland, landed on Beltain (May Day) in the north of Ireland and burned their ships. The Firbolgs did not discover the presence of the invaders until the latter had advanced as far as Sliabh-an-Iarainn. Then they sent envoys to the Firbolgic king demanding the sovereignty or else battle for it. Straightway ensued the battle of Moytura South of which we have already spoken. Twenty years later there was another great battle at Moytura North.

Fantastic and mythical as these legends are, and uncertain as is early Irish chronology, yet there can be no doubt that in the tales which range back from the Viking period there is a substantial nucleus of ethnological fact. In both the Danish period and in that preceding it, and also in the *La Tène* epoch, everywhere we are confronted with the assumption that there are two distinct races in Ireland, the dark-complexioned, collectively termed Firbolg, who are said with great probability to have come from southern Europe, the other, like Conchobar, "tall, fair-haired and grey-eyed"—the blond race of northern Europe. The tales of the Cuchulainn cycle postulate the presence and admixture of both races. Thus Deirdre herself had fair hair whilst her husband Noise had raven locks, a fair white skin, and a brilliant complexion, the well-known dark type in Ireland of to-day. Cuchulainn himself is sometimes spoken of as a little dark man, whilst the description of the shades of colour in his hair indicate that he was of the mixed race. Again, in a poem already cited, in the story of Edain, the daughter of Etar, an Ulster chief, Midir, the great Tuatha-De-Danann chief of Bri Leith in Co. Longford, is described as having "fair yellow hair coming over his forehead." Thus Irish tradition regarded both the Tuatha-De-Danann and the Scoti as blond-complexioned.

The general tenor of Irish legend is that the first settlers in Ireland in the Neolithic period came from south-western

Europe, and there seems no doubt that the dark-complexioned race, which still forms the great majority of the Irish population, belongs to this southern stock. Tradition represents successive waves of fair-haired people as invading and conquering these older inhabitants. First of these Scandinavian or Teutonic invaders are the Tuatha-De-Danann, who after a domination over the Firbolgs of nearly two centuries are themselves overthrown by the Scoti, who establish themselves in Ulster, Emain Macha later on becoming their capital. Their domination waned before the new dynasty at Tara in the second century of our era, a dynasty which itself, if not wholly Scandinavian, was certainly closely connected with that region, as we shall presently see. This later race was in its turn to be harassed by Saxons, Norwegians and Danes, who in their turn were again to be conquered by the descendants of the Norsemen who, having settled in north-western France, under the name of Normans invaded and subjugated England, and a century later made themselves masters of a large part of Ireland.

In view of the statement of Tacitus respecting the mixed population of northern Britain at the time of the Roman invasion of Scotland, there is every probability of the substantial truth of the Irish traditions which represent the coming to that island of successive waves of settlers from Scandinavia or Germany.

It would be of great importance to determine at what period the earliest movements from Scandinavia into our islands took place. It seems fairly certain that it did not occur until very late in or after Neolithic times. The axes of flint and other stones are of the same general character in both Britain and Ireland, as can be seen from Figs. 115, 116, in which stone axes from Shetland, Denmark, Ireland, and Scotland are shown.

The Scandinavian stone axes are perfectly distinct in character from those of the British Isles, as the sides are square instead of being rounded and the cutting edge is straight. Now, if there had been settlements from Scandinavia in Shetland, Orkney, Scotland, and England in the Neolithic period, typical Scandinavian axes ought to have been

found in considerable numbers in these various areas in which people of Scandinavian or Teutonic origin had certainly taken up their abode at a later date. If, on the other hand, it should turn out that stone axes of a very peculiar type, which beyond all doubt were in common use in Denmark and Sweden in the Bronze Age, are found in Orkney, Caithness, Argyllshire, Aber-

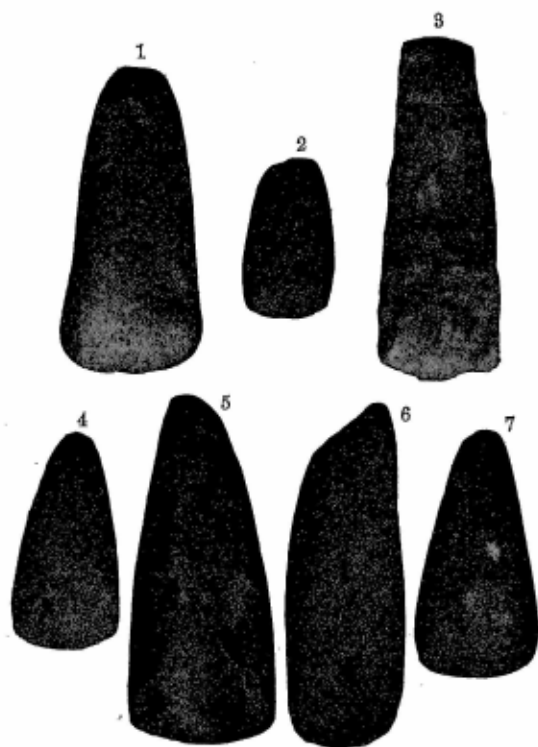


FIG. 115. Stone Axes; 1, Lerwick, Shetland; 2, Shetland; 3, Denmark; 4—7, Ireland¹.

deenshire, in the north-east of England, and also in Ireland, especially in the north-eastern district (the actual home of the Scoti and where the Tuatha-De-Danann are said to have landed), though in comparatively small numbers in each island, it would go far to prove that there was at least communication between Scandinavia and these islands in the Bronze Age.

¹ My own specimen.

Furthermore, if these peculiar axes have been actually found in graves along with bronze objects and cremated bodies, there is a high probability that they were brought in by the people who introduced cremation. But as the Swedes as a whole did not cremate their dead (vol. I. p. 516), though they had these

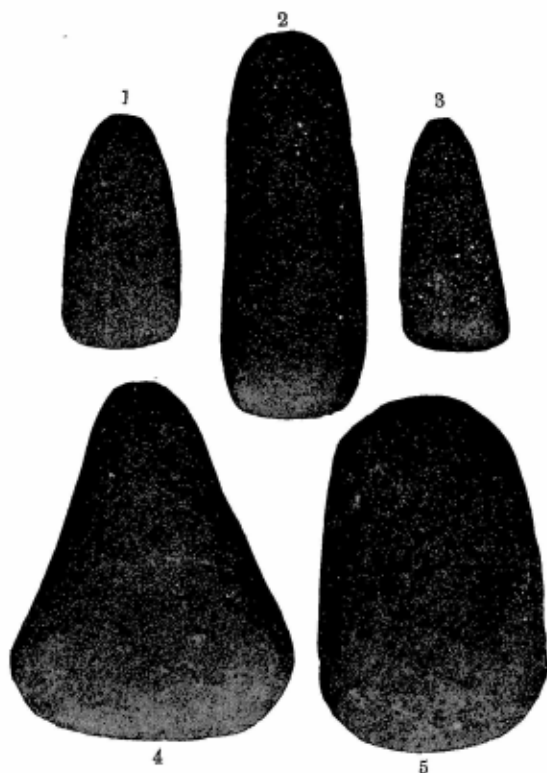


FIG. 116. Stone Axes; Aberdeenshire, Scotland¹.

peculiar axes, and as the Norwegians neither used these axes nor yet burned their dead, whilst the Danes both used these axes in the Bronze Age and in the middle part of that period universally cremated their dead, there is a high probability that settlers from Denmark made their way into the British Isles in the Bronze Age.

¹ My own specimen.

But if we shall succeed in establishing these propositions, there will henceforth be little ground for contemning the Irish traditions connected with the great monuments of the Boyne, which point clearly to a settlement from Scandinavia in the Bronze Age, and we may then rest content that the Tuatha-De-Danann of the Irish legends are no mere sun-myths or vegetation spirits, but actual invaders of flesh and blood, who made themselves masters of the rich plains of Meath and became the overlords of the older dark-complexioned tribes, commonly classed together as the Firbolg, many of whom were still known under their ancient name far into the Christian era.



FIG. 117. Copper axe-and-adze; Hungary.

Let us now present the facts which support this *prima facie* case. In the previous volume of this work we had occasion more than once to mention the Danubian types of axes, and amongst them one in which the axe-head is perforated with a hole for the insertion of the handle. In this type one end of the head forms an axe-edge, the other being left flat or round to form a hammer, or else in the Bronze Age sometimes flattened out to form an adze. The first class thus form what are termed axe-hammers, the second axe-and-adzes. A fine example of the Danubian copper axe-and-adze from Hungary in the collection of my friend Dr Sturge is here shown (Fig. 117).

There can be no doubt that this type of stone axe-hammer and its metal imitations arose in Europe and not in Asia

Minor. For although such axe-hammers are found in the latter region, they are generally restricted to the north-west corner into which, as we have seen, bodies of men driven from their homes in Thrace under pressure of tribes from the Danube had constantly passed. Fig. 119 shows a series of four



FIG. 118. (a) Bronze axe-hammer from Van. Lion attacked by two dogs.
 (b) Bronze axe-hammer from Hamadan. Lion.
 Both in British Museum.

such axe-hammers from the north-west of Asia Minor, in which the development of the type can be well seen. No. 3 shows the hole for the handle begun but not completed, a circular drill having plainly been used, whilst No. 4 shows a specimen probably contemporary with bronze axes or axe-hammers, such as those of which there are two fine specimens

(both, from Asia Minor) in the British Museum¹ (Fig. 118), in which the hammer end is shaped like a lion.



FIG. 119. Axe-hammers; North-west Asia Minor².

¹ Published in *Bronze Age Guide*, ed. 2, 1920, p. 176, figs. 187 and 188.

² My own specimens.

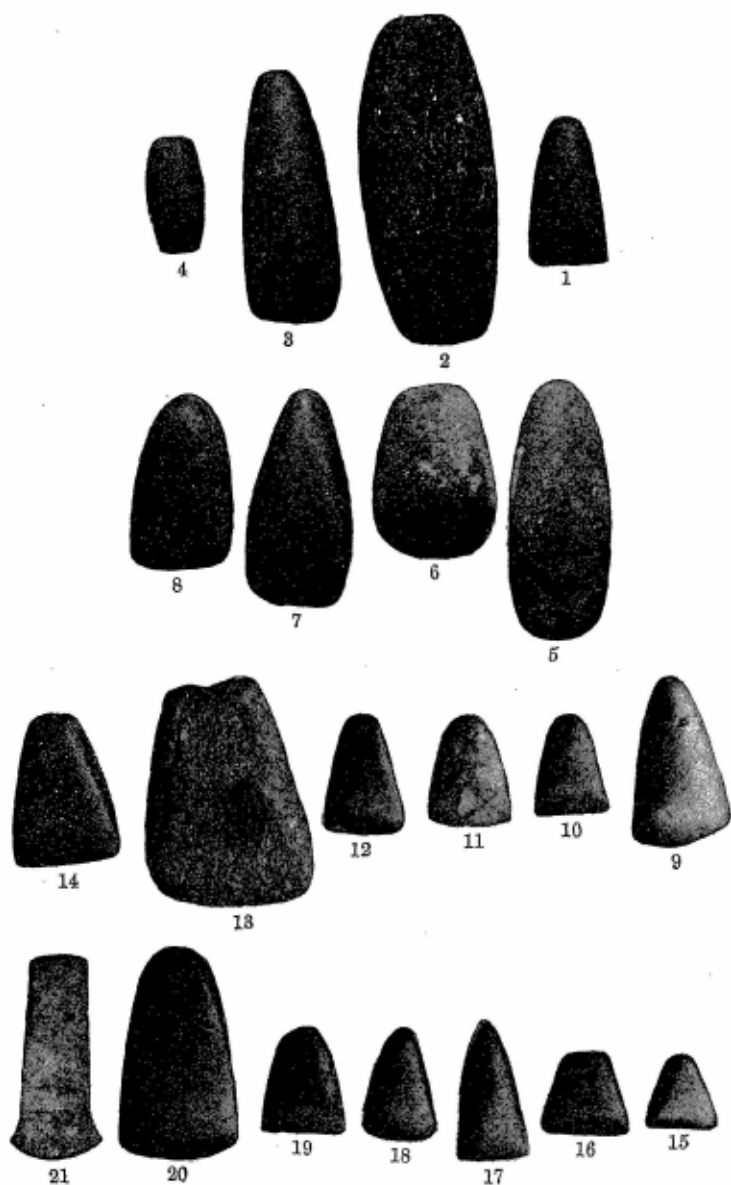


FIG. 120. Stone Axes and Adzes and one Bronze Axe; Asia Minor¹.

¹ My own specimens.

To convince the reader that these axe-hammers stand perfectly apart from the proper native series of stone axes of

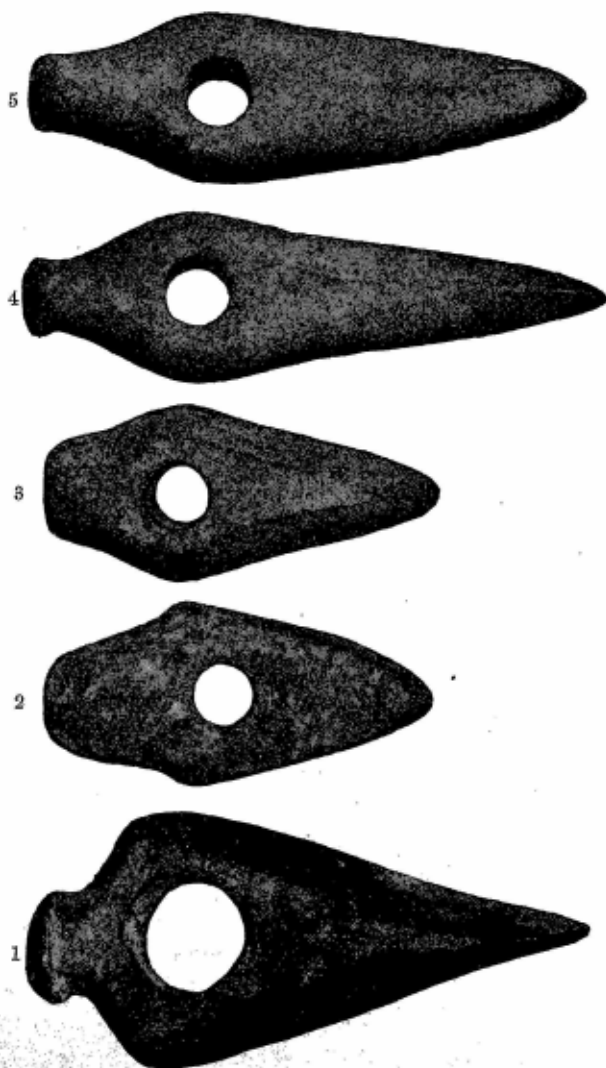


FIG. 121. Copper or Bronze Axes. 1, Isle of Amorgos, Aegean ; 2—5, Danish.

Asia Minor, it is only necessary to compare the four mentioned above (Fig. 119) with Fig. 120, in which a very complete series

of Asia Minor axes is shown. These range from thick round specimens only polished at the cutting edge down to flat and beautifully polished examples, sometimes of jade or jadite (Nos. 9, 17, and 20, Troad, and 18, Cappadocia) on which were modelled the thin, flat copper and bronze celts (No. 21) which succeeded them.

Just as the stone axe-hammers made their way into the Troad and other parts of north-west Asia Minor, so did their



FIG. 122. Axe-hammers. 1, Copper or Bronze, Hungary; 2, Copper or Bronze, Dalmatia; 3, Stone, Scånia, Southern Sweden.

metal imitations wander not only into the Troad and to Phigaleia in Arcadia (vol. I. p. 444), but even into the isle of Amorgos, as is shown by the fine specimen (Fig. 121, No. 1) from that place in Dr Sturge's collection. But in the Aegean region this type never got naturalized. On the other hand some time in the Bronze Age it made its way from the Danubian area along the great amber routes into Denmark and Sweden, not unlikely along with the practice of cremation as far as

Denmark is concerned. Though imported in its bronze form, through scarcity of metal it was copied largely in stone in both its new settlements, for in addition to bronze specimens great numbers in stone also are found. It is important to note that



FIG. 123. Nos. 1 and 2, Danish axe-hammers; No. 3, a broken axe-hammer; East Yorkshire.

Danish specimens in copper or bronze (Fig. 121, Nos. 2—5) resemble very closely that from Amorgos on the same plate (Fig. 121, No. 1).

Again, Fig. 122 shows three axe-hammers: No. 1 is a copper or bronze specimen from Hungary, No. 2 one of copper or bronze from Dalmatia, whilst No. 3 is a stone specimen

from Scånia in southern Sweden. There can be no doubt that the Swedish axe-hammers were copied from the copper axe-hammers of south-eastern Europe. Thus the 'runs' of the molten metal round the central core and at the head are carefully copied in the stone examples, as are also the lines of juncture of the pair of moulds. This is beautifully shown on the undersurface of No. 3, but unfortunately it is not seen in the photograph.

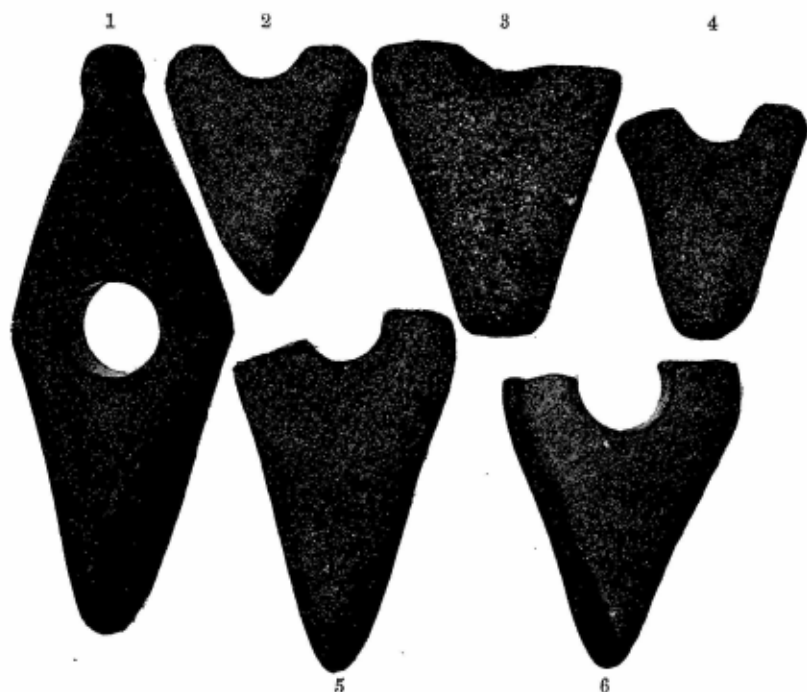


FIG. 124. No. 1, Danish axe-hammer; Nos. 2—6, broken axe-hammers; East Yorkshire.

It is a remarkable fact and one of considerable importance in our present inquiry that such axe-hammers are very rare in France, and accordingly cannot be regarded as more than 'wanderers' into that region.

Now in the British Isles a certain number of axe-hammers of stone have been found, and we shall soon see evidence for believing that some of them at least are of local manufacture,

though others may have been imported. There are also a number of broken specimens, almost all of which were found in East Yorkshire, where several complete examples have also been discovered to which we shall soon refer. It has likewise to be borne in mind that in this area cemeteries of the Bronze Age have been discovered in which all the bodies had been burned,

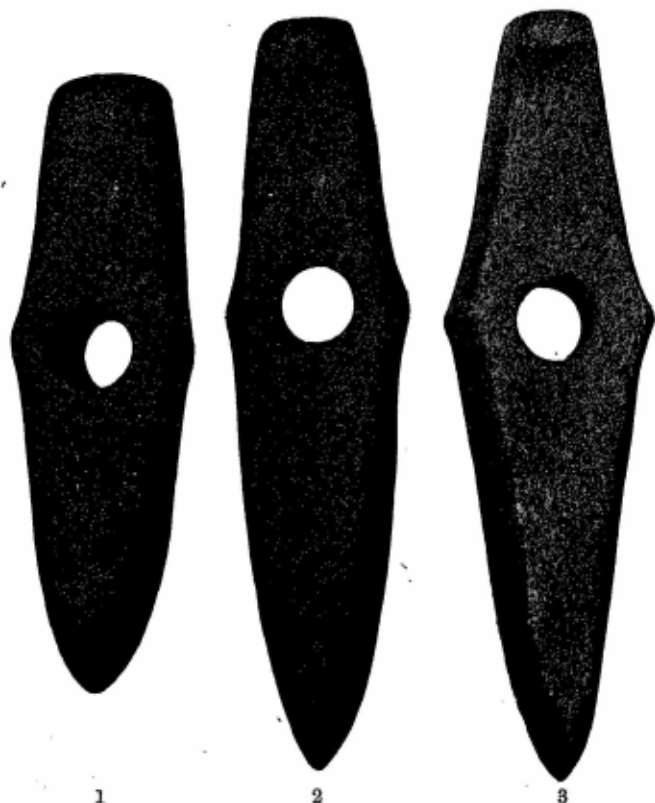


FIG. 125. Axe-hammers: (1) Peterborough; (2 and 3) Denmark.

as in Denmark in the Middle Bronze Age; but this was a custom apparently not practised by the Neolithic people of the north of England.

The broken axe-hammers from East Yorkshire (Fig. 123, No. 3; Fig. 124, 2—6), to which we have alluded, resemble very closely the unbroken Danish specimens shown on the same

plates (Fig. 123, Nos. 1, 2; Fig. 124, No. 1), and in some cases, as Dr Sturge points out, seem to be even Danish in manufacture. These broken axe-hammers differ from the general run of axe-hammers found in this country. The ten specimens of this type in Dr Sturge's collection are all broken, just as he



FIG. 126. Scandinavian Hammer-axe; found at Girton, Cambridge¹.

has six broken flint daggers of Danish type, but not a single whole one found in England.

Fig. 125 shows three stone axe-hammers: Nos. 2 and 3 are from Denmark, whilst No. 1, found at Peterborough, very closely resembles its two companions from the Continent.

¹ The property of Dr Charles Lucas, Burwell, who has most kindly allowed me to reproduce it.

We next come to two specimens of considerable importance. One of these, a double-axe rather than an axe-hammer, as both its ends form blades, was found at Girton (Fig. 126), near Cambridge, the material as well as the type of which seems



FIG. 127. Scandinavian Axe; found at Swaffham Prior¹.

certainly Scandinavian whilst the other, an axe of ordinary Scandinavian type and material, though much chipped on one side, was found at Swaffham Prior (Fig. 127). Both these specimens were apparently brought direct from Scandinavia and can hardly be regarded as local imitations.

¹ Purchased from the finder by the vicar, Rev. T. Preston, at whose sale it was purchased by Dr Charles Lucas, Burwell, the present owner, to whom I am indebted for permission to reproduce it here.

Fig. 128 shows an axe-hammer of slightly more elaborate form. It is of basalt worked to a flat oval at the hammer end and to a curved cutting edge at the other. The two sides are

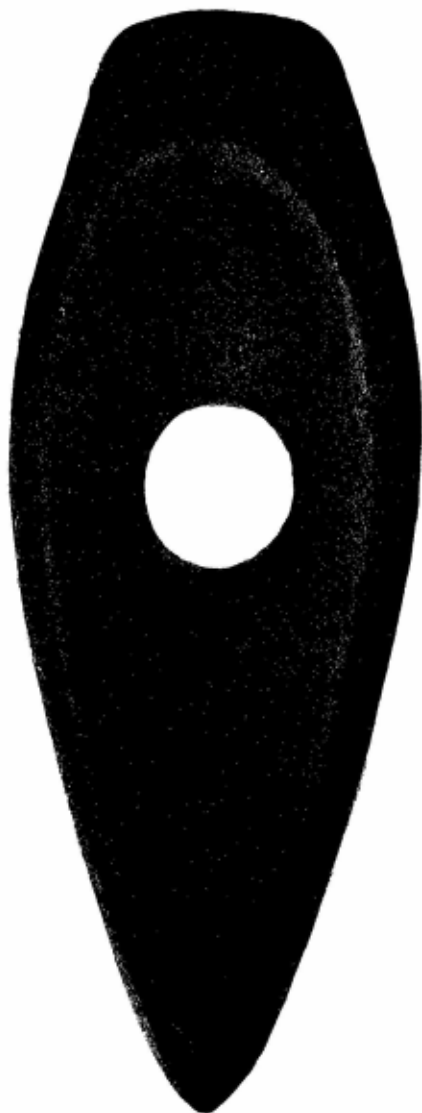


FIG. 128. Axe-hammer; Kirklington, Yorkshire.

ground concave, and the shaft-hole is nearly parallel. It was found at Kirklington, Yorkshire, and formerly belonged to Canon Greenwell, but is now in Dr Sturge's collection. It is eight inches long. "Nearly similar weapons," says Sir John Evans, "have been frequently found in barrows. One such, of green stone, about four inches long, was found at Winterbourn Steepleton, near Dorchester, associated with burnt bones"; another (four inches long) was discovered in a barrow at Trevelgue, Cornwall, whilst a similar specimen was found at Claughton Hall, Garstang, Lancashire. Another (four inches) formed of dark greenstone was found in the Thames. Sir R. C. Hoare has engraved two axe-hammers of this form, but slightly varying in size and details, from barrows in the Ashton Valley. In both cases they accompanied interments of burnt bones, in one instance placed beneath an inverted urn; in the other there was no urn, but an arrowhead of bone lay with the axe. One of slightly different shape, made of greenstone, with projections on the surfaces opposite the centre of the hole and with a hollow fluting near each margin that is carried round on the sides below the hole, was found in an urn along with burnt bones and some fragments of burnt flint in a large barrow on the Skelton Moors, Yorkshire. Another axe-hammer of nearly the same size and form, but more hammer-like at the end, was found in a barrow on Westerdale Moors, Yorkshire. This also has the channels on the faces. It is of fine-grained granite and lay in an urn with burnt bones, a small "incense-cup," and a sort of long bone bead, having a spiral pattern upon it and a transverse orifice into the perforation about the centre. In this case, as in the previous one, the interment with the axe-hammer was secondary, and not that over which the barrow had been originally raised. Another axe-hammer (of basalt), of much the same outline, was found in another barrow on Danby North Moors: it lay with the hole in a vertical position about 15 inches above a deposit of burnt bones. Sir R. C. Hoare has engraved a beautiful specimen of a longer and more slender type from the Selwood barrow, near Stourton. It is of syenite, five and a half inches long, and it lay in a cist along with burnt bones and a small bronze dagger. Parallel with each side

there appears to be a small groove worked on the face of the weapon. A very pretty example of the same form accompanied



FIG. 129. Axe-hammer; Seghill, Northumberland.

an interment in a barrow at Snowhill, Gloucestershire, and with it were associated two bronze daggers and a bronze pin.

In the Christy collection is a similar but larger specimen, said to have been found in a barrow near Stonehenge. It also has the grooves along the margin of the faces, and has an oval flat face. An axe-hammer of clay-stone porphyry, $4\frac{3}{4}$ inches long and in form like those last described, was found in a barrow at Winwick, near Warrington, Lancashire. It was broken clean

across the hole, and had been buried in an urn with burnt bones. With them was also a bronze dagger with a tang, and one rivet-hole to secure it in the handle¹.

Fig. 129 shows a still greater advance in elaboration. It was found in a cist at Seghill, near Newcastle, in 1866. It formerly belonged to Canon Greenwell, but passed with his collection of stone implements to Dr Sturge. The bones by which it was doubtless originally accompanied had entirely gone to decay.

A broken Danish axe-hammer (Fig. 130) in Dr Sturge's collection, found at Scalby, near Scarborough, Yorkshire, is decorated with grooved lines running along the faces of the weapon parallel to the sides, as in several of the examples just described, and as we shall find to be the case also in two re-



FIG. 130. Broken Danish axe-hammer; Scalby, near Scarborough, Yorkshire.

markable specimens—one from Stronsay in Orkney, the other from the River Bann, in the north of Ireland.

In the cases already cited the dead with whom the axe-hammers were found buried seem to have been usually burned.

¹ Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements of Great Britain* (ed. 2), pp. 209 sqq. with Figs.

But in three Yorkshire barrows, in which Canon Greenwell¹ found axe-hammers associated with bronze objects, though in two the dead had been cremated, in the third, that at Cowlam¹, the weapon was discovered along with the skeleton of a man, whose right hand still grasped the crumbling remains of the wooden handle of the axe-hammer, the blade of which lay opposite the dead man's face.

Leaving England for the moment we pass on into the northern part of the island. Fig. 131 shows a very remarkable axe-hammer found at Crichtie, near Inverurie, Aberdeenshire,

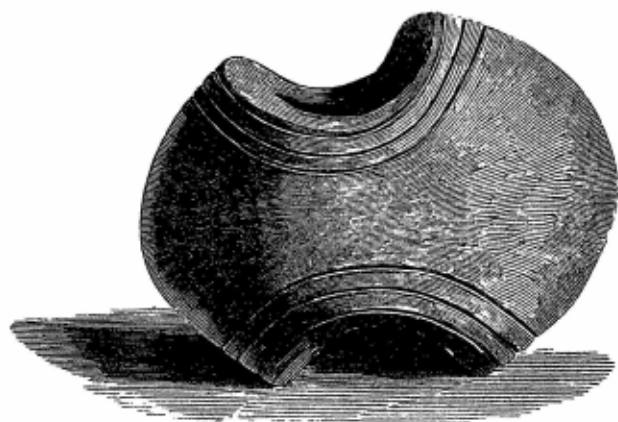


FIG. 131. Axe-hammer; Crichtie, near Inverurie, Aberdeenshire².

along with cremated remains and bronze objects, "in the centre of a Druidical stone-circle." It measures about four inches in length, is of graceful contour with deeply incurved sides, which thus lessened the task of drilling the hole for the helve. Round the curved edges of these indentations run deeply-grooved lines parallel to the curves of the sides. The next illustration (Fig. 132) shows an axe of the same general type, found at Wick, in Caithness. Its contours are more elegant than those of the Crichtie specimen, but it lacks decoration.

¹ *British Barrows*, p. 222; Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements*, pp. 206-7.

² I am indebted for this illustration to the kindness of the Council of the Royal Scottish Antiquaries (through my friend Dr Joseph Anderson).

Advancing still farther north we next come to the remarkable example shown in Fig. 133, which was found in Orkney. In August, 1907, Mr John Shearer, tenant of Cott near Housebay, in the isle of Stronsay, began to level the ground between his house and the public road only a few yards distant, as there was a slight eminence which he desired to remove. In the course of this operation he discovered three

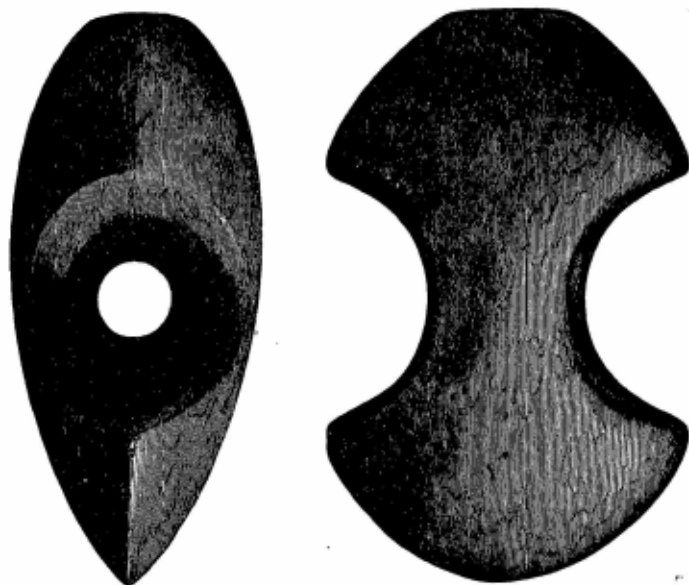


FIG. 132. Axe-hammer; Wick, Caithness¹.

small stone cists close together and similarly constructed, each having a cover, four sides and a bottom, whilst each side, top, and bottom were formed of single slabs. Each cist measured about nineteen inches in length, eleven inches in width, and a foot in depth. Inside each cist and at one end was a small pile of burnt bones. Among the debris after the cists had been torn up was found a perforated stone axe-hammer (Fig. 133), broken through the eye into two pieces. The

¹ I am indebted for this illustration to the kindness of the Council of the Royal Scottish Antiquaries (through my friend Dr Joseph Anderson).

axe-hammer is formed from trap-rock. It has clearly been exposed to the strong action of fire, doubtless in the cremation of its owner, as the surface has suffered considerably, showing



FIG. 133. Axe-hammer with linear ornament; Stronsay, Orkney.

small cracks¹. It is in contour of a flattened ovoid shape, the

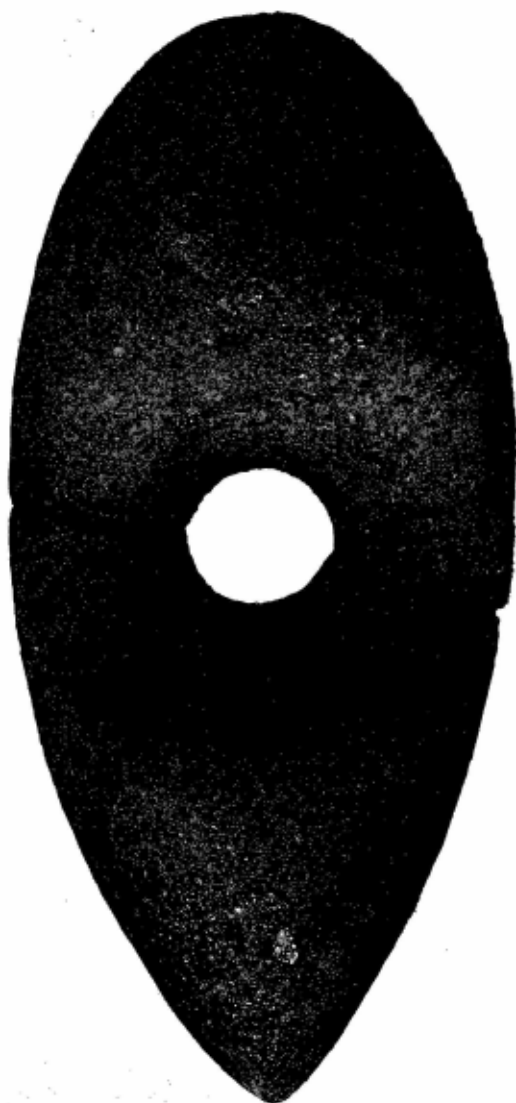


FIG. 134. Axe-hammer with linear ornament (side view); Stronsay, Orkney.

¹ The axe-hammer was given by Mr Shearer to Mr James Harvey, of Kirkwall, from whom I purchased it when in Orkney, in June, 1911. A full account of the finding of the tumulus, the cists and the axe-hammer was

ovoid outline being broken on either side by the hollowing out of each of the two narrow sides into a concavity. Through these concavities the handle-hole was bored. Round the segmental edge of each of these concavities a grooved line runs

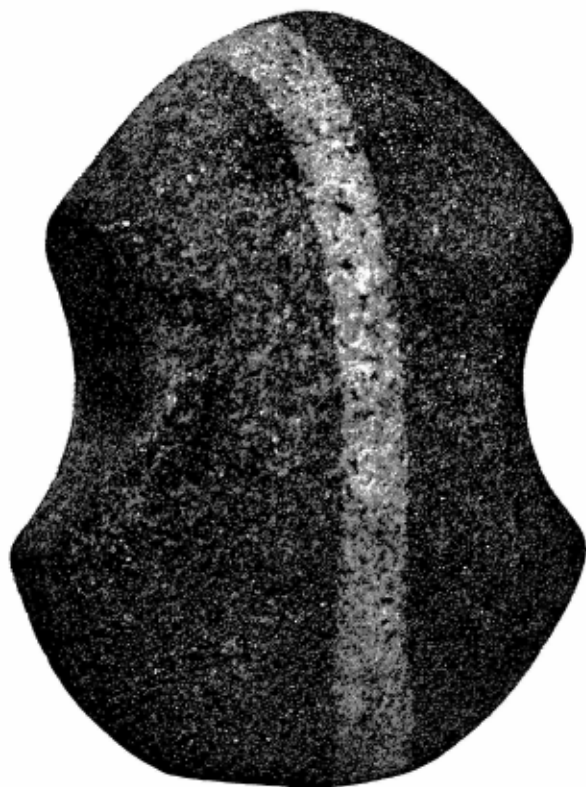


FIG. 135. Unfinished axe-hammer; Stronsay, Orkney¹.

on the face of the axe parallel to the incurved sides. The extreme length of the axe-hammer is five and three-fourths inches, its width at the broadest part of the faces is four and a

published by Mr Harvey's permission a few days after the discovery, in *The Orcadian*, 17 August, 1907, p. 5, col. 6, from which I have taken the account given in the text.

¹ The kindness of Dr Joseph Anderson has enabled me to obtain the photograph from which the illustration is taken.

quarter inches, its greatest thickness (through the middle) is two and three-fourths inches. The handle-hole is one and three-fourths inches long, an inch and a quarter in diameter at each end, and three-fourths of an inch in the centre. One end of the weapon is sloped off to a blunt segmental edge, and the hammer end is completely ovoid, its extremity being slightly flattened by use.

It is worthy of notice that the cists, under one of which the axe-hammer was found, agree very closely in their dimensions, and the manner of placing the burnt remains at one end, with the cist excavated near Gorey, Co. Wexford (p. 593). The axe-hammer was probably broken designedly at the time of burial, as seems to have been the case with a broken specimen found in a barrow at Winwick inclosed in an urn with burnt bones.

There can be no doubt that this axe-hammer was made in Stronsay, or at least in Orkney, since another axe-hammer (Fig. 135) of greenstone (now in the Royal Scottish Museum), very similar in shape, but without decoration, has also been found in that island. As the boring of its handle-hole is unfinished, there can be little question that such weapons were manufactured on the spot. The west side of Scotland has also yielded axe-hammers, since at Inveraray, in Argyllshire, was found a specimen five and three-quarter inches in length and having small projections on each face opposite the centre of the shaft-hole¹.

As in the Viking period, and we know not how long before, Shetland, Orkney, the adjacent mainland of Scotland and the Hebrides were occupied by Scandinavians who made them the base for their descents upon Ireland, it is a very significant fact that these axe-hammers, which are undoubtedly of Scandinavian origin, are found not only in north-eastern and northern England, in north-eastern and northern Scotland, in Orkney and Argyllshire, but also in remarkable numbers in the north-east of Ireland, the very region where from the legendary period onwards we hear of the descents of the men of Lochlann. Still more significant will it be, if it should turn out

¹ Evans, *op. cit.* p. 211.

not only that a specimen showing similar linear ornament to that on the Stronsay axe-hammer has been found in that area, but that three very remarkable examples exhibiting a beauty and elaboration of decoration far beyond anything known elsewhere in this class of weapon and undeniably derived from those with linear ornament have been found in Ireland, two of them in the river Bann. As in Great Britain so in Ireland,



FIG. 136. Axe-hammers; Ireland.

the actual number of axe-hammers found is small as compared with the number of ordinary stone axes. There are sixteen in the collection of the Royal Irish Academy, all shown in Fig. 136, ranging from the simpler down to one of the highly elaborated specimens of which we have just spoken.

Figs. 137, 138 show a fine example of the ordinary type, found in the north of Co. Wexford¹.

¹ In my own possession.

Fig. 139 contains seven axe-hammers belonging to Mr W. J. Knowles, Ballymena, Co. Antrim, all of which were found

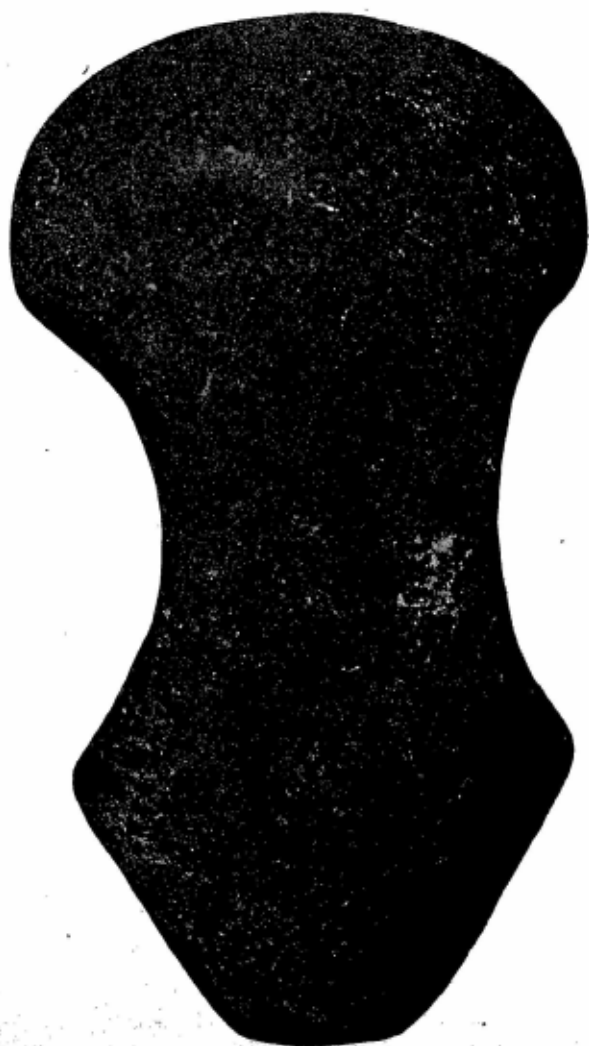


FIG. 137. Axe-hammer; North Wexford, Ireland.

either in the River Bann, or in Co. Antrim, or in Co. Derry. Amongst them is one of the three elaborate specimens just mentioned.

Fig. 140 shows an axe-hammer of the ordinary type, now in the British Museum. It was found in the River Bann, and is

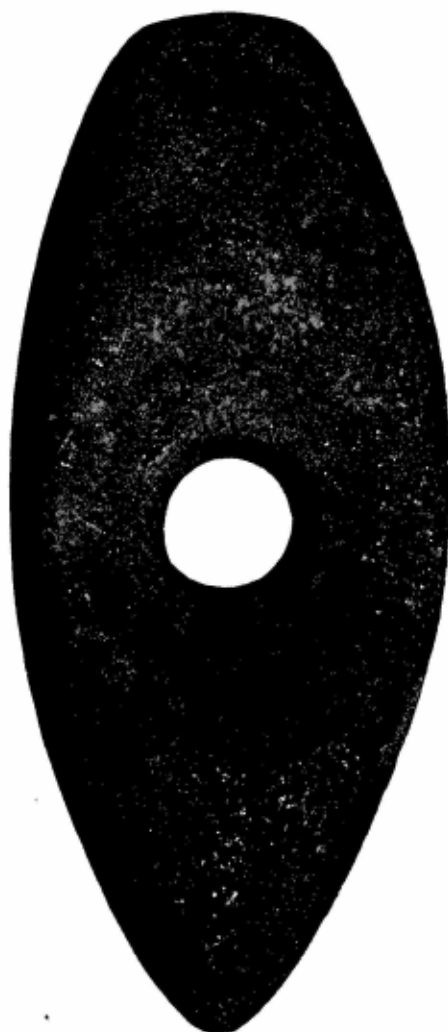


FIG. 138. Axe-hammer (side view); North Wexford.

very like that from Co. Wexford (Figs. 137, 138), and several of those in the Royal Irish Academy collection (Fig. 136). We next come to a remarkable specimen (Figs. 141, 142) formerly

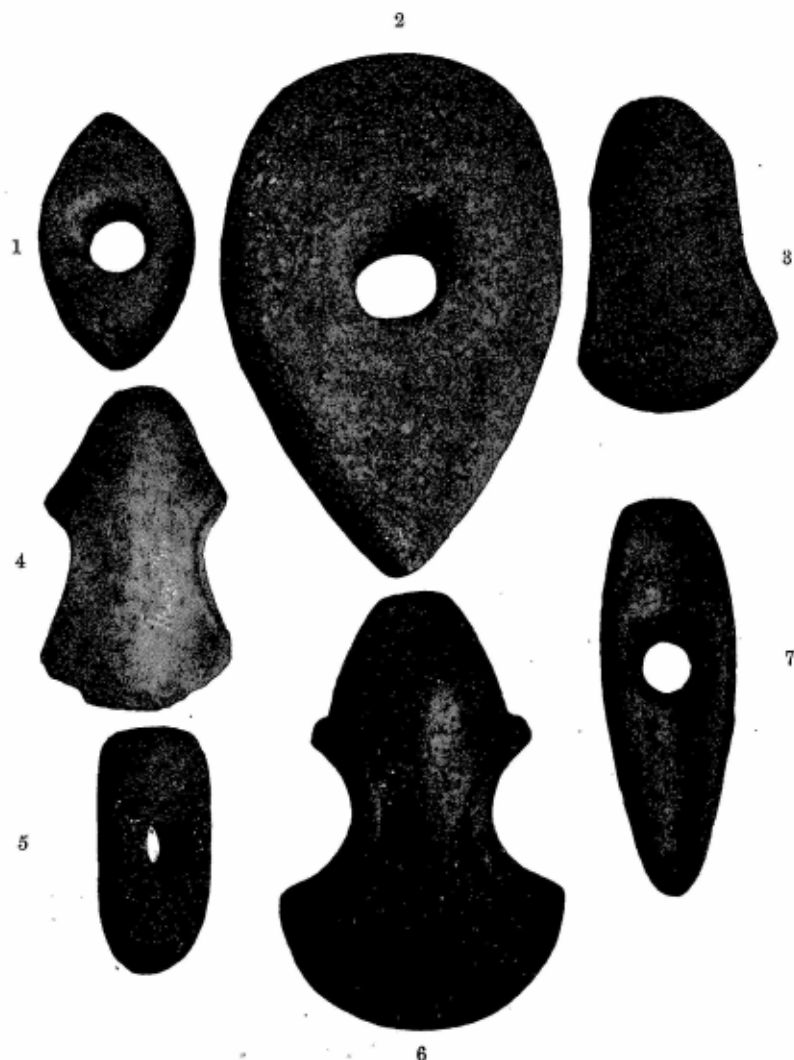


FIG. 139. Axe-hammers; all found either in the river Bann, or in Co. Antrim, or in Co. Derry. 1, bed of river Bann, near Portglenone; 2, Aughnahoy, close to the Bann, near Portglenone; 3, bed of the Bann, near Portglenone (only partly bored); 4, Croaghan, near Armoy, Co. Antrim (only half); 5, Moorfield, Kells, Co. Antrim; 6, bed of the Bann, near Portglenone; 7, Clady, Co. Derry, near the Bann.

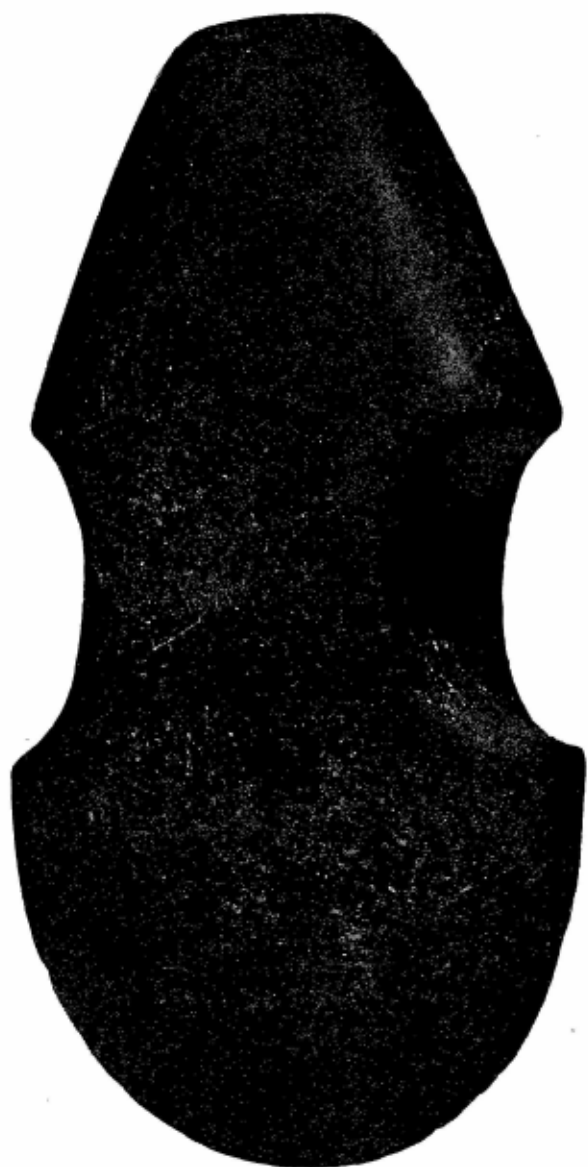


FIG. 140. Axe-hammer; river Bann, Ireland (British Museum).

belonging to Canon Greenwell, and now in Dr Sturge's collection¹.

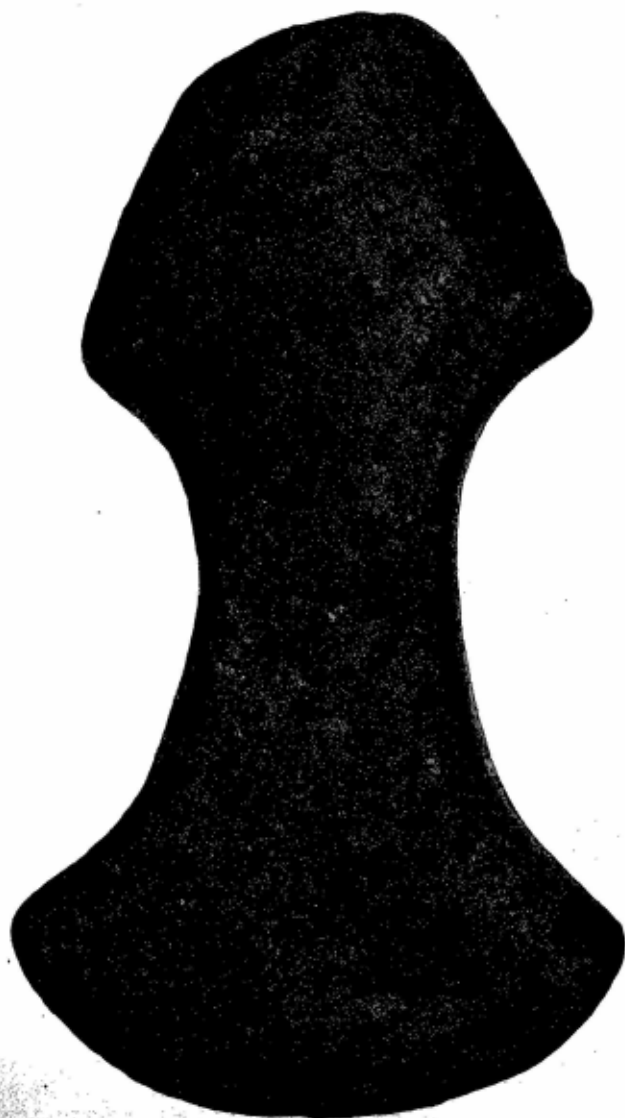


FIG. 141. Axe-hammer; river Bann at Coleraine, Ireland.

¹ Since these lines were printed, Dr Sturge has bequeathed his splendid collection of stone implements to the British Museum, where this axe now is.

It was found in the tidal water of the River Bann, near Coleraine. In shape this weapon is much longer and narrower than my specimen from Stronsay and thus nearer to its Danish



FIG. 142. Axe-hammer (side view); river Bann, Coleraine.

prototypes; in its general lines it may be regarded as an advance upon the Seghill specimen (Fig. 129), just as the



FIG. 143. Axe-hammer; river Bann, Ireland.

latter is upon that from Kirklington (Fig. 128). But the special interest of the Coleraine axe is that on each of its faces

it is decorated like the Stronsay axe-hammer with grooved lines running parallel to the incurved sides.



FIG. 144. Axe-hammer (side view); river Bann, Ireland.

We now come to the three elaborately ornamented specimens, all of which are in carved greenstone, and which, though very

much alike, nevertheless show distinct stages of development from the types already described. All three have exactly the

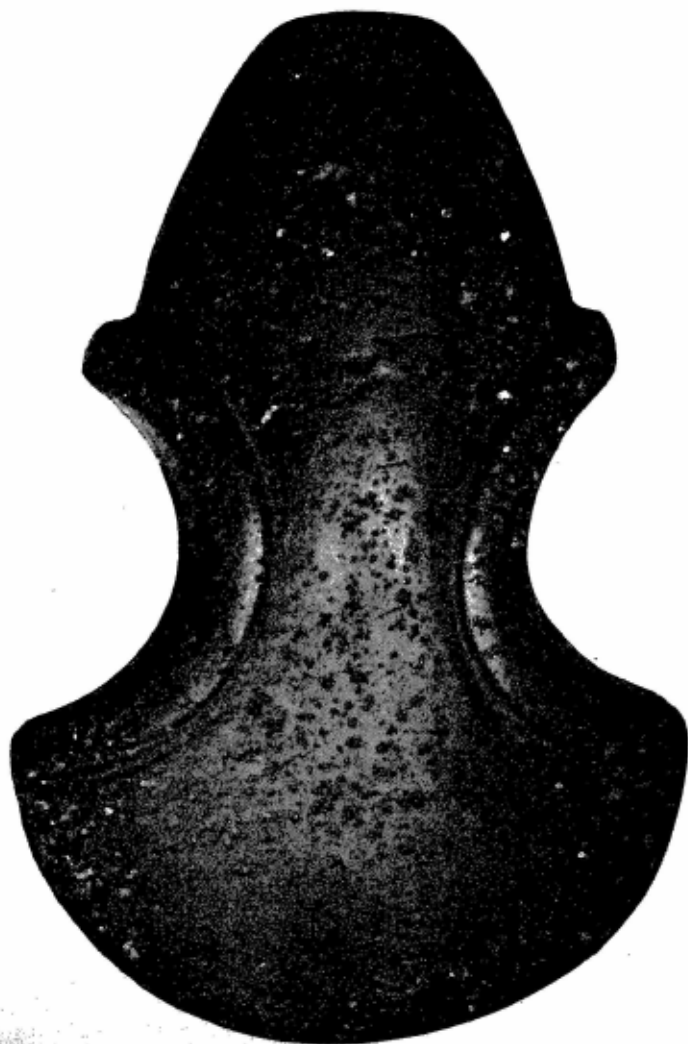


FIG. 145. Axe-hammer; river Bann, Co. Antrim, Ireland (W. J. Knowles).

same form of ornament, which is plainly developed out of the rude decoration of the Crichtie, Stronsay, and Coleraine examples (Figs. 131, 133, 141). In the case of all these a border was formed

round the edge of the incurved sides by a grooved line running parallel to the curve. In the case of the three specimens now under discussion we have instead of a flat border marked off by a line, a raised border or flange formed by cutting away to some depth the surfaces of the central portion of each face. In all three specimens this very difficult task has been carried out with the utmost nicety and precision. Fig. 143 shows the example from the River Bann now in the British Museum. It is $5\frac{1}{2}$ inches long and in its contour is very similar to the ordinary axe-hammers from that area, as will be seen from its side view (Fig. 144).

The next example in point of development (Figs. 145, 146) is in the collection of Mr W. J. Knowles, of Ballymena, Co. Antrim. The specimen is half-an-inch longer than that in the British Museum, but is flatter in section. It was exhibited in Belfast at the meeting of the British Association in 1852, and was described with a full-sized illustration three years later by Mr Robert MacAdam¹. He writes: "The stone Battle-Axe now described was discovered recently, along with some other Antiquities, in the bed of the lower Bann, in the County of Antrim, a locality which has furnished great numbers of antique weapons belonging to very various epochs. The lower Bann, which runs from Lough Neagh to the sea, separating the present counties of Antrim and Derry, seems to have been at all times the natural geographical frontier between independent tribes of the native Irish. For a long period it formed the eastern boundary of the principality ruled by the sept of the O'Cahans; and more recently it limited the extent of the English sway previously to the final reduction of the Northern clans. The banks of this river were thus, from a remote period, the scene of a constant series of hostile encounters, and predatory incursions. Here the armies of contending chieftains were marshalled, and here many a bloody struggle took place which must have left its traces behind in a multitude of warlike weapons, fragments of armour, and human bones. The Irish Annals make frequent allusions to such engagements. In the year 728 a battle is described between the O'Cahans of

¹ *Ulster Journal of Archaeology*, vol. III. pp. 234-5 (1855, Belfast and Dublin).

Ciannachta and Flaithbheartach (Flaherty) king of Ireland, when 'countless multitudes were drowned in the river'; and



FIG. 146. Axe-hammer (side-view); river Bann.

during a long course of years we meet with accounts of incursions of various tribes across the river, more or less

successfully resisted by the opposing party. In 1542 the O'Donnells and the O'Cahans forced the passage of the Bann against combined forces of the MacQuillans and the English, and ravaged the country east of the river. It is therefore not surprising that warlike weapons are continually discovered



FIG. 147. Axe-hammer or Mace-head; Hackettstown, Co. Carlow.

either in the bed of the stream or on its banks. During the recent engineering operations for improving the navigation of the lower Bann, conducted under Mr Ottley, C.E., considerable numbers of them were found at different spots, probably the sites of the ancient fords. A selection from these was

exhibited at the meeting in Belfast already alluded to and comprised specimens of stone, bronze, and iron weapons, and one article of gold."

A third specimen (Figs. 147, 148) is now in the Royal Irish



FIG. 148. Axe-hammer (side view); Hackettstown, Co. Carlow.

Academy Museum. It formerly belonged to Dr William Frazer, a well-known Dublin antiquary, who obtained it in June, 1888, and published it in the following year¹. Its possessor stated that it had been discovered a few months before, together with a bronze axe with ornamented blade, and a fragment of the shank of a bronze pin, upon the removal of a large block of stone, near the ruins of Coolmore Castle, between Rathvilly and Hackettstown, on the borders of Co. Carlow. The implement is of diorite. In shape it is a very flattened ovoid, four and a half inches long and one and one-eighth inches thick, tapering rather abruptly at either end into blunt round edges. It is thus both shorter and flatter than either of the two similar specimens, whilst it will be observed that the distinctive features of the hammer-end and the cutting end have been considerably modified and so give the impression that the implement is not a weapon of offence, but rather ceremonial. In fact the great stone axe-

hammer used in battle has become something very like a mace-head.

The series of axe-hammers described and illustrated in the preceding pages puts it beyond doubt that there was direct communication between Scandinavia and the British Isles at a

¹ *Proc. Royal Irish Acad.*, 3rd Series, vol. 1 (1889-91), pp. 215-20 (with two illustrations).

very early period. Moreover, the fact that in a comparatively large number of cases these axe-hammers have been found associated with bronze implements in Aberdeenshire in

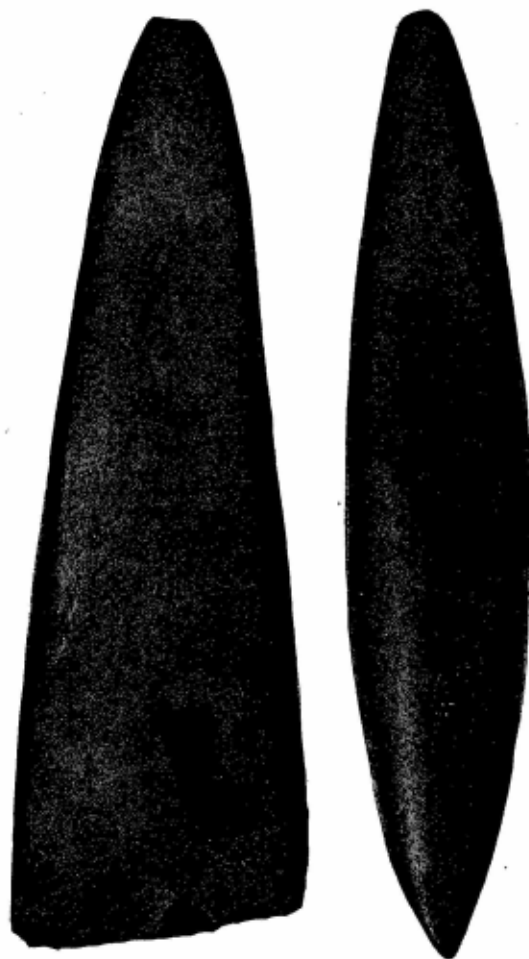


FIG. 149. Flint axe; Gilling, Yorkshire.

Scotland, in many places in England, and in Co. Carlow in Ireland, makes it clear that they belong to the Bronze Age, and that accordingly in that period such communication or invasion from Scandinavia had already begun. This is sub-

stantiated by the further very important fact that in the great majority of cases where the axe-hammers were found in barrows they accompanied cremated human remains. As that prac-



FIG. 150. Stone axe; Ness, North Riding, Yorkshire.

tice was especially characteristic of the Bronze Age—more especially the Middle Bronze Age—of Denmark, the evidence



FIG. 151. Gouge-adze; Heslerton Carr, East Riding, Yorkshire.

again points indubitably to the Bronze Age as the period of communication, and invasion and settlement.

This conclusion is corroborated by other archaeological evidence. We have seen that the ordinary Scandinavian flint axe is very unlike the ordinary stone axes which were in use in the British Isles in the Neolithic period, the former being long and varying little in breadth from end to end, with its sides rectangular instead of rounded and its cutting edge straight. In Dr Sturge's collection there are four axes (all formerly belonging to Canon Greenwell) which are distinctly Scandinavian in type, as he has pointed out to me. The first of these is an axe found at Gilling, North Riding, Yorkshire (Fig. 149). It is eight inches long, two and a half inches in greatest width, and one and a half in greatest depth. The second is an axe found at Ness, North Riding, Yorkshire (Fig. 150). In length it is eight and three-quarter inches, in breadth two and a half inches, in thickness one and a half inches¹. This axe and that from Gilling are probably the only specimens from England. The rectangular section so strongly marked in each and the almost straight cutting edge show Scandinavian influence. In fact both of them might have come from Scandinavia, as far as shape is concerned. The third example (Fig. 151) was found at Heselton Carr, East Riding, Yorkshire². It is of a white colour and is really a gouge-adze. "This axe," writes Dr Sturge, "is entirely Scandinavian in shape, though the stone is probably local." With the preceding, it is probably unique in England.

The nearest approach to the Heselton Carr specimen is another example in Dr Sturge's collection. It was dredged up from the River Blackwater, at Moy, Co. Tyrone, Ireland. Though it is less strikingly Scandinavian in type than the previous examples, all of which might have come from Scandinavia, yet it is an unusual shape for Ireland.

It is worth observing that all the three axes of Scandinavian type from England were found in North or East Yorkshire, the area from which the ten broken axe-hammers of Danish types (p. 677, Figs. 123, 124) also came. These three examples seem to indicate that either stone axes of these types were in use in

¹ Evans, *Ancient Stone Implements* (2nd ed.), pp. 119-20.

² Evans, *op. cit.* p. 120.

the Bronze Age, like the axe-hammers, which seems not improbable, or that already in the end of the Neolithic Age or

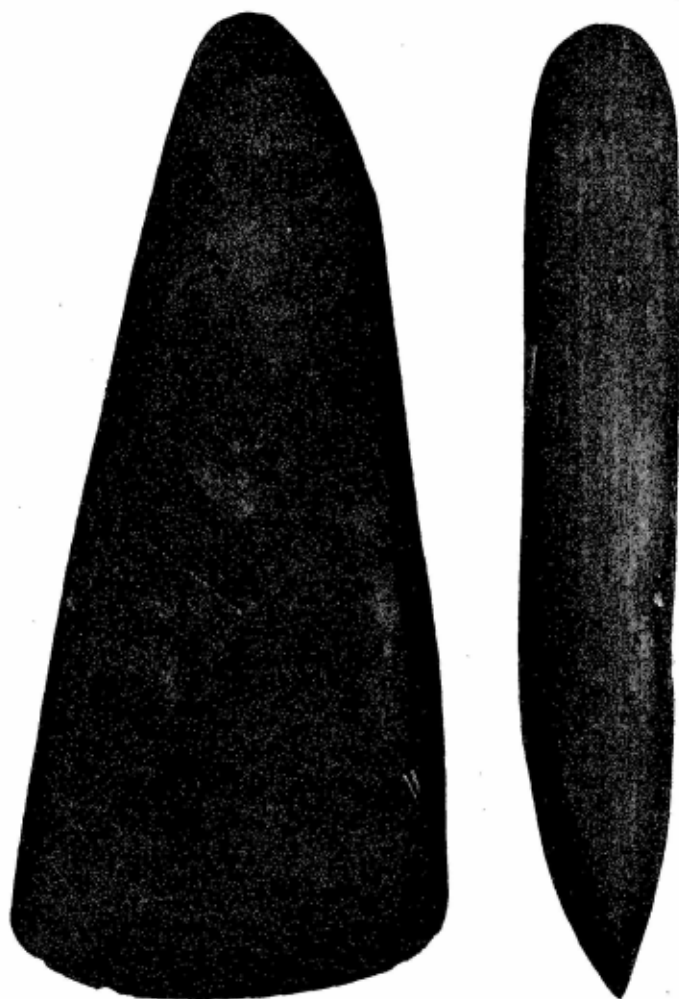


FIG. 152. Stone axe; Blackwater river, Moy, Co. Tyrone, Ireland.

in the transition period to Copper and Bronze, communication had already been opened between Scandinavia and North-east England. But to this point we shall revert presently¹.

¹ [The subject is not treated further in this volume.]

Another class of antiquities furnishes us with strong corroborative evidence for the close connection of Scandinavia with Ireland in the early period. These are the well-known V-shaped or "hollow-based" arrowheads. This is a characteristic Scandinavian form, and quite common in the north of Ireland, but very rare in Scotland, England, France, and in the southern peninsulas of Europe, where the ordinary leaf-shaped, lozenge-shaped, and tanged and barbed types are practically universal. There can be little doubt, especially in the case of



FIG. 153. Arrowhead, secured in the top of its original shaft by a piece of sinew, when found.

the tanged variety, that these heads were secured in the shaft by a piece of sinew or some other ligament or primitive cord. The specimen here shown (Fig. 153), when found on the old 'togher' (road) in Ballykillen bog near Edenderry, King's Co., Ireland, had still the upper part of the shaft affixed to it by a piece of sinew. The shaft, which was of wild-rose brier, unfortunately was not properly preserved by the botanist who identified it, and it has long since crumbled away, though the sinew retains its place as when the arrowhead was first fixed on the mount¹. Fig. 154 (Nos. 1, 4, 7, 8, and 11) shows examples of the hollow based type from Co. Antrim, North-east Ireland (the great home of the Scoti); whilst Nos. 2, 5, 8, 10 and 12 are

from Denmark. No. 3 is a rare specimen found at Icklingham, Suffolk², whilst No. 6 is a no less rare example from Ganton Wold, East Riding, Yorkshire (the district in which the broken axe-hammers and axes of Scandinavian types have also been discovered).

¹ When transporting the T. R. Murray collection to Cambridge, I was able to carry the arrowhead to its new home without any disturbance to it or its sinew.

² There are only about a dozen of this type found in England amongst the very numerous collection of flint arrowheads in the Cambridge Museum of Archaeology and Ethnology.

In the previous volume of this work we saw how misleading was the common assumption that arrowheads of flint necessarily belong to the Neolithic period, and reasons were there given

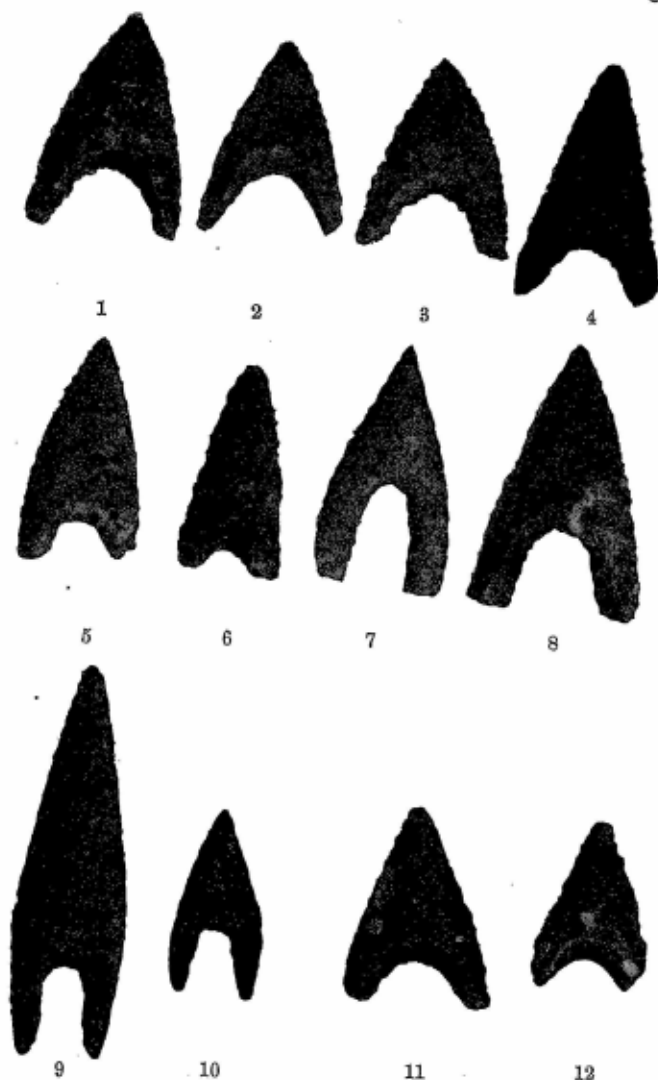


FIG. 154. Hollow-based Arrowheads. 1, 4, 7, 8, and 11, Co. Antrim; 2, 5, 8, 10, and 12, Denmark; 3, Icklingham; 6, Ganton Wold, E. Riding Yorkshire.



FIG. 155. (1) Part of flint dagger apparently Danish, found at West Stow, Icklingham, Suffolk; (2) flint dagger, Denmark¹.

¹ From Dr Sturge's specimens.



Fig. 156. Danish daggers (2 and 4) and fragments of flint daggers (1 and 3) found at West Stow, Icklingham, Suffolk¹.

¹ From Dr Sturge's specimens.

for believing that no arrowheads of bronze were ever used in the Bronze Age or later in northern Europe, but only those of



FIG. 157.—(1) Fragment of flint dagger apparently Danish, Culford, near Icklingham, Suffolk; (2) Flint dagger, Denmark¹.

¹ From Dr Sturge's specimens.

flint or bone, and that even far down into the Iron Age flint arrowheads were still in use and that many fine specimens in our collections probably date from that period. The presence in large numbers in the north of Ireland of flint or stone arrowheads of Scandinavian type is of itself therefore no evidence of Scandinavian connection or invasion in the Neolithic period.



FIG. 158. (1 and 2) Parts of flint daggers apparently Danish, found near Icklingham, Suffolk; (3) Flint dagger, Denmark¹.

There is however another class of flint weapons which may indicate that already in the end of the Neolithic period certain Scandinavian influence was already making itself felt in eastern

¹ From Dr Sturge's specimens.

England. Dr Sturge has pointed out to me that several broken flint dagger-handles in his collection, all of which have been found in eastern England, resemble very closely the well-known and typical characteristic Danish daggers.

Figs. 155 and 156 show unbroken and typical Danish daggers side by side with what appear to be fragments of similar weapons found at West Stow, near Icklingham, Suffolk. "The section of that shown in Fig. 156, no. 3," writes Dr Sturge, "is like the best Danish work. The end of the fragment is the outer coating of the flint, a well-known Danish characteristic, and is exemplified by the Danish dagger in the same figure (no. 4)." Figs. 157 and 158 show other fragments, one from near Icklingham, and another from Culford near the same place. All these fragments display characteristics of Danish work on similar weapons.

As these daggers may well belong to the end of the Neolithic period, it looks as if already at that date there may have been communication between Denmark and East Anglia, but of course there is still the doubt whether these beautiful daggers may not have continued in use in the metal period side by side with the earliest copper or bronze daggers.

We shall discuss on a later page the relations of the spiral ornament at New Grange, and shall find that the evidence points clearly to the importation of that motive from Scandinavia. That conclusion derives support from a small but important fact noted above (p. 680). Along with the axe-hammer with grooved ornament on its faces found in a barrow on Westerdale Moors, inclosed in an urn with burnt bones, there was a curious bone bead decorated with a spiral pattern. This seems to indicate that the men who brought the axe-hammers from Denmark also introduced the spiral motive into the British Isles.

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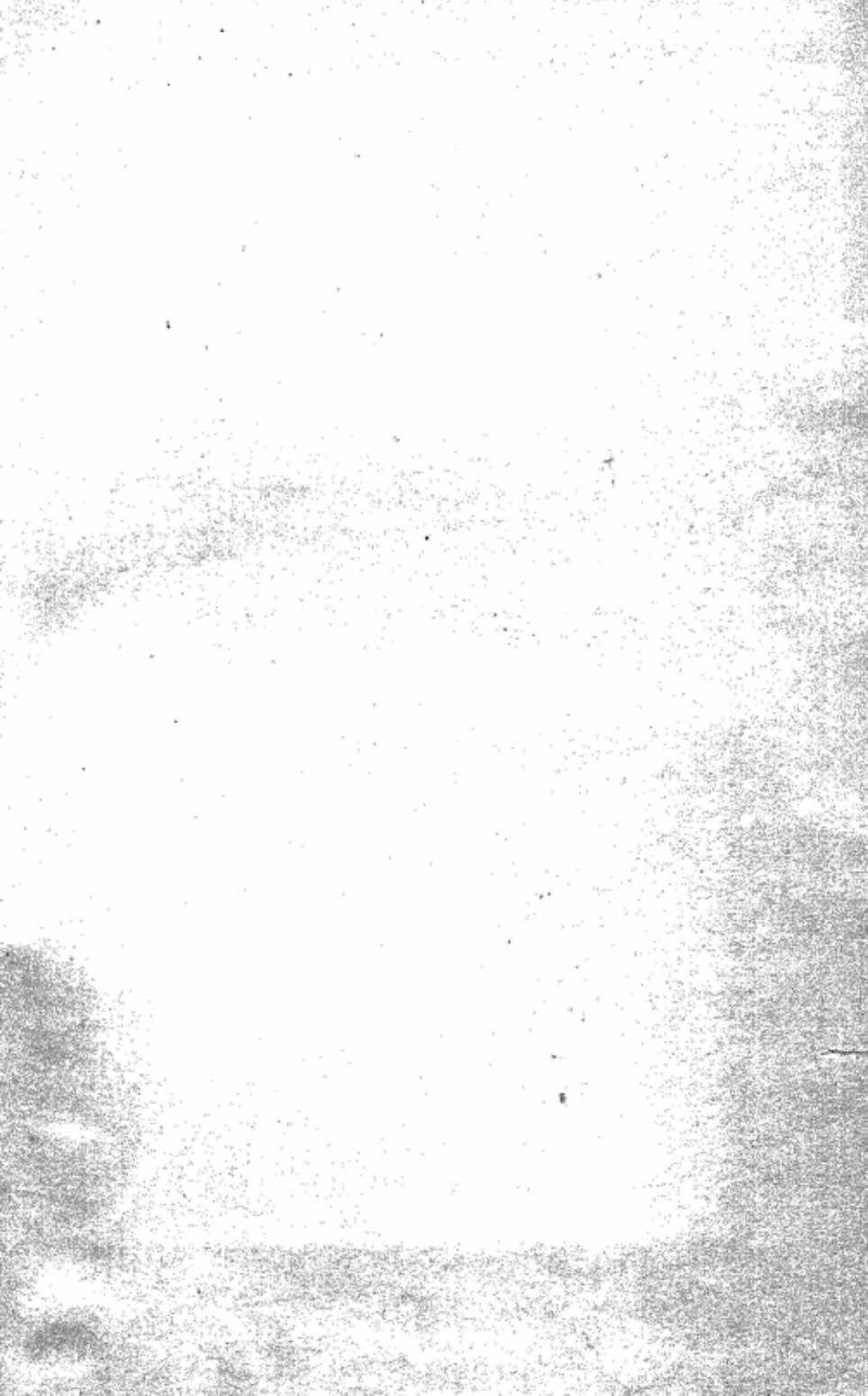
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